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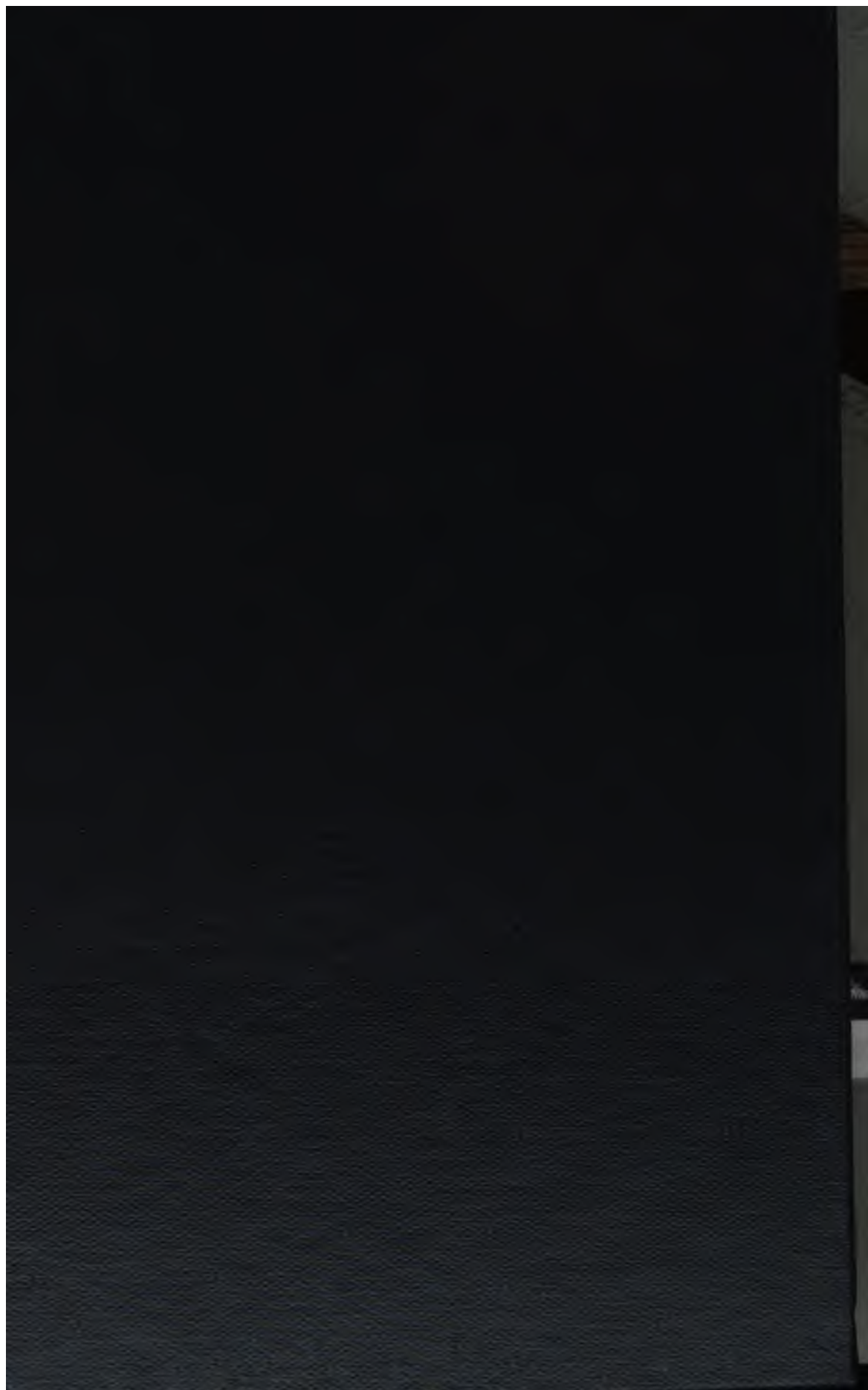
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HISTORY
OF THE
NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA

FROM 1619 TO 1880

NEGROES AS SLAVES, AS SOLDIERS, AND AS CITIZENS

TOGETHER WITH

A PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATION OF THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN
FAMILY, AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF AFRICA, AND AN
ACCOUNT OF THE NEGRO GOVERNMENTS OF
SIERRA LEONE AND LIBERIA

BY

GEORGE W. WILLIAMS

FIRST COLORED MEMBER OF THE OHIO LEGISLATURE, AND LATE JUDGE ADVOCATE OF THE
GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF OHIO, ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II

1800 TO 1880

NEW YORK
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
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1883

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1882.

NOTE.

THIS second volume brings the HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA from 1800 down to 1880. It consists of six parts and twenty-nine chapters. Few memories can cover this eventful period of American history. Commencing its career with the Republic, slavery grew with its growth and strengthened with its strength. The dark spectre kept pace and company with liberty until separated by the sword. Beginning with the struggle for restriction or extension of slavery, I have striven to record, in the spirit of honest and impartial historical inquiry, all the events of this period belonging properly to my subject. The development and decay of anti-slavery sentiment at the South; the pious efforts of the good Quakers to ameliorate the condition of the slaves; the service of Negroes as soldiers and sailors; the anti-slavery agitation movement; the insurrections of slaves; the national legislation on the slavery question; the John Brown movement; the war for the Union; the valorous conduct of Negro soldiers; the emancipation proclamations; the reconstruction of the late Confederate States; the errors of reconstruction; the results of emancipation; vital, prison, labor, educational, financial, and social statistics; the exodus—cause and effect; and a sober prophecy of the future,—are all faithfully recorded.

After seven years I am loath to part with the saddest task ever committed to human hands! I have tracked my bleeding countrymen through the widely scattered documents of American history; I have listened to their groans, their clanking chains, and melting prayers, until the woes of a race and the agonies of centuries seem to crowd upon my soul as a bitter reality. Many pages of this history have been blistered with my tears; and, although having lived but a little more than a generation, my mind feels as if it were cycles old.

The long spectral hand on the clock of American history points to the completion of the second decade since the American slave became an American citizen. How wondrous have been his strides, how marvellous his achievements! Twenty years ago we were in the midst of a

great war for the extinction of slavery ; in this anniversary week I complete my task, record the results of that struggle. I modestly strive to lift the Negro race to its pedestal in American history. I raise this post to indicate the progress of humanity ; to instruct the present, to inform the future. I commit this work to the considerate judgment of my fellow-citizens of every race, "with malice toward none, and charity for all."

GEÓ. W. WILLIAMS.

HOFFMAN HOUSE, NEW YORK CITY, Dec. 28, 1882.

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HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA.

Part 4.

CONSERVATIVE ERA—NEGROES IN THE ARMY AND NAVY.

CHAPTER I.

RESTRICTION AND EXTENSION.

1800-1825.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.—SLAVE POPULATION OF 1800.—MEMORIAL PRESENTED TO CONGRESS CALLING ATTENTION TO THE SLAVE-TRADE TO THE COAST OF GUINEA.—GEORGIA CEDES THE TERRITORY LYING WEST OF HER TO BECOME A STATE.—OHIO ADOPTS A STATE CONSTITUTION.—WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY OF INDIANA.—AN ACT OF CONGRESS PROHIBITING THE IMPORTATION OF SLAVES INTO THE UNITED STATES OR TERRITORIES.—SLAVE POPULATION OF 1810.—MISSISSIPPI APPLIES FOR ADMISSION INTO THE UNION WITH A SLAVE CONSTITUTION.—CONGRESS BESIEGED BY MEMORIALS URGING MORE SPECIFIC LEGISLATION AGAINST THE SLAVE-TRADE.—PREMIUM OFFERED TO THE INFORMER OF EVERY ILLEGALLY IMPORTED AFRICAN SEIZED WITHIN THE UNITED STATES.—CIRCULAR LETTERS SENT TO THE NAVAL OFFICERS ON THE SEACOAST OF THE SLAVE-HOLDING STATES.—PRESIDENT MONROE'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS ON THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY.—PETITION PRESENTED BY THE MISSOURI DELEGATES FOR THE ADMISSION OF THAT STATE INTO THE UNION.—THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ARKANSAS TERRITORY.—RESOLUTIONS PASSED FOR THE RESTRICTION OF SLAVERY IN NEW STATES.—THE MISSOURI CONTROVERSY.—THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.—AN ACT FOR THE GRADUAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN NEW JERSEY.—ITS PROVISIONS.—THE ATTITUDE OF THE NORTHERN PRESS ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION.—SLAVE POPULATION OF 1820.—ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT AT THE NORTH.

THE nineteenth century opened auspiciously for the cause of the Negro. Although slavery had ceased to exist in Massachusetts and Vermont, the census of 1800 showed that the slave population in the other States was steadily on the increase. In the total population of 5,305,925, there were 893,041 slaves. The subjoined table exhibits the number of slaves in each of the slave-holding States in the year 1800.

CENSUS OF 1800—SLAVE POPULATION.

District of Columbia	3,244
Connecticut	951
Delaware	6,153
Georgia	59,404
Indiana Territory	135
Kentucky	40,343
Maryland	105,635
Mississippi Territory	3,489
New Jersey	12,422
New Hampshire	8
New York	20,343
North Carolina	133,296
Pennsylvania	1,706
Rhode Island	381
South Carolina	146,151
Tennessee	13,584
Virginia	345,796
Aggregate	893,041

On the 2d of January, 1800, a number of Colored citizens of the city and county of Philadelphia presented a memorial to Congress, through the delegate from that city, Mr. Waln, calling attention to the slave-trade to the coast of Guinea. The memorial charged that the slave-trade was clandestinely carried on from various ports of the United States contrary to law; that under this wicked practice free Colored men were often seized and sold as slaves; and that the fugitive-slave law of 1793 subjected them to great inconvenience and severe persecutions. The memorialists did not request Congress to transcend their authority respecting the slave-trade, nor to emancipate the slaves, but only to prepare the way, so that, at an early period, the oppressed might go free.

Upon a motion by Mr. Waln for the reference of the memorial to the Committee on the Slave-trade, Rutledge, Harper, Lee, Randolph, and other Southern members, made speeches against such a reference. They maintained that the petition requested Congress to take action on a question over which they had no control. Waln, Thacher, Smilie, Dana, and Gallatin contended that there were portions of the petition that came within the jurisdiction of the Constitution, and, therefore, ought to be re-



ceived and acted upon. Mr. Rutledge demanded the yeas and nays; but in such a spirit as put Mr. Waln on his guard, so he withdrew his motion, and submitted another one by which such parts of the memorial as came within the jurisdiction of Congress should be referred. Mr. Rutledge raised a point of order on the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania that a "part" of the memorial could not be referred, but was promptly overruled. Mr. Gray, of Virginia, moved to amend by adding a declaratory clause that the portions of the memorial, not referred, inviting Congress to exercise authority not delegated, "have a tendency to create disquiet and jealousy, and ought, therefore, to receive the pointed disapprobation of this House." After some discussion, it was finally agreed to strike out the last clause and insert the following: "ought therefore to receive no encouragement or countenance from this House." The call of the roll resulted in the adoption of the amendment, with but one vote in the negative by Mr. Thacher, of Maine, an uncompromising enemy of slavery. The committee to whom the memorial was referred brought in a bill during the session prohibiting American ships from supplying slaves from the United States to foreign markets.

On the 2d of April, 1802, Georgia ceded the territory lying west of her present limits, now embracing the States of Alabama and Mississippi. Among the conditions she exacted was the following:

"That the territory thus ceded shall become a State, and be admitted into the Union as soon as it shall contain sixty thousand free inhabitants, or at an earlier period, if Congress shall think it expedient, on the same conditions and restrictions, with the same privileges, and in the same manner, as provided in the ordinance of Congress of the 13th day of July, 1787, for the government of the western territory of the United States: which ordinance shall, in all its parts, extend to the territory contained in the present act of cession, the article only excepted which forbids slavery."

The demand was acceded to, and, as the world knows, Alabama and Mississippi became the most cruel slave States in the United States.

Ohio adopted a State constitution in 1802-3, and the residue of the territory not included in the State as it is now, was designated as Indiana Territory. William Henry Harrison was appointed governor. One of the earliest moves of the government

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of the new territory was to secure a modification of the ordinance of 1787 by which slavery or involuntary servitude was prohibited in the territory northwest of the Ohio River. It was ordered by a convention presided over by Gen. Harrison in 1802-3, that a memorial be sent to Congress urging a restriction of the ordinance of 1787. It was referred to a select committee, with John Randolph as chairman. On the 2d of March, 1803, he made a report by the unanimous request of his committee, and the portion referring to slavery was as follows :

"The rapid population of the State of Ohio sufficiently evinces, in the opinion of your committee, that the labor of slaves is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonies in that region. That this labor—demonstrably the dearest of any—can only be employed in the cultivation of products more valuable than any known to that quarter of the United States ; that the committee deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the northwestern country, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier. In the salutary operations of this sagacious and benevolent restraint, it is believed that the inhabitants of Indiana will, at no very distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor and of emigration."

After discussing the subject-matter embodied in the memorial from the territory of Indiana, the committee presented eight resolves, one of which related to the subject of slavery, and was as follows :

"*Resolved*, That it is inexpedient to suspend, for a limited time, the operation of the sixth article of the compact between the original States and the people and the States west of the river Ohio."

Congress was about to close its session, and, therefore, there was no action taken upon this report. At the next session it went into the hands of a new committee whose chairman was Cæsar Rodney, of Delaware, who had just been elected to Congress. On the 17th of February, 1804, Mr. Rodney made the following report :

"That taking into their consideration the facts stated in the said memorial and petition, they are induced to believe that a qualified suspension, for a limited time, of the sixth article of compact between the original States and the people and States west of the river Ohio, might be productive of benefit and advantage to said territory."

After discussing other matters contained in the Indiana petition, the committee says, in reference to slavery :

“ That the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery within the said territory, be suspended in a qualified manner for ten years, so as to permit the introduction of slaves born within the United States, from any of the individual States : *provided*, that such individual State does not permit the importation of slaves from foreign countries ; *and provided further*, that the descendants of all such slaves shall, if males, be free at the age of twenty-five years, and, if female, at the age of twenty-one years.”

The House did not take up and act upon this report, and so the matter passed for the time being. But the original memorial, with several petitions of like import, came before Congress in 1805-6. They were referred to a select committee, and on the 14th of February, 1806, Mr. Garnett, of Virginia, the chairman, made the following favorable report :

“ That, having attentively considered the facts stated in the said petitions and memorials, they are of opinion that a qualified suspension for a limited time, of the sixth article of compact between the original States and the people and States west of the river Ohio, would be beneficial to the people of the Indiana Territory. The suspension of this article is an object almost universally desired in that Territory.

“ It appears to your committee to be a question entirely different from that between Slavery and Freedom ; inasmuch as it would merely occasion the removal of persons, already slaves, from one part of the country to another. The good effects of this suspension, in the present instance, would be to accelerate the population of that Territory, hitherto retarded by the operation of that article of compact, as slave-holders emigrating into the Western country might then indulge any preference which they might feel for a settlement in the Indiana Territory, instead of seeking, as they are now compelled to do, settlements in other States or countries permitting the introduction of slaves. The condition of the slaves themselves would be much ameliorated by it, as it is evident, from experience, that the more they are separated and diffused, the more care and attention are bestowed on them by their masters—each proprietor having it in his power to increase their comforts and conveniences, in proportion to the smallness of their numbers. The dangers, too (if any are to be apprehended), from too large a black population existing in any one section of country, would certainly be very much diminished, if not entirely removed. But whether dangers are to be

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feared from this source or not, it is certainly an obvious dictate of sound policy to guard against them, as far as possible. If this danger does exist, or there is any cause to apprehend it, and our Western brethren are not only willing but desirous to aid us in taking precautions against it, would it not be wise to accept their assistance ?

"We should benefit ourselves, without injuring them, as their population must always so far exceed any black population which can ever exist in that country, as to render the idea of danger from that source chimerical."

After a lengthy discussion of matters embodied in the Indiana memorial, the committee recommended the following resolve on the question of slavery :

"*Resolved*, That the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787, which prohibits slavery within the Indiana Territory, be suspended for ten years, so as to permit the introduction of slaves born within the United States, from any of the individual States."

The report and resolves were made the special order for the following Monday, but were never called up.

At the opening of the next session, Gen. Harrison presented another letter, accompanied by several resolves passed by the Legislative Council and House of Representatives, urging the passage of a measure restricting the ordinance of 1787. The letter and enclosures were received on the 21st of January, 1807, and referred to the following select committee: Parke, of Indiana, chairman; Alston, North Carolina; Masters, New York; Morrow, Ohio; Rhea, Tennessee; Sandford, Kentucky; Trigg, Virginia.

On the 12th of February, 1807, the chairman, Mr. Parke, made the following report in favor of the request of the memorialists [the *third*]. It was unanimous.

"The resolutions of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of the Indiana Territory relate to a suspension, for the term of ten years, of the sixth article of compact between the United States and the Territories and States northwest of the river Ohio, passed the 13th July, 1787. That article declares that there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory.

"The suspension of the said article would operate an immediate and essential benefit to the Territory, as emigration to it will be inconsiderable for many years, except from those States where Slavery is tolerated.

"And although it is not considered expedient to force the population of the Territory, yet it is desirable to connect its scattered settlements, and, in admitted political rights, to place it on an equal footing with the different States. From the interior situation of the Territory, it is not believed that slaves could ever become so numerous as to endanger the internal peace or future prosperity of the country. The current of emigration flowing to the Western country, the Territories should all be opened to their introduction. The abstract question of Liberty and Slavery is not involved in the proposed measure, as Slavery now exists to a considerable extent in different parts of the Union ; it would not augment the number of slaves, but merely authorize the removal to Indiana of such as are held in bondage in the United States. If Slavery is an evil, means ought to be devised to render it least dangerous to the community, and by which the hapless situation of the slaves would be most ameliorated ; and to accomplish these objects, no measure would be so effectual as the one proposed. The Committee, therefore, respectfully submit to the House the following resolution :

"*Resolved*, That it is expedient to suspend, from and after the 1st day of January, 1808, the sixth article of compact between the United States and the Territories and States northwest of the Ohio, passed the 13th day of July, 1787, for the term of ten years."

Like its predecessor this report was made a special order, but was never taken up.

On the 7th of November, 1807, the President laid a letter from Gen. Harrison [probably the one already referred to], and the resolves of his Legislature, before Congress, and that body referred them to a select committee consisting of Franklin, of North Carolina ; Ketchel, of New Jersey ; and Tiffin, of Ohio.

• On the 13th of November, Mr. Franklin made the following adverse report :

"The Legislative Council and House of Representatives, in their resolutions, express their sense of the propriety of introducing Slavery into their Territory, and solicit the Congress of the United States to suspend, for a given number of years, the sixth article of compact, in the ordinance for the government of the Territory northwest of the Ohio, passed the 13th day of July, 1787. That article declares : 'There shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude within the said Territory.'

"The citizens of Clark County, in their remonstrance, express their sense of the impropriety of the measure, and solicit the Congress of the United States not to act on the subject, so as to permit the introduc-

tion of slaves into the Territory ; at least, until their population shall entitle them to form a constitution and State government.

"Your Committee, after duly considering the matter, respectfully submit the following resolution :

"*Resolved*, That it is not expedient at this time to suspend the sixth article of compact for the government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio."

Thus ended in defeat the stubborn effort to secure a restriction of the ordinance of 1787, and the admission of slavery into the Territory lying west of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, now comprising the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

In his message to Congress at the commencement of the session of 1806-7, President Jefferson suggested to that body the wisdom of abolishing the African slave-trade. He said in this connection :

"I congratulate you, fellow-citizens, on the approach of the period at which you may interpose your authority, constitutionally, to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights which have so long been continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interest of our country have long been eager to proscribe."

This portion of the message was referred to a select committee ; and in due time they reported a bill "to prohibit the importation or bringing of slaves into the United States or the territories thereof after the 31st day of December, 1807."

Mr. Early, of Georgia, the chairman of the committee, inserted a clause into the bill requiring that all slaves illegally imported "should be forfeited and sold for life for the benefit of the United States." A long debate ensued and was conducted with fiery earnestness from beginning to end. It was urged in support of the above regulation, that nothing else could be done but to sell them ; that it would never do to release them in the States where they might be captured, poor, ignorant, and dangerous. It was said by the opponents of the measure, that Congress could not regulate the matter, as the States had the reserved authority to have slavery, and were, therefore, competent to say who should be free and who bond. It was suggested, farther along in the debate, that Congress might order such slaves into such States

as prohibited slavery, where they could be bound out for a term of years.* After a great many able speeches the House refused to strike out the forfeiture clause by a vote of sixty-three to thirty-six. When the act was called up for final passage, it was amended by inserting a clause imposing a fine of \$20,000, upon all persons concerned in fitting out a vessel for the slave-trade; and likewise a fine of \$5,000, and forfeiture of the vessel, for taking on board any Negro or Mulatto, or any person of color, in any foreign port with the intention of selling them in the United States.

During these efforts at restriction the slave population was growing daily. The census of 1810 showed that within a decade the slave population had sprung from 893,041, in 1800, to 1,191,364,—an increase of 33 per cent. The following table exhibits this remarkable fact :

CENSUS OF 1810.—SLAVE POPULATION:

District of Columbia	5,395
Rhode Island	108
Connecticut	310
Pennsylvania	795
Delaware	4,177
New Jersey	10,851
New York	15,017
Louisiana	34,660
Tennessee	44,535
Kentucky	80,561
Georgia	105,218
Maryland	111,502
North Carolina	168,824
South Carolina	196,365
Virginia	392,518
Mississippi Territory	17,088
Indiana Territory	237
Louisiana Territory	3,011
Illinois Territory	168
Michigan Territory	24

On the 10th of December, 1817, Mississippi applied for admission into the Union with a slave constitution. The provisions relating to slavery dispensed with grand juries in the indictment of slaves, and trial by jury was allowed only in trial of capital cases.

During the session of 1817-8, Congress was besieged by a large number of memorials praying for more specific legislation against the slave-trade. During the session the old fugitive-slave act was amended so as to make it more effective, and passed by a vote of eighty-four to sixty-nine. In the Senate, with several amendments, and heated debate, it passed by a vote of seventeen to thirteen; but upon being returned to the House for concurrence, the Northern members had heard from their constituents, and the bill was tabled, and its friends were powerless to get it up.

In 1818-9, Congress passed an act offering a premium of fifty dollars to the informer of every illegally imported African seized within the United States, and twenty-five dollars for those taken at sea. The President was authorized to have such slaves removed beyond the limits of the United States, and to appoint agents on the West Coast of Africa to superintend their reception. An effort was made to punish slave-trading with death. It passed the House, but was struck out in the Senate.

On the 12th of January, 1819, the Secretary of the Navy transmitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives copies of circular letters that had been sent to the naval officers on the various stations along the sea-coast of the slave-holding States. The following letter is a fair sample of the remainder :¹

“NAVY DEPARTMENT, January 22, 1811.

“**SIR** :—I hear, not without great concern, that the law prohibiting the importation of slaves has been violated in frequent instances, near St. Mary’s, since the gun-boats have been withdrawn from that station.

“We are bound by law, by the obligations of humanity and sound policy, to use our most strenuous efforts to restrain this disgraceful traffic, and to bring those who shall be found engaged in it to those forfeitures and punishments which are by law prescribed for such offences.

“Hasten the equipment of the gun-boats which, by my letter of the 24th ultimo, you were directed to equip, and as soon as they shall be ready, despatch them to St. Mary’s with orders to their commanders to use all practicable diligence in enforcing the law prohibiting the importation of slaves, passed March 2, 1807, entitled ‘An Act to prohibit the importation of slaves into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States from and after the 1st day of January, 1808.’

¹ I have in my possession large numbers of official orders and letters on the suppression of the slave-trade, but the space appropriated to this history precludes their publication. There are, however, some important documents in the appendix to this volume.

The whole of this law, but especially the 7th section, requires your particular attention ; that section declares, that *any* ship or vessel which shall be found in any river, port, bay, or harbor, or on the high seas, within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, or hovering on the coast thereof, having on board any negro, mulatto, or person of color, for the purpose of selling them as slaves, or with intent to land the same in any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, contrary to the prohibition of the act, shall, together with her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and the goods and effects which shall be found on board the same, be forfeited and may be seized, prosecuted, and condemned in any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof.

"It further authorizes the President of the United States to cause any of the armed vessels of the United States to be manned and employed to cruise on any part of the coast of the United States, or territories thereof, and to instruct and direct the commanders to seize, take, and bring into any port of the United States, all such ships or vessels ; and, moreover, to seize, take, and bring into any port of the United States, all ships or vessels *of the United States, wherever found on the high seas*, contravening the provisions of the act, to be proceeded against according to law.

"You will, therefore, consider yourself hereby especially instructed and required, and you will instruct and require all officers placed under your command, to seize, take, and bring into port, *any vessel of whatever nature*, found in any river, port, bay, or harbor, or on the high seas, within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, or hovering on the coast thereof, having on board any negro, mulatto, or person of color, for the purpose of selling them as slaves, or with intent to land the same, contrary to law ; and, moreover, to seize, take, and bring into port, all ships or vessels *of the United States*, wheresoever found on the high seas or elsewhere, contravening the provisions of the law. Vessels thus to be seized, may be brought into *any* port of the United States ; and when brought into port, must, without delay, be reported to the district-attorney of the United States residing in the district in which such port may be, who will institute such further proceedings as law and justice require.

"Every person found on board of such vessels must be taken especial care of. The negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, are to be delivered to such persons as the respective States may appoint to receive the same. The commanders and crews of such vessels will be held under the prosecutions of the district-attorneys, to answer the pains and penalties prescribed by law for their respective offences. Whenever negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color shall be delivered to the persons appointed to receive the same, duplicate receipts must be taken

therefore, and if no person shall be appointed by the respective States to receive them, they must be delivered 'to the overseers of the poor of the port or place where such ship or vessel may be brought or found,' and an account of your proceedings, together with the number and descriptive list of such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, must be immediately transmitted to the governor or chief magistrate of the State. You will communicate to me, minutely, all your proceedings.

"I am, sir, respectfully, etc.

PAUL HAMILTON.

"H. G. CAMPBELL, *Commanding Naval Officer,*
Charleston, S. C."

On the 17th of December, 1819, President Monroe sent the following message to Congress on the subject of the slave-trade:

"MESSAGE.

"*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States :*

"Some doubt being entertained respecting the true intent and meaning of the act of the last session, entitled 'An Act in addition to the Acts prohibiting the slave-trade,' as to the duties of the agents, to be appointed on the coast of Africa, I think it proper to state the interpretation which has been given of the act, and the measures adopted to carry it into effect, that Congress may, should it be deemed advisable, amend the same, before further proceeding is had under it.

"The obligation to instruct the commanders of all our armed vessels to seize and bring into port all ships or vessels of the United States, wheresoever found, having on board any negro, mulatto, or person of color, in violation of former acts for the suppression of the slave-trade, being imperative, was executed without delay. No seizures have yet been made, but, as they were contemplated by the law, and might be presumed, it seemed proper to make the necessary regulations applicable to such seizures for carrying the several provisions of the act into effect.

"It is enjoined on the executive to cause all negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, who may be taken under the act, to be removed to Africa. It is the obvious import of the law, that none of the persons thus taken should remain within the United States ; and no place other than the coast of Africa being designated, their removal or delivery, whether carried from the United States or landed immediately from the vessels in which they were taken, was supposed to be confined to that coast. No settlement or station being specified, the whole coast

was thought to be left open for the selection of a proper place, at which the persons thus taken should be delivered. The executive is authorized to appoint one or more agents, residing there, to receive such persons; and one hundred thousand dollars are appropriated for the general purposes of the law.

"On due consideration of the several sections of the act, and of its humane policy, it was supposed to be the intention of Congress, that all the persons above described, who might be taken under it, and landed in Africa, should be aided in their return to their former homes, or in their establishment at or near the place where landed. Some shelter and food would be necessary for them there, as soon as landed, let their subsequent disposition be what it might. Should they be landed without such provision having been previously made, they might perish. It was supposed, by the authority given to the executive to appoint agents residing on that coast, that they should provide such shelter and food, and perform the other beneficent and charitable offices contemplated by the act. The coast of Africa having been little explored, and no persons residing there who possessed the requisite qualifications to entitle them to the trust being known to the executive, to none such could it be committed. It was believed that citizens only, who would go hence, well instructed in the views of their government, and zealous to give them effect, would be competent to these duties, and that it was not the intention of the law to preclude their appointment. It was obvious that the longer these persons should be detained in the United States in the hands of the marshals, the greater would be the expense, and that for the same term would the main purpose of the law be suspended. It seemed, therefore, to be incumbent on me to make the necessary arrangements for carrying this act into effect in Africa, in time to meet the delivery of any persons who might be taken by the public vessels, and landed there under it.

"On this view of the policy and sanctions of the law, it has been decided to send a public ship to the coast of Africa with two such agents, who will take with them tools and other implements necessary for the purposes above mentioned. To each of these agents a small salary has been allowed—fifteen hundred dollars to the principal, and twelve hundred to the other. All our public agents on the coast of Africa receive salaries for their services, and it was understood that none of our citizens possessing the requisite qualifications would accept these trusts, by which they would be confined to parts the least frequented and civilized, without a reasonable compensation. Such allowance, therefore, seemed to be indispensable to the execution of the act. It is intended, also, to subject a portion of the sum appropriated, to the order of the principal agent, for the special objects above stated,

amounting in the whole, including the salaries of the agents for one year, to rather less than one third of the appropriation. Special instructions will be given to these agents, defining, in precise terms, their duties in regard to the persons thus delivered to them ; the disbursement of the money by the principal agent ; and his accountability for the same. They will also have power to select the most suitable place on the coast of Africa, at which all persons who may be taken under this act shall be delivered to them, with an express injunction to exercise no power founded on the principle of colonization, or other power than that of performing the benevolent offices above recited, by the permission and sanction of the existing government under which they may establish themselves. Orders will be given to the commander of the public ship in which they will sail, to cruise along the coast, to give the more complete effect to the principal object of the act.

"JAMES MONROE.

"WASHINGTON, December, 17, 1819."

In March, 1818, the delegate from Missouri presented petitions from the inhabitants of that territory, praying to be admitted into the Union as a State. They were referred to a select committee, and a bill was reported for the admission of Missouri as a State on equal footing with the other States. The bill was read twice, when it was sent to the Committee of the Whole, where it was permitted to remain during the entire session. During the next session, on the 13th of February, 1819, the House went into the Committee of the Whole with Gen. Smith, of Maryland, in the chair. The committee had two sittings during which they discussed the bill. Gen. Tallmadge, of New York, offered the following amendment directed against the life of the clause admitting slavery :

"And provided that the introduction of slavery, or involuntary servitude, be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes whereof the party has been duly convicted, and that all children born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be declared free at the age of twenty-five years."

A long and an able discussion followed, in which the authority of the government to prohibit slavery under new State governments was affirmed and denied. On coming out of the Committee of the Whole, the yeas and nays were demanded on the amendment prohibiting the introduction of slavery into Missouri, and resulted as follows: yeas, 87,—only one vote from the

South, Delaware; nays, 76,—ten votes from Northern States. Upon the latter clause of the amendment—"and that all children of slaves, born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be declared free at the age of twenty-five years": yeas, 82,—one vote from Maryland; nays, 78,—fourteen from Northern States. And thus the entire amendment of Gen. Tallmadge was sustained, and being reported to the House, passed by a vote 98 to 56.

The bill reached the Senate on the 17th of February, and after its second reading was referred to a select committee. On the 22d of February, the chairman, Mr. Tait, of Georgia, reported the bill back with amendments, striking out the Tallmadge restriction clauses. The House went into the Committee of the Whole on the 27th of February, to consider the bill, when Mr. Wilson, of New Jersey, moved to postpone the further consideration of the bill until the 5th of March. It was rejected. The committee then began to vote upon the recommendations of the select committee. Upon striking out the House amendment, providing that all the children of slaves born within said State should be free, etc., it was carried by a vote of 27 to 7, eleven Northern Senators voting to strike out. The seven votes against striking out were all from free States.

Upon the clause prohibiting servitude except for crimes, etc., 22 votes were cast for striking out,—five being from Northern States; against striking out, 16,—and they were all from Northern States.

Thus amended, the bill was ordered to be engrossed, and on the 2d of March—the last day but one of the session—was read a third time and passed. It was returned to the House, where the amendments were read, when Mr. Tallmadge moved that the bill be indefinitely postponed. His motion was rejected by a vote of: yeas, 69; nays, 74. But upon a motion to concur in the Senate amendments, the House refused to concur: yeas, 76; nays, 78. The Senate adhered to their amendments, and the House adhered to their disagreement by a vote of 76 to 66; and thus the bill fell between the two Houses and was lost.

The southern portion of the territory of Missouri, which was not included within the limits of the proposed State, was organized as a separate territory, under the designation of the Arkansas Territory. After considerable debate, and several attempts to insert an amendment for the restriction of slavery,

the bill creating the territory of Arkansas passed without any reference to slavery, and thus the territory was left open to slavery, and also the State some years later.

The Congressional discussion of the slavery question aroused the anti-slavery sentiment of the North, which found expression in large and earnest meetings, in pungent editorials, and numerous memorials. At Trenton, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and other places, the indignation against slavery was great. On December 3, 1819, a large meeting was held in the State House at Boston, when a resolution was adopted to memorialize Congress on the subject of "restraining the increase of slavery in *new States* to be admitted into the Union." The memorial was drawn by Daniel Webster, and signed by himself, George Blake, Josiah Quincy, James T. Austin, and others. The New York Legislature passed resolutions against the extension of slavery into the territories and new States; and requested the Congressmen and instructed the Senators from that State not to vote for the admission of any State into the Union, except such State should pledge itself to unqualified restriction in the letter and spirit of the ordinance of 1787. These resolutions were signed on January 17, 1820.

On the 24th of January the New Jersey Legislature followed in the same strain, with six pertinent resolves, a copy of which the governor was requested to forward "to each of the senators and representatives of this State, in the Congress of the United States."

Pennsylvania had taken action on the 11th of December, 1819; but the resolves were not signed by Gov. William Findlay until the 16th of the month. The Legislature was composed of fifty-four Democrats and twenty Whigs, and yet there was not a dissenting vote cast.

Two Southern States passed resolutions,—Delaware and Kentucky: the first in favor of restriction, the last opposed to restriction.

The effort to secure the admission of Missouri with a slave constitution was not dead, but only sleeping. The bill was called up as a special order on the 24th of January, 1820. It occupied most of the time of the House from the 25th of January till the 19th of February, when a bill came from the Senate providing for the admission of Maine into the Union, but containing a rider authorizing the people of Missouri to

adopt a State constitution, etc., without restrictions respecting slavery. The bill providing for the admission of Maine had passed the House during the early days of the session, and now returned to the House for concurrence in the rider. The debate on the bill and amendments had occupied much of the time of the Senate. In the Judiciary Committee on the 16th of February, the question was taken on amendments to the Maine admission bill, authorizing Missouri to form a State constitution, making no mention of slavery: and twenty-three votes were cast against restriction,—three from Northern States; twenty-one in favor of restriction,—but only two from the South.

Mr. Thomas offered a resolution reaffirming the doctrine of the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787, and declaring its applicability to all that territory ceded to the United States by France, under the general designation of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, etc. But on the following day he withdrew his original amendment, and submitted the following:

“And be it further enacted, That in all the territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, north latitude, excepting only such part thereof as is included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited. Provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from where labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.”

Mr. Trimble, of Ohio, offered a substitute, but it was rejected. The question recurring upon the passage of the amendment of Mr. Thomas, excluding slavery from all the territory north and west of Missouri, it was carried by a vote of 34 to 20.

Thus amended, the bill was ordered to engrossment by a vote of 24 to 20. On the 18th of February the bill passed, and this was its condition when it came to the House. By a vote of 93 to 72 the House agreed not to leave the Missouri question on the Maine bill as a rider; but immediately thereafter struck out the Thomas Senate amendment by a vote of 159 to 18. The House

disagreed to the remaining Senate amendments, striking out the clause restricting slavery in Missouri by a vote of 102 to 68.

Thus rejected, the bill was returned to the Senate shorn of its amendments. After four days of debate in the Senate it was decided not to recede from the attachment of the Missouri subject to the Maine bill; not to recede from the amendment prohibiting slavery west of Missouri, and north of 36° 30' north latitude, and insisted upon the remaining amendments without division.

When the bill was returned to the House a motion was made to insist upon its disagreement to all but section nine of the Senate amendments, and was carried by a vote of 97 to 76.

The Senate asked for a committee of conference upon differences between the two Houses, which was cheerfully granted by the House. On the 2d of March, Mr. Holmes, of Massachusetts, as chairman, made the following report:

"1. The Senate should give up the combination of Missouri in the same bill with Maine.

"2. The House should abandon the attempt to restrict Slavery in Missouri.

"3. Both Houses should agree to pass the Senate's separate Missouri bill, with Mr. Thomas's restriction or compromising proviso, excluding Slavery from all territory north and west of Missouri.

"The report having been read,

"The first and most important question was put, viz.:

"Will the House concur with the Senate in so much of the said amendments as proposes to strike from the fourth section of the [Missouri] bill the provision prohibiting Slavery or involuntary servitude in the contemplated State, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes?"

The vote resulted as follows: For giving up restriction on Missouri, yeas, 90; against giving up restriction of slavery in Missouri, 87.

Mr. Taylor, of New York, offered an amendment to include Arkansas Territory under the prohibition of slavery in the territory west and north of Missouri, but his amendment was cut off by a call for the previous question. Then the House concurred in the Senate amendment excluding forever slavery from the territory west and north of Missouri by a vote of 134 to 42! And on the following day the bill admitting Maine into the Union was passed without opposition.

Thus the Northern delegates in Congress were whipped into

line, and thus did the South gain her point in the extension of slavery in violation of the sacred compact between the States contained in the ordinance of 1787.

But the struggle was opened afresh when Missouri presented herself for admission on the 16th of November, 1820. The constitution of this new State, adopted by her people on the 19th of July, 1820, contained the following resolutions which greatly angered the Northern members, who so keenly felt the defeat and humiliation they had suffered so recently:

“The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws, first, for the emancipation of Slaves without the consent of their owners, or without paying them, before such emancipation, a full equivalent for such slaves so emancipated; and second, to prevent *bona-fide* emigrants to this State, or actual settlers therein, from bringing from any of the United States, or from any of their Territories, such persons as may there be deemed to be Slaves, so long as any persons of the same description are allowed to be held as Slaves by the laws of this State.

. . . “It shall be their duty, as soon as may be, to pass such laws as may be necessary,

“First, to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to, and settling in, this State, under any pretext whatever.”

Upon the motion to admit the State the vote stood: yeas, 79; nays, 93. Upon a second attempt to admit her, with the understanding that the resolution just quoted should be expunged, the vote was worse than before, standing: yeas, 6; nays, 146!

The House now rested, until a joint resolve, admitting her with but a vague and ineffective qualification, came down from the Senate, where it was passed by a vote of 26 to 18—six Senators from Free States in the affirmative. Mr. Clay, who had resigned in the recess, and been succeeded, as Speaker, by John W. Taylor, of New York, now appeared as the leader of the Missouri admissionists, and proposed terms of compromise, which were twice voted down by the Northern members, aided by John Randolph and three others from the South, who would have Missouri admitted without condition or qualification. At last, Mr. Clay proposed a joint committee on this subject, to be chosen by ballot—which the House agreed to by a vote of 101 to 55; and Mr. Clay became its chairman. By this committee it was agreed, that a solemn pledge should be required of the Legislature of Missouri, that the constitution of that State should not be con-

strued to authorize the passage of any act, and that no act should be passed "by which any of the citizens of either of the States should be excluded from the enjoyment of the privileges and immunities to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the United States." The joint resolution, amended by the addition of this proviso, passed the House by 86 yeas to 82 nays; the Senate concurred (Feb. 27, 1821) by 26 yeas to 15 nays—(all Northern but Macon, of N. C.). Missouri complied with the condition, and became an accepted member of the Union. Thus closed the last stage of the fierce Missouri controversy, which for a time seemed to threaten—as so many other controversies have harmlessly threatened—the existence of the Union.

By this time there was scarcely a State in the North but that had organized anti-slavery, or abolition, societies. Pennsylvania boasted of a society that was accomplishing a great work. Where it was impossible to secure freedom for the enslaved, religious training was imparted, and many excellent efforts made for the amelioration of the condition of the Negroes, bond and free. A society for promoting the "*Abolition of Slavery*" was formed at Trenton, New Jersey, on the 2d of March, 1786. It adopted an elaborate constitution, which was amended on the 26th of November, 1788. It did an effective work throughout the State; embraced in its membership some of the ablest men of the State; and changed public sentiment for the better by the methods it adopted and the literature it circulated. On the 15th of February, 1804, it secured the passage of the following Act for the gradual emancipation of the slaves in the State:

"AN ACT FOR THE GRADUAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

"SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Council and General Assembly of this State, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That every child born of a slave within this State, after the fourth day of July next, shall be free; but shall remain the servant of the owner of his or her mother, and the executors, administrators, or assigns of such owner, in the same manner as if such child had been bound to service by the trustees or overseers of the poor, and shall continue in such service, if a male, until the age of twenty-five years, and if a female, until the age of twenty-one years.

"2. *And be it enacted,* That every person being an inhabitant of this State, who shall be entitled to the service of a child born as aforesaid, after the said fourth day of July next, shall within nine months after

the birth of such child, cause to be delivered to the clerk of the county whereof such person shall be an inhabitant, a certificate in writing, containing the name and station of such person, and the name, age, and sex of the child so born ; which certificate, whether the same be delivered before or after the said nine months, shall be by the said clerk recorded in a book to be by him provided for that purpose ; and such record thereof shall be good evidence of the age of such child ; and the clerk of such county shall receive from said person twelve cents for every child so registered ; and if any person shall neglect to deliver such certificate to the said clerk within said nine months, such person shall forfeit and pay for every such offence, five dollars, and the further sum of one dollar for every month such person shall neglect to deliver the same, to be sued for and recovered by any person who will sue for the same, the one half to the use of such prosecutor, and the residue to the use of the poor of the township in which such delinquent shall reside.

“ 3. *And be it enacted*, That the person entitled to the service of any child born as aforesaid, may, nevertheless, within one year after the birth of such child, elect to abandon such right ; in which case a notification of such abandonment, under the hand of such person, shall be filed with the clerk of the township, or where there may be a county poor-house established, then with the clerk of the board of trustees of said poor-house of the county in which such person shall reside ; but every child so abandoned shall be maintained by such person until such child arrives to the age of one year, and thereafter shall be considered as a pauper of such township or county, and liable to be bound out by the trustees or overseers of the poor in the same manner as other poor children are directed to be bound out, until, if a male, the age of twenty-five, and if a female, the age of twenty-one ; and such child, while such pauper, until it shall be bound out, shall be maintained by the trustees or overseers of the poor of such county or township, as the case may be, at the expense of this State ; and for that purpose the director of the board of chosen freeholders of the county is hereby required, from time to time, to draw his warrant on the treasurer in favor of such trustees or overseers for the amount of such expense, not exceeding the rate of three dollars per month ; provided the accounts for the same be first certified and approved by such board of trustees, or the town committee of such township ; and every person who shall omit to notify such abandonment as aforesaid, shall be considered as having elected to retain the service of such child, and be liable for its maintenance until the period to which its servitude is limited as aforesaid.

“ A. Passed at Trenton, Feb. 15, 1804.”

The public journals of the larger Northern cities began to

take a lively interest in the paramount question of the day, which, without doubt, was the slavery question. Gradual emancipation was doing an excellent work in nearly all the Northern States, as may be seen by the census of 1820. When the entire slave population was footed up it showed an increase of 30 per cent. during the previous ten years, but when examined by States it was found to be on the decrease in all the Northern or free States, except Illinois. The slave population of Virginia had increased only 8 per cent.; North Carolina 21 per cent.; South Carolina 31 per cent.; Tennessee 79 per cent.; Mississippi 92 per cent.; and Louisiana 99 per cent. The slave population by States was as follows:

CENSUS OF 1820—SLAVE POPULATION.

Alabama	41,879
District of Columbia	6,377
Connecticut	97
Delaware	4,509
Georgia	149,654
Illinois	917
Indiana	190
Kentucky	126,732
Louisiana	69,064
Maryland	107,397
Mississippi	32,814
Missouri	10,222
New Jersey	7,557
New York	10,088
North Carolina	205,017
Pennsylvania	211
Rhode Island	48
South Carolina	258,475
Tennessee	80,107
Virginia	425,153
Arkansas Territory	1,617
Aggregate	1,538,125

The anti-slavery sentiment of the Northern States was growing, but no organization with a great leader at its head had yet announced its platform or unfurled its banner in a holy war for the emancipation of the Bondmen of the Free Republic of North America.

CHAPTER II.

NEGRO TROOPS IN THE WAR OF 1812.

EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES AS SOLDIERS IN THE WAR OF 1812. — THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE AUTHORIZES THE ENLISTMENT OF A REGIMENT OF COLORED SOLDIERS. — GEN. ANDREW JACKSON'S PROCLAMATION TO THE FREE COLORED INHABITANTS OF LOUISIANA CALLING THEM TO ARMS. — STIRRING ADDRESS TO THE COLORED TROOPS THE SUNDAY BEFORE THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS. — GEN. JACKSON ANTICIPATES THE VALOR OF HIS COLORED SOLDIERS. — TERMS OF PEACE AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR BY THE COMMISSIONERS AT GHENT — NEGROES PLACED AS CHATTEL PROPERTY. — THEIR VALOR IN WAR SECURES THEM NO IMMUNITY IN PEACE.

WHEN the war-clouds gathered in 1812, there was no time wasted in discussing whether it would be prudent to arm the Negro, nor was there a doubt expressed as to his valor. His brilliant achievements in the war of the Revolution, his power of endurance, and martial enthusiasm, were the golden threads of glory that bound his memory to the victorious cause of the American Republic. A lack of troops and an imperiled cause led to the admission of Negroes into the American army during the war of the Revolution. But it was the Negro's eminent fitness for military service that made him a place under the United States flag during the war in Louisiana. The entire country had confidence in the Negro's patriotism and effectiveness as a soldier. White men were willing to see Negroes go into the army because it reduced their chances of being sent forth to the tented field and dangerous bivouac.

New York did not hesitate to offer a practical endorsement of the prevalent opinion that Negroes were both competent and worthy to fight the battles of the Nation. Accordingly, the following Act was passed authorizing the organization of two regiments of Negroes.

"AN ACT TO AUTHORIZE THE RAISING OF TWO REGIMENTS OF MEN OF COLOR; PASSED OCT. 24, 1814.

"SECT. I. *Be it enacted* by the people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, That the Governor of the State be,

and he is hereby, authorized to raise, by voluntary enlistment, two regiments of free men of color, for the defence of the State for three years, unless sooner discharged.

"SECT. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That each of the said regiments shall consist of one thousand and eighty able-bodied men ; and the said regiments shall be formed into a brigade, or be organized in such manner, and shall be employed in such service, as the Governor of the State of New York shall deem best adapted to defend the said State.

"SECT. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That all the commissioned officers of the said regiments and brigade shall be white men ; and the Governor of the State of New York shall be, and he is hereby, authorized to commission, by brevet, all the officers of the said regiments and brigade, who shall hold their respective commissions until the council of appointment shall have appointed the officers of the said regiments and brigade, in pursuance of, the Constitution and laws of the said State.

"SECT. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That the commissioned officers of the said regiments and brigade shall receive the same pay, rations, forage, and allowances, as officers of the same grade in the army of the United States ; and the non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates of the said regiments shall receive the same pay, rations, clothing, and allowances, as the non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates of the army of the United States ; and the sum of twenty-five dollars shall be paid to each of the said non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates, at the time of enlistment, in lieu of all other bounty.

"SECT. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That the troops to be raised as aforesaid may be transferred into the service of the United States, if the Government of the United States shall agree to pay and subsist them, and to refund to this State the moneys expended by this State in clothing and arming them ; and, until such transfer shall be made, may be ordered into the service of the United States in lieu of an equal number of militia, whenever the militia of the State of New York shall be ordered into the service of the United States.

"SECT. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be lawful for any able-bodied slave, with the written assent of his master or mistress, to enlist into the said corps ; and the master or mistress of such slave shall be entitled to the pay and bounty allowed him for his service ; and, further, that the said slave, at the time of receiving his discharge, shall be deemed and adjudged to have been legally manumitted from that time, and his said master or mistress shall not thenceforward be liable for his maintenance.

"SECT. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That every such enrolled person, who shall have become free by manumission or otherwise, if he shall thereafter become indigent, shall be deemed to be settled in the town in which the person who manumitted him was settled at the time

of such manumission, or in such other town where he shall have gained a settlement subsequent to his discharge from the said service ; and the former owner or owners of such manumitted person, and his legal representatives, shall be exonerated from his maintenance, any law to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

"SECT. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That, when the troops to be raised as aforesaid shall be in the service of the United States, they shall be subject to the rules and articles which have been or may be hereafter established by the By-laws of the United States for the government of the army of the United States ; that, when the said troops shall be in the service of the State of New York, they shall be subject to the same rules and regulations ; and the Governor of the said State shall be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to exercise all the power and authority which, by the said rules and articles, are required to be exercised by the President of the United States."¹

Gen. Andrew Jackson believed in the fighting capacity of the Negro, as evidenced by the subjoined proclamation :

"HEADQUARTERS OF 7TH MILITARY DISTRICT,

"MOBILE, September 21, 1814.

"TO THE FREE COLORED INHABITANTS OF LOUISIANA :

"Through a mistaken policy you have heretofore been deprived of a participation in the glorious struggle for national rights in which our country is engaged. This no longer shall exist.

"As sons of freedom, you are now called upon to defend our most inestimable blessing. As Americans, your country looks with confidence to her adopted children for a valorous support, as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable government. As fathers, husbands, and brothers, you are summoned to rally around the standard of the eagle, to defend all which is dear in existence.

"Your country, although calling for your exertions, does not wish you to engage in her cause without amply remunerating you for the services rendered. Your intelligent minds are not to be led away by false representations. Your love of honor would cause you to despise the man who should attempt to deceive you. In the sincerity of a soldier and the language of truth I address you.

"To every noble-hearted, generous freeman of color, volunteering to serve during the present contest with Great Britain, and no longer, there

¹ Laws of the State of New York, passed at the Thirty-eighth Session of the Legislature, chap. xviii.

will be paid the same bounty in money and lands, now received by the white soldiers of the United States, viz.: one hundred and twenty-four dollars in money, and one hundred and sixty acres of land. The non-commissioned officers and privates will also be entitled to the same monthly pay and daily rations, and clothes, furnished to any American soldier.

"On enrolling yourselves in companies, the major-general commanding will select officers for your government from your white fellow-citizens. Your non-commissioned officers will be appointed from among yourselves.

"Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freemen and soldiers. You will not, by being associated with white men in the same corps, be exposed to improper comparisons or unjust sarcasm. As a distinct, independent battalion or regiment, pursuing the path of glory, you will, undivided, receive the applause and gratitude of your countrymen.

"To assure you of the sincerity of my intentions, and my anxiety to engage your invaluable services to our country, I have communicated my wishes to the Governor of Louisiana, who is fully informed as to the manner of enrollment, and will give you every necessary information on the subject of this address.

"ANDREW JACKSON, *Major-General Commanding.*"¹

Just before the battle of New Orleans, General Jackson reviewed his troops, white and black, on Sunday, December 18, 1814. At the close of the review his Adjutant-General, Edward Livingston, rode to the head of the column, and read in rich and sonorous tones the following address:

"TO THE MEN OF COLOR.—Soldiers! From the shores of Mobile I collected you to arms; I invited you to share in the perils and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much from you, for I was not uninformed of those qualities which must render you so formidable to an invading foe. I knew that you could endure hunger and thirst and all the hardships of war. I knew that you loved the land of your nativity, and that, like ourselves, you had to defend all that is most dear to man. But you surpass my hopes. I have found in you, united to these qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds.

"Soldiers! The President of the United States shall be informed of your conduct on the present occasion; and the voice of the representatives of the American nation shall applaud your valor, as your general now praises your ardor. The enemy is near. His sails cover the lakes.

¹ Niles's Register, vol. vii. p. 205.

But the brave are united ; and if he finds us contending among ourselves, it will be for the prize of valor, and fame, its noblest reward." ¹

But in this war, as in the Revolutionary struggle, the commissioners who concluded the terms of peace, armed with ample and authentic evidence of the Negro's valorous services, placed him among chattel property.

And in no State in the South were the laws more rigidly enforced against Negroes, both free and slave, than in Louisiana. The efficient service of the Louisiana Negro troops in the war of 1812 was applauded on two continents at the time, but the noise of the slave marts soon silenced the praise of the "Black heroes of the battle of New Orleans."

¹ Niles's Register, vol. vii. pp. 345, 346.

CHAPTER III.

NEGROES IN THE NAVY.

NO PROSCRIPTION AGAINST NEGROES AS SAILORS. — THEY ARE CARRIED UPON THE ROLLS IN THE NAVY WITHOUT REGARD TO THEIR NATIONALITY. — THEIR TREATMENT AS SAILORS. — COMMODORE PERRY'S LETTER TO COMMODORE CHAUNCEY IN REGARD TO THE MEN SENT HIM. — COMMODORE CHAUNCEY'S SPIRITED REPLY. — THE HEROISM OF THE NEGRO SET FORTH IN THE PICTURE OF PERRY'S VICTORY ON LAKE ERIE. — EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM NATHANIEL SHALER, COMMANDER OF A PRIVATE VESSEL. — HE CITES SEVERAL INSTANCES OF THE HEROIC CONDUCT OF NEGRO SAILORS.

IT is rather a remarkable fact of history that Negroes were carried upon the rolls of the navy without reference to their nationality. About one tenth of the crews of the fleet that sailed to the Upper Lakes to co-operate with Col. Croghan at Mackinac, in 1814, were Negroes. Dr. Parsons says:—

"In 1816, I was surgeon of the 'Java,' under Commodore Perry. The white and colored seamen messed together. About one in six or eight were colored.

"In 1819, I was surgeon of the 'Guerrière,' under Commodore McDonough; and the proportion of blacks was about the same in her crew. There seemed to be an entire absence of prejudice against the blacks as messmates among the crew. What I have said applies to the crews of the other ships that sailed in squadrons."¹

This ample and reliable testimony as to the treatment of Negroes as sailors, puts to rest all doubts as to their status in the United States navy.

In the summer of 1813, Captain (afterwards Commodore) Perry wrote a letter to Commodore Chauncey in which he complained that an indifferent lot of men had been sent him. The following is the letter that he wrote.

"SIR:—I have this moment received, by express, the enclosed letter from General Harrison. If I had officers and men—and I have no

¹ Livermore, pp. 159, 160.

doubt you will send them—I could fight the enemy, and proceed up the lake ; but, having no one to command the ‘Niagara,’ and only one commissioned lieutenant and two acting lieutenants, whatever my wishes may be, going out is out of the question. The men that came by Mr. Champlin are a motley set—blacks, soldiers, and boys. I cannot think you saw them after they were selected. I am, however, pleased to see any thing in the shape of a man.”¹

Commodore Chauncey replied in the following sharp letter, in which he gave Captain Perry to understand that the color of the skin had nothing to do with a man’s qualifications for the navy:

“SIR :—I have been duly honored with your letters of the twenty-third and twenty-sixth ultimo, and notice your anxiety for men and officers. I am equally anxious to furnish you ; and no time shall be lost in sending officers and men to you as soon as the public service will allow me to send them from this lake. I regret that you are not pleased with the men sent you by Messrs. Champlin and Forrest ; for, to my knowledge, a part of them are not surpassed by any seamen we have in the fleet ; and I have yet to learn that the color of the skin, or the cut and trimmings of the coat, can affect a man’s qualifications or usefulness. I have nearly fifty blacks on board of this ship, and many of them are among my best men ; and those people you call soldiers have been to sea from two to seventeen years ; and I presume that you will find them as good and useful as any men on board of your vessel ; at least, if I can judge by comparison ; for those which we have on board of this ship are attentive and obedient, and, as far as I can judge, many of them excellent seamen : at any rate, the men sent to Lake Erie have been selected with a view of sending a fair proportion of petty officers and seamen ; and, I presume, upon examination it will be found that they are equal to those upon this lake.”²

Perry was not long in discovering that the Negroes whom Commodore Chauncey had sent him were competent, faithful, and brave ; and his former prejudice did not prevent him from speaking their praise.

“Perry speaks highly of the bravery and good conduct of the negroes, who formed a considerable part of his crew. They seemed to be absolutely insensible to danger. When Captain Barclay came on board the ‘Niagara,’ and beheld the sickly and party-colored beings

¹ Mackenzie’s Life of Perry, vol. i. pp. 165, 166.

² Mackenzie’s Life of Perry, vol. i. pp. 186, 187.

around him, an expression of chagrin escaped him at having been conquered by such men. The fresh-water service had very much impaired the health of the sailors, and crowded the sick-list with patients."¹

These brave Negro sailors served faithfully through all the battles on the Lakes, and in the battle of Lake Erie rendered most effective service. Once more the artist has rescued from oblivion the heroism of the Negroes; for in the East Senate stairway of the Capitol at Washington, and in the rotunda of the Capitol at Columbus, in the celebrated picture of Perry's Victory on Lake Erie, a Negro sailor has a place among the immortalized crew.

The following testimony to the bravery of Colored sailors is of the highest character.

"EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM NATHANIEL SHALER, COMMANDER OF THE PRIVATE-ARMED SCHOONER 'GOV. TOMPKINS,' TO HIS AGENT IN NEW YORK, DATED—

"AT SEA, Jan. 1, 1813.

"Before I could get our light sails in, and almost before I could turn round, I was under the guns, not of a transport, but of a large *frigate*! and not more than a quarter of a mile from her. . . . Her first broadside killed two men, and wounded six others. . . . My officers conducted themselves in a way that would have done honor to a more permanent service. . . . The name of one of my poor fellows who was killed ought to be registered in the book of fame, and remembered with reverence as long as bravery is considered a virtue. He was a black man, by the name of John Johnson. A twenty-four-pound shot struck him in the hip, and took away all the lower part of his body. In this state, the poor brave fellow lay on the deck, and several times exclaimed to his shipmates: '*Fire away, my boys; no haul a color down.*' The other was also a black man, by the name of John Davis, and was struck in much the same way. He fell near me, and several times requested to be thrown overboard, saying he was only in the way of others.

"When America has such tars, she has little to fear from the tyrants of the ocean."²

After praise of such a nature and from such a source, eulogy is superfluous.

¹ *Analectic Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 255.

² *Niles's Weekly Register*, Saturday, Feb. 26, 1814.

Part 5.

ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION.

CHAPTER IV.

RETROSPECTION AND REFLECTION.

1825-1850.

THE SECURITY OF THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY AT THE SOUTH. — THE RIGHT TO HOLD SLAVES QUESTIONED. — RAPID INCREASE OF THE SLAVE POPULATION. — ANTI-SLAVERY SPEECHES IN THE LEGISLATURE OF VIRGINIA — THE QUAKERS OF MARYLAND AND DELAWARE EMANCIPATE THEIR SLAVES. — THE EVIL EFFECT OF SLAVERY UPON SOCIETY. — THE CONSCIENCE AND HEART OF THE SOUTH DID NOT RESPOND TO THE VOICE OF REASON OR DICTATES OF HUMANITY.

A N awful silence succeeded the stormy struggle that ended in the violation of the ordinance of 1787. It was now time for reflection. The Southern statesmen had proven themselves the masters of the situation. The institution of slavery was secured to them, with many collateral political advantages. And, in addition to this, they had secured the inoculation of the free territory beyond the Mississippi and Ohio rivers with the virus of Negro-slavery.

If the mother-country had forced slavery upon her colonial dependencies in North America, and if it were difficult and inconvenient to part with slave-labor, who were now responsible for the extension of the slave area? Southern men, of course. What principle or human law was strong enough to support an institution of such cruel proportions? The old law of European pagans born of bloody and destroying wars? No; for it was now the nineteenth century. Abstract law? Certainly not; for law is the perfection of reason—it always tends to conform thereto—and that which is not reason is not law. Well did Justinian write: "Live honestly, hurt nobody, and render to every

one his just dues." The law of nations? Verily not; for it is a system of rules deducible from reason and natural justice, and established by universal consent, to regulate the conduct and mutual intercourse between independent States. The Declaration of Independence? Far from it; because the prologue of that incomparable instrument recites: "*We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all MEN are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.*" And the peerless George Bancroft has added: "The heart of Jefferson in writing the Declaration, and of Congress in adopting it, beat for all humanity; the assertion of right was made for all mankind and all coming generations, without any exception whatever; for the proposition which admits of exceptions can never be self-evident." There was but one authority for slavery left, and that was the Bible.

Many slave-holders thought deeply on the question of their right to hold slaves. A disturbed conscience cried aloud for a "Thus saith the Lord," and the pulpit was charged with the task of quieting the general disquietude. The divine origin of slavery was heard from a thousand pulpits. God, who never writes a poor hand, had written upon the brow of every Negro, the word "*Slave*"; slavery was their normal condition, and the white man was God's agent in the United States to carry out the prophecy of Noah respecting the descendants of Ham; while St. Paul had sent Onesimus back to his owner, and had written, "Servants, obey your masters."

But apologetic preaching did not seem to silence the gnawing of a guilty conscience. Upon the battle-fields of two great wars; in the army and in the navy, the Negroes had demonstrated their worth and manhood. They had stood with the undrilled minute-men along the dusty roads leading from Lexington and Concord to Boston, against the skilled redcoats of boastful Britain. They were among the faithful little band that held Bunker Hill against overwhelming odds; at Long Island, Newport, and Monmouth, they had held their ground against the stubborn columns of the Ministerial army. They had journeyed with the Pilgrim Fathers through eight years of despair and hope, of defeat and victory; had shared their suf-

ferings and divided their glory. These recollections made difficult an unqualified acceptance of the doctrine of the divine nature of perpetual slavery. Reason downed sophistry, and human sympathy shamed prejudice. And against prejudice, custom, and political power, the thinking men of the South launched their best thoughts. Jefferson said: "The hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time. It will come, and whether brought on by the generous energy of our own minds, or by the bloody process of St. Domingo, excited and conducted by the power of our present enemy [Great Britain], if once stationed permanently within our country and offering asylum and arms to the oppressed [Negro], is a leaf in our history *not yet turned over*." These words, written to Edward Coles, in August, 1814, were still ample food for the profound meditation of the slave-holders. In his "Notes on Virginia" Mr. Jefferson had written the following words: "*Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that His justice cannot sleep forever*. That, considering numbers, nature, and natural means, only a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events. That it may become probable by *supernatural interference*. *The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest.*"¹

The eloquence of Patrick Henry and the logic and philosophy of Madison and Jefferson rang in the ears of the people of the slave-holding States, and they paused to think. In forty years the Negro population of Virginia had increased 186 per cent.—from 1790 to 1830,—while the white had increased only 51 per cent. The rapid increase of the slave population winged the fancy and produced horrid dreams of insurrection; while the pronounced opposition of the Northern people to slavery seemed to proclaim the weakness of the government and the approach of its dissolution. In 1832, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, a grandson of Thomas Jefferson, lifted up his voice in the Legislature of Virginia against the institution of slavery.

Said Mr. Jefferson:—"There is one circumstance to which we are to look as inevitable in the fulness of time—a *dissolution of this Union*. God grant it may not happen in our time or that of our children; but, sir, it must come sooner or later, and when it does come, border war follows it, as certain as the night follows the day. An enemy upon

¹ Jefferson's Writings, vol. viii, p. 404.

your frontier offering arms and asylum to this population, tampering with it in your bosom, when your citizens shall march to repel the invader, their families butchered and their homes desolated in the rear, the spear will fall from the warrior's grasp ; his heart may be of steel, but it must quail. Suppose an invasion in part with *black troops*, speaking the same language, of the same nation, burning with enthusiasm for the liberation of their race ; if they are not crushed the moment they put foot upon your soil, they roll forward, an hourly swelling mass ; your energies are paralyzed, your power is gone ; the morasses of the lowlands, the fastnesses of the mountains, cannot save your wives and children from destruction. Sir, we cannot war with these disadvantages ; *peace, ignoble, abject peace,—peace upon any conditions that an enemy may offer, must be accepted.* Are we, then, prepared to barter the liberty of our children for slaves for them ? . . . Sir, it is a practice, and an increasing practice in parts of Virginia to *rear slaves for market*. How can an honorable mind, a patriot and a lover of his country, bear to see this ancient Dominion, rendered illustrious by the noble devotion and patriotism of her sons in the cause of liberty, converted into one grand managerie, where men are to be reared for market like oxen for the shambles. Is this better, is it not worse, than the *Slave-Trade*, that trade which enlisted the labor of the *good and the wise of every creed and every clime to abolish it ?* ”

Mr. P. A. Bolling said :—

“ Mr. Speaker, it is vain for gentlemen to deny the fact, the feelings of society are fast becoming adversed to slavery. The moral causes which produce that feeling are on the march, and will on *until the groans of slavery are heard no more in this else happy country*. Look over this world's wide page—see the rapid progress of liberal feelings—see the shackles falling from nations who have long writhed under the galling yoke of slavery. Liberty is going over the whole earth—hand-in-hand with Christianity. The ancient temples of slavery, rendered venerable alone by their antiquity, are crumbling into dust. Ancient prejudices are flying before the light of truth—are dissipated by its rays, as the idle vapor by the bright sun. The noble sentiment of Burns :

‘ Then let us pray that come it may,
As come it will for a’ that,
That man to man, the world o’er,
Shall brothers be for a’ that ’—

is rapidly spreading. The day-star of human liberty has risen above the dark horizon of slavery, and will continue its bright career, until it smiles alike on all men.”

Mr. C. J. Faulkner said :—

“Sir, I am gratified that no gentleman has yet risen in this hall, the advocate of slavery. * * * Let me compare the condition of the slave-holding portion of this commonwealth, barren, desolate, and scarred, as it were, by the avenging hand of Heaven, with the descriptions which we have of this same country from those who first broke its virgin soil. To what is this change ascribable? Alone to the withering, blasting effects of slavery. If this does not satisfy him, let me request him to extend his travels to the Northern States of this Union, and beg him to contrast the happiness and contentment which prevail throughout that country—the busy and cheerful sound of industry, the rapid and swelling growth of their population, their means and institutions of education, their skill and proficiency in the useful arts, their enterprise and public spirit, the monuments of their commercial and manufacturing industry, and, above all, their devoted attachment to the government from which they derive their protection, with the division, discontent, indolence, and poverty of the Southern country. To what, sir, is all this ascribable? 'T is to that *vice* in the organization of society by which one half of its inhabitants are arrayed in interest and feeling against the other half; to that unfortunate state of society in which free men regard labor as disgraceful, and slaves shrink from it as a burden tyrannically imposed upon them. *‘To that condition of things in which half a million of your population can feel no sympathy with the society in the prosperity of which they are forbidden to participate, and no attachment to a government at whose hands they receive nothing but injustice.’* In the language of the wise, prophetic Jefferson, ‘you must approach this subject, YOU MUST ADOPT SOME PLAN OF EMANCIPATION, OR WORSE WILL FOLLOW.’”

In Maryland and Delaware the Quakers were rapidly emancipating their slaves, and the strong reaction that had set in among the thoughtful men of the South began to threaten the institution. Men felt that it was a curse to the slave, and poisoned the best white society of the slave-holding States. As early as 1781, Mr. Jefferson, with his keen, philosophical insight, beheld with alarm the demoralizing tendency of slavery. “The whole commerce,” says Mr. Jefferson, “between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unrelenting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it—for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he

is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive, either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion toward his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally, it is not sufficient. The parent storms; the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose tongue to the worst of passions, and, thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other!"¹

And what was true in Virginia, as coming under the observation of Mr. Jefferson, was true in all the other States where slavery existed. And indeed it was difficult to tell whether the slave or master was injured the more. The ignorance of the former veiled from him the terrible evils of his condition, while the intelligence of the latter revealed to him, in detail, the baleful effects of the institution upon all who came within its area. It was at war with social order; it contracted the sublime ideas of national unity; it made men sectional, licentious, profligate, cruel,—and selfishness paled the holy fires of patriotism.

But notwithstanding the profound reflection of the greatest minds in the South, and the philosophic prophecies of Jefferson, the conscience and heart of the South did not respond to the dictates of humanity. Cotton and cupidity led captive the reason of the South, and, once more joined to their idols, the slave-holders no longer heard the voice of prudence or justice in the slave marts of their "section."

¹ Jefferson's Writings, vol. viii. p. 403.

CHAPTER V.

ANTI-SLAVERY METHODS.

THE ANTIQUITY OF ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT. — BENJAMIN LUNDY'S OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH AND AT THE NORTH. — HE ESTABLISHES THE "GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION." — HIS GREAT SACRIFICES AND MARVELLOUS WORK IN THE CAUSE OF EMANCIPATION. — WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON EDITS A PAPER AT BENNINGTON, VERMONT. — HE PENS A PETITION TO CONGRESS FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. — GARRISON THE PEERLESS LEADER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION. — EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH DELIVERED BY DANIEL O'CONNELL AT CORK, IRELAND. — INCREASE OF ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES IN THE COUNTRY. — CHARLES SUMNER DELIVERS A SPEECH ON THE "ANTI-SLAVERY DUTIES OF THE WHIG PARTY." — MARKED EVENTS OF 1846. — SUMNER THE LEADER OF THE POLITICAL PARTY. — HETERODOX ANTI-SLAVERY PARTY. — ITS SENTIMENTS. — HORACE GREELEY THE LEADER OF THE ECONOMIC ANTI-SLAVERY PARTY. — THE AGGRESSIVE ANTI-SLAVERY PARTY. — ITS LEADERS. — THE COLONIZATION ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. — AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY. — MANUMITTED NEGROES COLONIZE ON THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA. — A BILL ESTABLISHING A LINE OF MAIL STEAMERS TO THE COAST OF AFRICA. — IT PROVIDES FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE, PROMOTION OF COMMERCE, AND THE COLONIZATION OF FREE NEGROES. — EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS WARMLY URGING THE PASSAGE OF THE BILL. — THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD ORGANIZATION. — ITS EFFICIENCY IN FREEING SLAVES — ANTI-SLAVERY LITERATURE. — IT EXPOSES THE TRUE CHARACTER OF SLAVERY. — "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN," BY HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, PLEADED THE CAUSE OF THE SLAVE IN TWENTY DIFFERENT LANGUAGES. — THE INFLUENCE OF "IMPENDING CRISIS."

ANTI-SLAVERY sentiment is as old as the human family. It antedates the Bible; it was eloquent in the days of our Saviour; it preached the Gospel of Humanity in the palaces of the Cæsars and Antonies; its arguments shook the thrones of Europe during the Mediæval ages. And when the doctrine of property in man was driven out of Europe as an exile, and found a home in this New World in the West, the ancient and time-honored anti-slavery sentiment combined all that was good in brain, heart, and civilization, and hurled itself, with righteous indignation, against the institution of slavery, the perfected curse of the ages! And how wonderful that God should have committed the task of blotting out this terrible curse to Americans! And what "vessels of honor" they were whom the dear Lord chose "to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound!" Statesmen like Franklin, Rush, Hamilton, and Jay; divines like Hopkins, Edwards, and Stiles; philanthropists like Woolman, Lay, and

Benezet! And the good Quakers—God bless them!—or *Friends*, which has so much tender meaning in it, did much to hasten the morning of freedom. In the poor Negro slave they saw Christ “an hungered,” and they gave Him meat; “thirsty,” and they gave Him drink; “a stranger,” and they took Him in; “naked,” and they clothed Him; “sick,” and they visited Him; “in prison,” and they came unto Him. Verily they knew their “neighbor.”

They began their work of philanthropy as early as 1780. In Maryland,¹ Pennsylvania, and New Jersey the Friends emancipated all their slaves. At a single monthly meeting in Pennsylvania eleven hundred slaves were set at liberty. Nearly every Northern State had its anti-slavery society. They were charged with the humane task of ameliorating the condition of the Negro, and scattering modest literary documents that breathed the spirit of Christian love.

But the first apostle of *Abolition Agitation* was Benjamin Lundy. He was the John Baptist to the new era that was to witness the doing away of the law of bondage and the ushering in of the dispensation of universal brotherhood. He raised his voice against slave-keeping in Virginia, Ohio, Tennessee, and Maryland. In 1821 he established an anti-slavery paper called “The Genius of Universal Emancipation,” which he successively published in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington City,—and frequently *en route* during the tours he took through the country, wherever he could find a press. Once he made a tour of the free States, like another Apostle Paul, stirring up the love of the brethren for those who were in bonds, lecturing, obtaining subscribers, writing editorials, getting them printed where he could, stopping by the wayside to read his “proof,” and directing and mailing his papers at the nearest post-office. Then, packing up his “column-rules,” type, “heading,” and “directing-book,” he would journey on, a lone, solitary “Friend.” He said in 1830:—

“I have, within the period above mentioned (ten years), sacrificed several thousands of dollars of my own hard earnings; I have travelled

¹ In the Library of the New York Historical Society there is “An Oration Upon the Moral and Political Evil of Slavery. Delivered at a Public Meeting of the Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Negroes and Others Unlawfully Held in Bondage, Baltimore, July 4, 1791. By George Buchanan, M.D., Member of the American Philosophical Society. Baltimore: Printed by Phillip Edwards, MDCXCIII.”

upwards of five thousand miles on foot and more than twenty thousand in other ways ; have visited nineteen States of this Union, and held more than two hundred public meetings ; have performed two voyages to the West Indies, by which means the emancipation of a considerable number of slaves has been effected, and I hope the way paved for the enfranchisement of many more."

He was a slight-built, wiry figure ; but inflamed by a holy zeal for the cause of the oppressed, he was almost unconscious of the vast amount of work he was accomplishing. As a Quaker his methods were moderate. His journalistic voice was not a whirlwind nor the fire, but the still, small voice of persuasiveness. Though it was published in a slave mart, his paper, a monthly, was regarded as perfectly harmless. But away up in Vermont there was being edited, at Bennington, a paper called "The Journal of the Times." It was started chiefly to advocate the claims of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency, but much space was devoted to the subject of anti-slavery. The young editor of the above-named journal had had experience with several other papers previous to this—"The Free Press," of Newburyport, Mass., and "The National Philanthropist," of Boston. "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," was among the exchanges of "The Journal of the Times," and its sentiments greatly enthused the heart of the Vermont editor, who, under God, was destined to become the indefatigable leader of the Anti-slavery Movement in America, *William Lloyd Garrison* ! To his advocacy of "temperance and peace" young Garrison added another excellent principle, intense hatred of slavery. He penned a petition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, which he sent to all the postmasters in Vermont, beseeching them to secure signatures. As the postmasters of those days paid no postage for their letters, many names were secured. The petition created a genuine sensation in Congress. The "Journal of Commerce" about this time said :

"It appears from an article in 'The Journal of the Times,' a newspaper of some promise, just established in Bennington, Vt., that a petition to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia is about to be put in circulation in that State.

"The idea is an excellent one, and we hope it will meet with success. That Congress has a right to abolish slavery in that District seems reasonable, though we fear it will meet with some opposition, so

very sensitive are the slave-holding community to every movement relating to the abolition of slavery. At the same time, it would furnish to the world a beautiful pledge of their sincerity if they would unite with the non-slave-holding States, and by a unanimous vote proclaim freedom to every soul within sight of the capital of this free government. We could then say, and the world would then admit our pretence, that the voice of the nation is against slavery, and throw back upon Great Britain that disgrace which is of right and justice her exclusive property."

Charmed by the originality, boldness, and humanity of Garrison, the meek little Quaker went to Boston by stage; and then, with staff in hand, walked to Bennington, Vt., to see the young man whose great heart-throbs for the slave he had felt in "The Journal of the Times." There, in the Green Mountains of Vermont, swept by the free air, and mantled by the pure snow, the meek Quaker communed with the strict Baptist, and they both took sweet counsel together. The bright torch that Garrison had held up to the people in Vermont was to be transferred to the people of Baltimore, who were "sitting in darkness." So, as a result of this conference, Garrison agreed to join Lundy in conducting "The Genius of Universal Emancipation." Accordingly, in September, 1829, Garrison took the principal charge of the Journal, enlarged it, and issued it as a weekly. Lundy was to travel, lecture, and solicit subscribers in its interest, and contribute to its editorial columns as he could from time to time.

Both men were equally against slavery: Lundy for gradual emancipation and *colonization*; but Garrison for *immediate and unconditional emancipation*. Garrison said of this difference: "But I was n't much help to him, for he had been all for gradual emancipation, and as soon as I began to look into the matter, I became convinced that immediate abolition was the doctrine to be preached, and I scattered his subscribers like pigeons."

But the good "Friend" contemplated the destructive zeal of his young helper with the complacency so characteristic of his class, standing by his doctrine that every one should follow "his own light." But it was not long before Garrison made a bold attack upon one of the vilest features of the slave-trade, which put an end to his paper, and resulted in his arrest, trial for libel, conviction, and imprisonment. The story runs as follows:

"A certain ship, the 'Francis Todd,' from Newburyport, came to Baltimore and took in a load of slaves for the New Orleans market.

All the harrowing cruelties and separations which attend the rending asunder of families and the sale of slaves, were enacted under the eyes of the youthful philanthropist, and in a burning article he denounced the inter-State slave-trade as piracy, and piracy of an aggravated and cruel kind, inasmuch as those born and educated in civilized and Christianized society have more sensibility to feel the evils thus inflicted than imbruted savages. He denounced the owners of the ship and all the parties in no measured terms, and expressed his determination to 'cover with thick infamy all who were engaged in the transaction.'"

Then, to be sure, the sleeping tiger was roused, for there was a vigor and power in the young editor's eloquence that quite dissipated the good-natured contempt which had hitherto hung round the paper. He was indicted for libel, found guilty, of course, condemned, imprisoned in the cell of a man who had been hanged for murder. His mother at this time was not living, but her heroic, undaunted spirit still survived in her son, who took the baptism of persecution and obloquy not merely with patience, but with the joy which strong spirits feel in endurance. He wrote sonnets on the walls of his prison, and by his cheerful and engaging manners made friends of his jailer and family, who did every thing to render his situation as comfortable as possible. Some considerable effort was made for his release, and much interest was excited in various quarters for him.¹

Finally, the benevolent Arthur Tappan came forward and paid the exorbitant fine imposed upon Garrison, and he went forth a more inveterate foe of slavery. This incident gave the world one of the greatest reformers since Martin Luther. Without money, social influence, or friends, Garrison lifted again the standard of liberty. He began a lecture tour in which God taught him the magnitude of his work. Everywhere mouths were sealed and public halls closed against him. At length, on January 1, 1831, he issued the first number of "*The Liberator*," which he continued to edit for thirty-five years, and discontinued it only when every slave in America was free! His methods of assailing the modern Goliath of slavery were thus tersely put:

"I determined, at every hazard, to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation, within sight of Bunker Hill, and in the birthplace of liberty. That standard is now unfurled; and long may it

¹ Men of our Times, pp. 162, 163.

float, unhurt by the spoiliations of time or the missiles of a desperate foe ; yea, till every chain be broken, and every bondman set free ! Let Southern oppressors tremble ; let their secret abettors tremble ; let all the enemies of the persecuted Black tremble. Assenting to the self-evident truths maintained in the American Declaration of Independence, —‘that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,’ I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population.

“I am aware that many object to the severity of my language ; but is there not cause for severity ? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write with moderation. No ! No ! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm ; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher ; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen ; but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present ! I am in earnest. I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch. **AND I WILL BE HEARD.** The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead.

“It is pretended that I am retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of my invective and the precipitancy of my measures. The charge is not true. On this question, my influence, humble as it is, is felt at this moment to a considerable extent ; and it shall be felt in coming years—not perniciously, but beneficially,—not as a curse, but as a blessing ; and **POSTERITY WILL BEAR TESTIMONY THAT I WAS RIGHT.** I desire to thank God that He enables me to disregard ‘the fear of man which bringeth a snare,’ and to speak truth in its simplicity and power ; and I here close with this dedication :

“Oppression ! I have seen thee, face to face,
And met thy cruel eye and cloudy brow ;
By thy soul-withering glance I fear not now—
For dread to prouder feelings doth give place,
Of deep abhorrence ! Scorning the disgrace
Of slavish knees that at thy footstool bow,
I also kneel—but with far other vow
Do hail thee and thy herd of hirelings base ;
I swear, while life-blood warms my throbbing veins,
Still to oppose and thwart, with heart and hand,
Thy brutalizing sway—till Afric’s chains
Are burst, and Freedom rules the rescued land,
Trampling Oppression and his iron rod ;
Such is the vow I take—so help me, God !”

There never was a grander declaration of war against slavery. There never was a more intrepid leader than William Lloyd Garrison. Words more prophetic were never uttered by human voice. His paper did indeed make "Southern oppression tremble," while its high resolves and sublime sentiments found a response in the hearts of many people. It is pleasant to record that this first impression of "The Liberator" brought a list of twenty-five subscribers from Philadelphia, backed by \$50 in cash, sent by James Forten, a Colored man!

One year from the day he issued the first number of his paper, William Lloyd Garrison, at the head of eleven others, organized *The American Anti-Slavery Society*. It has been indicated already that he was in favor of immediate emancipation; but, in addition to that principle, he took the ground that slavery was supported by the Constitution; that it was "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell"; that as a Christian it was his duty to obey God rather than man; that his conscience was paramount to the Constitution, and, therefore, his duty was to work outside of the Constitution for the destruction of slavery. Thus did Garrison establish the first Anti-slavery Society in this country to adopt aggressive measures and demand immediate and unconditional emancipation. It is not claimed that his methods were original. Daniel O'Connell was perhaps the greatest *agitator* of the present century. In a speech delivered at Cork, he said:—

"I speak of liberty in commendation. Patriotism is a virtue, but it can be selfish. Give me the great and immortal Bolivar, the savior and regenerator of his country. He found her a province, and he has made her a nation. His first act was to give freedom to the slaves upon his own estate. (Hear, hear.) In Colombia, all castes and all colors are free and unshackled. But how I like to contrast him with the far-famed Northern heroes! George Washington! That great and enlightened character—the soldier and the statesman—had but one blot upon his character. He had slaves, and he gave them liberty when he wanted them no longer. (Loud cheers.) Let America, in the fulness of her pride wave on high her banner of freedom and its blazing stars. I point to her, and say: There is one foul blot upon it: you have negro slavery. They may compare their struggles for freedom to Marathon and Leuctra, and point to the rifleman with his gun, amidst her woods and forests, shouting for liberty and America. In the midst of their laughter and their pride, I point them to the negro children screaming for the mother from whose bosom they have been torn.

America, it is a foul stain upon your character ! (Cheers.) This conduct kept up by men who had themselves to struggle for freedom, is doubly unjust. Let them hoist the flag of liberty, with the whip and rack on one side, and the star of freedom upon the other. The Americans are a sensitive people ; in fifty-four years they have increased their population from three millions to twenty millions ; they have many glories that surround them, but their beams are partly shorn, for they have slaves. (Cheers.) Their hearts do not beat so strong for liberty as mine. . . . I will call for justice, in the name of the living God, and I shall find an echo in the breast of every human being. (Cheers.)"¹

But while Garrison's method of agitation was not original, it was new to this country. He spoke as one having authority, and his fiery earnestness warmed the frozen feeling of the Northern people, and startled the entire South. One year from the formation of the society above alluded to (December 4, 5, and 6, 1833), a *National Anti-Slavery Convention* was held in Philadelphia, with sixty delegates from ten States! In 1836 there were 250 auxiliary anti-slavery societies in thirteen States ; and eighteen months later they had increased to 1,006. Money came to these societies from every direction, and the good work had been fairly started.

William Lloyd Garrison created a party, and it will be known in history as the *Garrisonian Party*.

While Mr. Garrison had taken the position that slavery was constitutional, there were those who held the other view, that slavery was unconstitutional, and, therefore, upon constitutional grounds should be abolished.

The Whig party was the nearest to the anti-slavery society of any of the political organizations of the time. It had promised, in convention assembled, "to promote all constitutional measures for the overthrow of slavery, and to oppose at all times, with uncompromising zeal and firmness, any further addition of slave-holding States to this Union, out of whatever territory formed."² But the party never got beyond this. Charles Sumner was a member of the Whig party, but was greatly disturbed about its indifference on the question of slavery. In 1846 he delivered a speech before the Whig convention of Massachusetts on "*The Anti-Slavery Duties of the Whig Party*." He declared

¹ Speech delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Cork Anti-Slavery Society, 1829.

² Sumner's Works, vol. i. p. 336.

his positive opposition to slavery ; said that he intended to attack the institution on constitutional grounds ; that slavery was not a "covenant with death or an agreement with hell" ; that he intended to do his work for the slave inside of the Constitution. He said :—

"There is in the Constitution no compromise on the subject of slavery of a character not to be reached legally and constitutionally, which is the only way in which I propose to reach it. Wherever power and jurisdiction are secured to Congress, they may unquestionably be exercised in conformity with the Constitution. And even in matters beyond existing powers and jurisdiction there is a constitutional mode of action. The Constitution contains an article pointing out how at any time amendments may be made thereto. This is an important article, giving to the Constitution a progressive character, and allowing it to be moulded to suit new exigencies and new conditions of feeling. The wise framers of this instrument did not treat the country as a Chinese foot, never to grow after its infancy, but anticipated the changes incident to its growth."

He proposed to the Whigs as their rallying watchword, the "REPEAL OF SLAVERY UNDER THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT." Discussing the methods, he continued :—

"The time has passed when this can be opposed on constitutional grounds. It will not be questioned by any competent authority that Congress may by express legislation abolish slavery, first, in the District of Columbia ; second, in the territories, if there should be any ; third, that it may abolish the slave-trade on the high seas between the States ; fourth, that it may refuse to admit any new State with a constitution sanctioning slavery. Nor can it be doubted that the people of the free States may, in the manner pointed out by the Constitution, proceed to its amendment."

Thus did Charles Sumner lay down a platform for a *Political Abolition Party*, and of such a party he became the laurelled champion and leader.

The year 1846 was marked by the most bitter political discussion ; Garrison the *Agitator*, the Mexican war, and other issues had greatly exercised the people. At a meeting held in Tremont Temple, Boston, on the 5th of November, 1846, Mr. Sumner took occasion to give his reasons for bolting the nominee of

the Whig party for Congress, Mr. Winthrop.¹ Mr. Sumner said that he had never heard Mr. Winthrop's voice raised for the slave; and that, judging from the past, he never expected to hear it. "Will he oppose," asked Mr. Sumner, "at all times, without compromise, any further addition of slave-holding States? Here, again, if we judge him by the past, he is wanting. None can forget that in 1845, on the 4th of July, a day ever sacred to memories of freedom, in a speech at Faneuil Hall, he volunteered, in advance of any other Northern Whig, to receive Texas with a welcome into the family of States, although on that very day she was preparing a constitution placing slavery beyond the reach of Legislative change."²

Here, then, was another party created—a *Political Abolition Party*—for the suppression of slavery.

In 1848, Mr. Sumner left the Whig party, and gave his magnificent energies and splendid talents to the organization of the *Free-Soil Party*, upon the principles he had failed to educate the Whigs to accept.

Charles Sumner was in the United States Senate, where "his words were clothed with the majesty of Massachusetts." The young lawyer who had upbraided Winthrop for his indifference respecting the slave, and opposed the Mexican war, was consistent in the Senate, and in harmony with his early love for humanity. He closed his great speech on FREEDOM NATIONAL, SLAVERY SECTIONAL, in the following incisive language:—

"At the risk of repetition, but for the sake of clearness, review now this argument, and gather it together. Considering that slavery is of such an offensive character that it can find sanction only in positive law, and that it has no such 'positive' sanction in the Constitution; that the Constitution, according to its Preamble, was ordained to 'establish justice,' and 'secure the blessings of liberty'; that in the convention which framed it, and also elsewhere at the time, it was declared not to 'sanction'; that according to the Declaration of Independence, and the address of the Continental Congress, the nation was dedicated to 'Liberty' and the 'rights of human nature'; that according to the principles of common law, the Constitution must be interpreted openly, actively, and

¹ At the election that took place on the 9th of November, 1846, the vote stood as follows: Winthrop (Whig), 5,980; Howe (Anti-Slavery), 1,334; Homer (Democrat), 1,688; Whiton (Independent), 331. The number of tickets in the field indicated the state of public feeling.

² Sumner's Works, vol. I. p. 337.

perpetually for Freedom ; that according to the decision of the Supreme Court, it acts upon slaves, *not as property*, but as *persons* ; that at the first organization of the national government under Washington, slavery had no national favor, existed nowhere on the national territory, beneath the national flag, but was openly condemned by the nation, the Church, the colleges, and literature of the times ; and finally, that according to an amendment of the Constitution, the national government can only exercise powers delegated to it, among which there is none to support slavery ;—considering these things, sir, it is impossible to avoid the single conclusion that slavery is in no respect a national institution, and that the Constitution nowhere upholds property in man."

This speech set men in the North to thinking. Sumner was now the acknowledged leader of the only political party in the country that had a wholesome anti-slavery plank in its platform.

Daniel Webster and the Whig party were in their grave. After the Democratic Convention had met and adjourned without mentioning Webster, a Northern farmer exclaimed when he had read the news, "*The South never pay their slaves !*"

During all these years of agitation and struggle, the pulpit of New England maintained an unbroken silence on the slavery question. Doctor Lyman Beecher was the acknowledged leader of the orthodox pulpit. Dr. William E. Channing was the champion of Unitarianism and the leader of the heterodox pulpit. Dr. Beecher was fond of controversy, enjoyed a battle of words upon every thing but the slavery question. He proclaimed the doctrine of "*immediate repentance*"; was earnest in his entreaties to men to quit their "cups" at *once* ; but on the slavery question was a slow coach. He was for *gradual* emancipation. He frowned not a little upon the vigorous editorials in "*The Liberator*." He regarded Mr. Garrison as a hot-head ; "having zeal, but not according to knowledge." Abolitionism received no encouragement from this venerable divine.

Dr. Channing was a gentle, pure-hearted, and humane sort of a man. He dreaded controversy, and shunned the agitation and agitators of anti-slavery.

The lesser lights followed the example of these bright stars in the churches.

But all could not keep silent,—for slavery needed apologists in the North. Stewart, of Andover ; Alexander, of Princeton ; Fisk, of Wilberham, and many other leading ministers endeavored to prove the *Divine Origin and Biblical Authority of Slavery*.

The silence of the pulpit drove out many anti-slavery men who, up to this time, had been hoping for aid from this quarter. Many went out of the Church temporarily, hoping that the scales would drop from the eyes of the preachers ere long; but others never returned—were driven to infidelity and bitter hatred of the Christian Church. Dr. Albert Barnes said: "That there was no power out of the Church that would sustain slavery an hour if it were not sustained in it."

Among the leaders of the HETERODOX ANTI-SLAVERY PARTY—those who attacked the reticency, silent acquiescence, or act of support the Church gave slavery,—were Parker Pillsbury, James G. Birney, Stephen S. Foster, and Samuel Brooke. The platform of this party was clearly defined by Mr. Pillsbury:—

"That slavery finds its surest and sternest defence in the prevailing religion of the country, is no longer questionable. Let it be driven from the Church, with the burning seal of its reprobation and execration stamped on its iron brow, and its fate is fixed forever. Only while its horrors are baptized and sanctified in the name of Christianity, can it maintain an existence.

"The Anti-Slavery movement has unmasked the character of the American Church. *Our religion has been found at war with the interests of humanity and the laws of God.* And it is more than time the world was awakened to its unhallowed influence on the hopes and happiness of man, while it makes itself the palladium of the foulest iniquity ever perpetrated in the sight of heaven."¹

This was a bold movement, but it was doubtless a sword that was as dangerous to those who essayed to handle it, as to the Church whose destruction it was intended to effect. The doctrine that was to sustain and inspire this party can be briefly stated in a sentence: THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD, AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN.

Once outside the orthodox church, Theodore Parker gave himself wholly to this idea. He preached the "*Gospel of Humanity*"; and, standing upon a broad platform, preaching a broad doctrine, bound by no ecclesiastical law, his claims to a place in the history of his country, and in the gratitude of his countrymen can be fairly audited when his work for the emancipation of evangelical churches from the thralldom of slavery is

¹ Church As It Is, etc., Introduction.

considered. He did more in his day to rupture the organic and sympathetic relation existing between the Northern and Southern churches, and, thereby, hasten the struggle between the sections for the extension or extinction of domestic slavery, than any other man in America. The men who found themselves on the outside of the Church gathered about Parker, and applauded his invective and endorsed his arraignment of the churches that had placed their hands upon their mouths, and their mouths in the dust, before the slave power. He touched a chord in the human heart, and it yielded rich music. He educated the pew until an occasional voice broke the long silence respecting the bondman of the land. First, the ministers were not so urgent in their invitations to Southern ministers to occupy their pulpits. This coldness was followed by feeble prayer and moderate speech on behalf of those who were bound. And the churches themselves began to feel that they were "an offence" to the world. Every note of sympathy that fell from the pulpit was amplified into a grand chorus of pity for the slave. And thus the leaven of human sympathy hid in the orthodox church of New England, leavened the whole body until a thousand pulpits were ablaze with a righteous condemnation of the wrongs of the slaves. Even Dr. Channing came to the conclusion that something should be "So done as not to put in jeopardy the peace of the slave-holding States!"¹

THE ECONOMIC ANTI-SLAVERY PARTY was headed by the industrious and indomitable Horace Greeley. His claim to the feelings of humanity should never be disputed; but as a practical man who sought to solve the riddle of every-day life he placed his practical views in the foreground. As a political economist he reasoned that slave labor was degrading to free labor; that free labor was better than slave labor, and, therefore, he most earnestly desired its abolition. Wherever you turn in his writings this idea gives the edge to all his arguments concerning slavery. "But slavery," wrote Mr. Greeley, "primarily considered, has still another aspect—that of a natural relation of simplicity to cunning, of ignorance to knowledge, of weakness to power. Thomas Carlyle, before his melancholy decline and fall into devil-worship, truly observed, that the capital mistake of Rob Roy was his failure to comprehend that it was cheaper

¹ Channing's Works, vol. ii. p. 10, sq.

to buy the beef he required in the Grassmarket at Glasgow than to obtain it without price, by harrying the lowland farms. So the first man whoever imbibed or conceived the fatal delusion that it was more advantageous to him, or to any human being, to procure whatever his necessities or his appetites required by address and scheming than by honest work—by the unrequited rather than the fairly and faithfully recompensed toil of his fellow-preachers—was, in essence and in heart, a slaveholder, and only awaited opportunity to become one in deed and practice. . . . It is none the less true, however, that ancient civilization, in its various national developments, was habitually corrupted, debauched, and ultimately ruined by slavery, which rendered labor dishonorable, and divided society horizontally into a small caste of the wealthy, educated, refined, and independent, and a vast hungry, sensual, thriftless, and worthless populace; rendered impossible the preservation of republican liberty and of legalized equality, even among the nominally free. Diogenes, with his lantern, might have vainly looked, through many a long day, among the followers of Marius, or Catiline, or Cæsar, for a specimen of the poor but virtuous and self-respecting Roman citizen of the days of Cincinnatus, or even of Regulus.”¹

But Mr. Greeley’s philosophy was as destructive as his logic was defective. He wished the slave free, not because he loved him; but because of the deep concern he had for the welfare of the free, white working-men of America. He was willing the Negro should be free, but never suggested any plan of relief for his social condition, or prescribed for his spiritual and intellectual health. He handled the entire Negro problem with the icy fingers of the philosopher, and always applied the flinty logic of abstract political economy. He was an *anti-slavery* advocate, but not an *abolitionist*. He was opposed to slavery, as a system at war with the social and commercial prosperity of the nation; but so far as the humanity of the question, in reaching out after the slave as an injured member of society, was concerned, he was silent.

THE AGGRESSIVE ANTI-SLAVERY PARTY had its birth in the pugnacious brains of E. P. Lovejoy, James G. Birney, Cassius M. Clay, and John Brown. All of the anti-slavery parties had

¹ American Conflict, vol. i. pp. 25, 26.

taught the doctrine of *non-resistance*; that if "thy enemy smite thee on thy cheek, turn the other also." But there were a few men who believed they were possessed of sacred rights, and that it was their duty to defend them, even with their lives. It was not a popular doctrine; and yet a conscientious few practised it with sublime courage whenever occasion required. In 1836 James G. Birney, editor of *The Philanthropist*, published at Cincinnati, Ohio, defended his press, as best he could, against a mob, who finally destroyed it. And on the 7th of November, 1837, the Rev. Mr. Lovejoy sealed the sacred doctrine of the liberty of the press with his precious blood in the defence of his printing-press at Alton, Illinois. Cassius M. Clay went armed, and insisted upon his right to freely and peaceably discuss the cause of anti-slavery.

But these men only laid down a great, fundamental truth; it was given to John Brown to write the lesson upon the hearts of the American people, so that they were enabled, a few years later, to practise the doctrine of *resistance*, and preserve the *Nation* against the bloody aggressions of the Southern Confederacy.

THE COLONIZATION ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY ante-dated any of the other organizations. Benjamin Lundy was one of the earliest advocates of colonization. The object of colonizationists was to transport to Liberia, on the West Coast of Africa, all manumitted slaves. Only *free* Negroes were to be colonized. It was claimed by the advocates of the scheme that this was the only hope of the free Negro; that the proscription everywhere directed against his social and intellectual endeavors cramped and lamed him in the race of life; that in Liberia he could build his own government, schools, and business; and there would be nothing to hinder him in his ambition for the highest places in Church or State. Moreover, they claimed that the free Negro owed something to his benighted brethren who were still in pagan darkness; that a free Negro government on the West Coast of Africa could exert a missionary influence upon the natives, and thus the evangelization of Africa could be effected by the free Negro himself.¹

¹ The following were the objects of the Colonization Society:

"1st. To rescue the free colored people of the United States from their political and social disadvantages.

"2d. To place them in a country where they may enjoy the benefits of free government, with all the blessings which it brings in its train.

To this method Henry Clay, of Kentucky, Horace Mann, of Massachusetts; Rev. Howard Malcom, of Pennsylvania; Rev. R. R. Gurley, of New York; and many other persons of distinction, gave their endorsement and assistance. The American Colonization Society was organized in 1817. Its earliest supporters were from the Southern and Middle States. A fair idea can be had of the character of the men who sustained the cause of colonization by an examination of the following list of officers elected in March, 1834.

"President.—JAMES MADISON, of Virginia.

"Vice-Presidents.—Chief-Justice MARSHALL; General LAFAYETTE, of France; Hon. WM. H. CRAWFORD, of Georgia; Hon. HENRY CLAY, of Lexington, Kentucky; Hon. JOHN C. HERBERT, of Maryland; ROBERT RALSTON, Esq., of Philadelphia; Gen. JOHN MASON, of Georgetown, D. C.; SAMUEL BAYARD, Esq., of New Jersey; ISAAC MCKIM, Esq., of Maryland; Gen. JOHN HARTWELL COCKE, of Virginia; Rt. Rev. Bishop WHITE, of Pennsylvania; Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, of Boston; Hon. CHARLES F. MERCER, of Virginia; JEREMIAH DAY, D.D., of Yale College; Hon. RICHARD RUSH, of Pennsylvania; Bishop MCKENDREE; PHILIP E. THOMAS, Esq., of Maryland; Dr. THOMAS C. JAMES, of Philadelphia; Hon. JOHN COTTON SMITH, of Connecticut; Hon. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey; Hon. LOUIS MC-LANE, of Washington City; GERRIT SMITH, of New York; J. H. M'CLURE, Esq., of New Jersey; Gen. ALEXANDER MACOMB, of Washington City; MOSES ALLEN, Esq., of New York; Gen. WALTER JONES, of Washington City; F. S. KEY, Esq., of Georgetown, D. C.; SAMUEL H. SMITH, Esq., of Washington City; JOSEPH GALES, Jr., Esq., of Washington City; Rt. Rev. WM. MEADE, D.D., Assistant Bishop of Virginia; Hon. ALEXANDER PORTER, of Louisiana; JOHN McDONOUGH, Esq., of Louisiana; Hon. SAMUEL L. SOUTHARD, of New Jersey.

"Managers.—Rev. JAMES LAURIE, D.D.; Gen. WALTER JONES; FRANCIS S. KEY; Rev. WM. HALEY; JOHN UNDERWOOD; WILLIAM W. SEATON; WALTER LOWRIE; Dr. PHINEAS BRADLEY; Dr. THOMAS SEWALL.

"Secretaries.—Rev. RALPH R. GURLEY, WILLIAM H. MACFARLAND.

"Treasurer.—JOSEPH GALES, Senior.

"Recorder.—PHILLIP R. FENDALL."

"3d. To spread civilization, sound morals, and true religion through the continent of Africa.

"4. To arrest and destroy the slave-trade.

"5. To afford slave-owners who wish, or are willing, to liberate their slaves an asylum for their reception."

The Colonization Society was never able to secure the sympathy of the various anti-slavery societies of the country; and was unable to gain the confidence of the Colored people to any great extent. But it had the advantage of being in harmony with what little humane sentiment there was at the South. It did not attempt to agitate. It only sought to colonize on the West Coast of Africa all Negroes who could secure legal manumission. Nearly all the Southern States had laws upon their statute-books requiring all emancipated slaves to leave the State. The question as to where they should go was supposed to be answered by the Colonization Society. It had much influence with Congress, and did not hesitate to use it. A Mr. Joseph Bryan, of Alabama, petitioned Congress for the establishment "of a line of Mail Steam-ships to the Western Coast of Africa," in the summer of 1850. The Committee on Naval Affairs reported favorably the following bill:

"A BILL TO ESTABLISH A LINE OF WAR STEAMERS TO THE
COAST OF AFRICA. [Report No. 438.]

"In the House of Representatives, August 1, 1850. Read twice, and committed to the Committee of the whole House on the State of the Union.

"Mr. F. P. Stanton, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, reported the following bill:—A bill to establish a line of war steamers to the coast of Africa, for the suppression of the slave-trade, and the promotion of commerce and colonization:

SEC. 1 *'Be it enacted* by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Navy, immediately after the passage of this act, to enter into contract with Joseph Bryan, of Alabama, and George Nicholas Saunders, of New York, and their associates, for the building, equipment, and maintenance of three steam-ships to run between the United States and the coast of Africa, upon the following terms and conditions, to wit:

"The said ships to be each of not less than four thousand tons burden, to be so constructed as to be convertible, at the least possible expense, into war steamers of the first class, and to be built and equipped in accordance with plans to be submitted to and approved by the Secretary of the Navy, and under the superintendence of an officer to be appointed by him, two of said ships to be finished and ready for sea in two and a half years, and the other within three years after the date of the contract, and the whole to be kept up by alterations, re-

pairs, or additions, to be approved by the Secretary of the Navy, so as to be fully equal to the exigencies of the service and the faithful performance of the contract. The said Secretary, at all times, to exercise such control over said ships as may not be inconsistent with the provisions of this act, and especially to have the power to direct, at the expense of the Government, such changes in the machinery and internal arrangements of the ships as he may at any time deem advisable.

"Each of said ships to be commanded by an officer of the Navy, who with four Passed Midshipmen to act as watch officers, and any mail agents who may be sent by the Government, shall be accommodated and provided for in a manner suitable to their rank, at the expense of the contractors. Each of said ships, if required by the Secretary, shall receive two guns of heavy calibre, and the men from the United States Navy necessary to serve them, who shall be provided for as aforesaid. In the event of war the Government to have the right to take any or all of said ships for its own exclusive use on payment of the value thereof; such value not exceeding the cost, to be ascertained by appraisers chosen by the Secretary of the Navy and the contractors

"Each of said ships to make four voyages per annum; one shall leave New Orleans every three months; one shall leave Baltimore every three months, touching at Norfolk and Charleston; and one shall leave New York every three months, touching at Savannah; all having liberty to touch at any of the West India Islands; and to proceed thence to Liberia, touching at any of the islands or ports on the coast of Africa: thence to Gibraltar, carrying the Mediterranean mails; thence to Cadiz, or some other Spanish port to be designated by the Secretary of the Navy; thence to Lisbon; thence to Brest, or some other French port to be designated as above; thence to London, and back to the place of departure, bringing and carrying the mails to and from said ports.

"The said contractors shall further agree to carry to Liberia so many emigrants being free persons of color, and not exceeding twenty-five hundred for each voyage, as the American Colonization Society may require, upon the payment by said Society of ten dollars for each emigrant over twelve years of age, and five dollars for each one under that age, these sums, respectively, to include all charges for baggage of emigrants and the daily supply of sailors' rations. The contractors, also, to carry, bring back, and accommodate, free from charge, all necessary agents of the said Society.

'The Secretary of the Navy shall further stipulate to advance to said contractors, as the building of said ships shall progress, two thirds of the amount expended thereon; such advances to be made in the

bonds of the United States, payable thirty years after date, and bearing five per cent. interest, and not to exceed six hundred thousand dollars for each ship. And the said contractors shall stipulate to repay the said advances in equal annual instalments, with interest from the date of the completion of said ships until the termination of the contract, which shall continue fifteen years from the commencement of the service. The Secretary of the Navy to require ample security for the faithful performance of the contract, and to reserve a lien upon the ships for the sum advanced. The Government to pay said contractors forty thousand dollars for each trip, or four hundred and eighty thousand dollars per annum.

"SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the President of the United States shall cause to be issued the bonds of the United States, as the same may, from time to time, be required by the Secretary of the Navy to carry out the contract aforesaid."

Public sentiment, North and South, was greatly in favor of the measure. T. J. Durant, Esq., of New Orleans, in an elaborate letter addressed to the "Commercial Bulletin" of New Orleans, under date of September 12, 1850, answered objections, and warmly urged the passage of the bill. The Chaplain of the U. S. Senate, Rev. R. R. Gurley, wrote a letter on the 10th of October, 1850, to George N. Saunders, Esq., urging the measure as of paramount importance to both America and Africa. The press of the country generally endorsed the bill, and commented upon the general good to follow in numerous editorials. A scheme of such gigantic proportions poorly set forth the profound thought that harassed the public mind in regard to the crime of keeping men in slavery. A few extracts from the papers will suffice to show how the matter was regarded.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS.

"The Report of the Naval Committee to the House of Representatives in favor of the establishment of a line of mail steam-ships to the Western Coast of Africa, and thence via the Mediterranean to London, has been received by the public press throughout the Union with the warmest expressions of approbation. The Whig, Democratic, and neutral papers of the North and South, in the slave-holding and non-slave-holding States, with a very few exceptions, appear to vie with each other in pressing its consideration upon the public attention. This earnest and almost unanimous support of the measure by the organs of public opinion, without respect to party or section, shows the deep hold

which the objects it proposes to effect have upon the public favor. Those objects are to promote the emigration of free persons of color from this country to Liberia ; also to increase the steam navy, and to extend the commerce of the United States,—all, it will be almost universally conceded, desirable objects. The desirableness of the objects being admitted, the question is, does the mode proposed for promoting them recommend itself to the sanction of Congress ? We are forced to the conclusion that it does. We are aware that while all agree as to the expediency of increasing our steam navy—some are in favor of the Government's building its own steam-ships, and others advocate the encouragement of lines of steam-packets, to be established by private enterprise under the auspices of Government. . . .

"The considerations, however, which in our opinion should commend this measure to the favorable attention of Congress are so obvious, and have been so clearly and strongly presented in the report of the committee, that we need not here repeat them. If the voice of the press, of all sections and of all parties, be any indication of popular opinion, we are free to say, that it would be difficult for Congress to pass a measure which would be received with more *general* satisfaction by the people of the United States."¹

"AFRICAN STEAM-LINES.—The entertainment by the Government of Great Britain of a project for the establishment of a powerful line of steam-vessels between that country and the African coast, ostensibly for the conveyance of a monthly mail, and the more effectual checking of the slave-traffic, is strong proof, we think, of the value that the commerce between the two countries is capable of becoming. It may, in addition, be regarded as corroborative of the justness of the position taken by the advocates of a mail-steamer line between this country and Africa. We are by no means disposed to look invidiously on the enterprising spirit exhibited abroad for securing a closer connection with a country, the great mercantile wealth of which is yet, comparatively speaking, untouched. This spirit should have on us no other than a stimulating effect. Besides, for years, if not ages, to come, the trade with Africa can admit of no very close competition. The promised vastness of this trade, whilst excluding all idea of monopoly, must continue to excite the new enterprise by its unlimited rewards. It is unnecessary that we should exhibit statistics to show her how largely England has been benefited by persevering though frequently interrupted communication with the interior parts of that great continent ; nor to make plain how, with better knowledge and more ready means of access, mercantile risks will be lessened and mercantile profits enlarged. It will be remembered that the Congressional committee to

¹ The Republic, Sept. 11, 1850.

whom the question of establishing mail steamers between this country and Africa was referred, adverted in their report to the aid its adoption would afford in the consummation of the plans of the Colonization Society. On the intimate relation between the one and the other, it was supposed that a good part of the required success was dependent. It is something singular that the colored race—those in reality most interested in the future destinies of Africa—should be so lightly affected by the evidences continually being presented in favor of colonization. He will do a service to this country as well as Africa who shall do any thing to open the eyes of the colored race to the advantages of emigration to the fertile and, to them, congenial shores of Africa.”¹

“AFRICA AND STEAM-SHIPS.—If but a single line of steam-ships is to be authorized this Session—and the state and prospects of the finances must counsel frugality and caution,—we think a line to Africa fairly entitled to the preference. That continent on its western side is comparatively proximate and accessible; it is filled with inhabitants who need the articles we can abundantly fabricate, and it is the ancestral soil of more than three millions of our people—of a race on whose account we are deeply debtors to justice and to heaven. That race is more plastic and less conservative than the Chinese; their soil produces in spontaneous profusion many articles which are to us comforts and luxuries, while nearly every thing we produce is in eager demand among its inhabitants, if they can but find the wherewithal to pay for them. Instead of being a detriment and a depression to our own manufacturing and mechanical industry, as the trade induced by our costly steam-ship lines to Liverpool, Bremen, and Havre mainly is, all the commerce with Africa which a more intimate communication with her would secure, would be advantageous to every department of American labor. Her surplus products are so diverse from ours, that no collision of interests between her producers and ours could ever be realized, while millions' worth of her tropical products which will not endure the slow and capricious transportation which is now their only recourse, would come to us in good order by steam-ships, and richly reward the labor of the gatherers and the enterprise of the importers.

“But the social and moral aspects of this subject are still more important. We are now expending life and treasure, in concert with other nations, to suppress the African slave-trade, and it is now generally conceded that such suppression can never be effected by the means hitherto relied on. The colonization of the Slave Coast, with direct reference to its Christianization and civilization, is the only sure means of putting an end to this inhuman traffic. And this colonization, all who are interested in the work seem heartily to agree, would

¹ National Intelligencer, October 23, 1850.

be immensely accelerated by the establishment of a line of African steam-ships. Liberia, now practically distant as Buenos Ayres, would, by such a line, be brought as near us as Bremen, and the ports regularly visited by our steamers could not fail rapidly to assume importance as centres of commerce and of increasing intelligence and industry."¹

"THE COLONY OF LIBERIA AND ITS PROSPECTUS.—By every arrival from Liberia we learn that the colony of free negroes from the United States is progressing at a rate truly astonishing, and that before many years it promises to be a strong and powerful republic. The experiment of self-government has been completely successful; the educational interests of the inhabitants are duly cared for; civilization is making great headway among the aborigines; and, by means of Liberia, there is a very flattering prospect of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa being entirely destroyed. Governor Roberts, a very intelligent colored man, of mixed blood, goes even so far as to say that Liberia is destined to rival the United States, and that both republics, by a unity of action, can civilize and Christianize the world, and especially benighted Africa. We are pleased to hear such good accounts from Liberia, and we shall always be pleased to hear of its success, and of the progress and welfare of its inhabitants. Founded, as it has been, by American philanthropists, and peopled by our emancipated slaves, the United States will ever watch its progress with interest, and aid and assist it as far as it possibly can."²

But notwithstanding the apparent favor the cause of colonization received from the press, it was an impractical, impossible, wild, and visionary scheme that could not be carried to the extent its projectors designed. It lost strength yearly, until all were convinced that the Negro would be emancipated here and remain here; that it was as impossible to colonize a race of people as to colonize the sun, moon, and stars.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD organization was perhaps one of the most useful auxiliaries the cause of agitation had. It could scarcely be called an organization. Unlike the other societies, it did not print its reports.³ Like good Samaritans, its conductors did not ask passengers their creed; but wherever they found human beings wounded in body and mind by slavery,

¹ Tribune, December 25, 1850.

² Herald, December, 17, 1850.

³ It is to be regretted that William Still, the author of the *U. G. R.*, failed to give any account of its origin, organization, workings, or the number of persons helped to freedom. It is an interesting narrative of many cases, but is shorn of that minuteness of detail so indispensable to authentic historical memorials.

they gave them passage to the "Inn" of Freedom on Canadian soil.

In a sense, the Underground Railroad was a secret organization. This was necessary, as the fugitive-slave law gave the master the right to pursue his slave when "fleeing from labor and service in one State into another," and apprehend him by due process of Federal law. The men who managed this road felt that they should obey God rather than man; that the slave's right to his freedom was greater than any law the nation could make through its representatives. So the Underground Railroad was made up of a company of godly men who stretched themselves across the land, from the borders of the sunny slave States to the snow-white shores of Canada. When men came up out of the hell of slavery gasping for a breath of free air, these good friends sheltered and fed them; and then hastened them off in the stillness of the night, with the everlasting stars as their ministers, toward Canada. The fugitives would be turned over to another conductor, who would conceal them until nightfall, when he would load his living freight into a covered conveyance, and drive all night to reach the next "station"; and so on until the fugitives found themselves free and safe under the English flag in Canada.

This was the safety-valve to the institution of slavery. As soon as leaders arose among the slaves, refusing to endure the yoke, they came North. Had they remained, the direful scenes of St. Domingo would have been enacted, and the hot, vengeful breath of massacre would have swept the South as a tornado, and blanched the cheek of the civilized world.

ANTI-SLAVERY LITERATURE wrought mightily for God in its field.¹ Frederick Douglass's book, "My Bondage and My Freedom"; Bishop Loguen's, "As a Slave and As a Freeman"; Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro," by the Rev. Samuel Ringgold Ward; "Twenty-two Years a Slave, and Forty Years a Freeman," by the Rev. Austin Stewart; "Narrative of Solomon Northup," "Walker's Appeal,"—all by eminent Negroes, exposed the true character of slavery, informed the public mind, stimulated healthy thought, and touched the heart of two continents with a sympathy almost divine.

But the uncounted millions of anti-slavery tracts, pamphlets,

¹ Judge Stroud, William Goodell, Wendell Phillips, William Jay, and hundreds of other white men contributed to the anti-slavery literature of the period.

journals, and addresses of the entire period of agitation were little more than a paper wad compared with the solid shot "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was to slavery. Written in vigorous English, in scintillating, perspicuous style; adorned with gorgeous imagery, bristling with living "*facts*"; going to the lowest depths, mounting to the greatest altitudes, moving with panoramic grandeur, picturing humanity forlorn and outraged; giving forth the shrillest, most *despairing* cries of the afflicted, and the sublimest strains of Christian faith; the struggle of innocent, defenceless womanhood, the subdued sorrow of chattel-babyhood, the yearnings of fettered manhood, and the piteous sobs of helpless old age,—made Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" the magnifying wonder of enlightened Christendom! It pleaded the cause of the slave in twenty different languages; it engrossed the thought of philosophers, and touched the heart of youth with a strange pity for the slave. It covered audiences with the sunlight of laughter, wrapt them in sorrow, and veiled them in tears. It illustrated the power of the Gospel of Love, the gentleness of Negro character, and the powers and possibilities of the race. It was God's message to a people who had refused to listen to his anti-slavery prophets and priests; and its sad, wierd, and heart-touching descriptions and dialogues restored the milk of human kindness to a million hearts that had grown callous in an age of self-seeking and robbery of the poor.

In a political and sectional sense, the "Impending Crisis," by Helper, exerted a wide influence for good. It was read by merchants and politicians.

Diverse and manifold as were the methods of the friends of universal freedom, and sometimes apparently conflicting, under God no honest effort to rid the Negro and the country of the curse of slavery was lost. All these agencies, running along different lines, converged at a common centre, and aimed at a common end—the ultimate extinction of the foreign and domestic slave-trade.

CHAPTER. VI.

ANTI-SLAVERY EFFORTS OF FREE NEGROES.

INTELLIGENT INTEREST OF FREE NEGROES IN THE AGITATION MOVEMENT.—"FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE PEOPLE OF COLOR" HELD AT PHILADELPHIA.—REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COLLEGE FOR YOUNG MEN OF COLOR.—PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE APPOINTED IN EACH CITY.—CONVENTIONAL ADDRESS.—SECOND CONVENTION HELD AT BENEZET HALL, PHILADELPHIA.—RESOLUTIONS OF THE MEETING.—CONVENTIONAL ADDRESS.—THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COLORED ASSOCIATION.—CONVENTION OF ANTI-SLAVERY WOMEN OF AMERICA AT NEW YORK.—PREJUDICE AGAINST ADMITTING NEGROES INTO WHITE SOCIETIES.—COLORED ORATORS.—THEIR ELOQUENT PLEAS FOR THEIR ENSLAVED RACE.

THE free Negroes throughout the Northern States were not passive during the agitation movement. They took a lively interest in the cause that had for its ultimate end the freedom of the slave. They did not comfort themselves with the consciousness that *they* were free; but thought of *their brethren* who were bound, and sympathized with them.

"*The First Annual Convention of the People of Color*" was held in Philadelphia from the 6th to the 11th of June, 1831. Its sessions were held "in the brick Wesleyan Church, Lombard Street," "pursuant to public notice, . . . signed by Dr. Belfast Burton and William Whipper." The following delegates were present:

Philadelphia—John Bowers, Dr. Belfast Burton, James Cornish, Junius C. Morel, William Whipper.

New York—Rev. Wm. Miller, Henry Sipkins, Thos. L. Jennings, Wm. Hamilton, James Pennington.

Maryland—Rev. Abner Coker, Robert Cowley.

Delaware—Abraham D. Shad, Rev. Peter Gardiner.

Virginia—Wm. Duncan.

The following officers were chosen :

President—John Bowers.

Vice-Presidents—Abraham D. Shad, William Duncan.

Secretary—William Whipper.

Assistant Secretary—Thos. L. Jennings.

The first concern of this convention was the condition of that class which it directly represented—the “free persons of color” in the United States. A committee, consisting of Messrs. Morel, Shad, Duncan, Cowley, Sipkins, and Jennings, made the following report on the condition of the free persons of color in the United States:

“Brethren and Fellow-Citizens :

“We, the Committee of Inquiry, would suggest to the Convention the propriety of adopting the following resolutions, viz. :

“*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Convention, it is highly necessary that the different societies engaged in the *Canadian Settlement* be earnestly requested to persevere in their praiseworthy and philanthropic undertaking ; firmly believing that, at a future period, their labors will be crowned with success.

“The Committee would also recommend this Convention to call on the free people of color to assemble *annually* by delegation at such place as may be designated as suitable.

“They would also respectfully submit to your wisdom the necessity of your deliberate reflection on the dissolute, intemperate, and ignorant condition of a large portion of the colored population of the United States. They would not, however, refer to their unfortunate circumstances to add degradation to objects already degraded and miserable ; nor, with some others, improperly class the virtuous of our color with the abandoned, but with the most sympathizing and heartfelt commiseration, show our sense of obligation as the true guardians of our interests, by giving wholesome advice and good counsel.

“The Committee consider it as highly important that the Convention recommend the necessity of creating a general fund, to be denominated the CONVENTIONAL FUND, for the purpose of advancing the objects of this and future conventions, as the public good may require.

“They would further recommend, that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States be read in our Conventions ; believing, that the truths contained in the former are incontrovertible, and that the latter guarantees in letter and spirit to every free-man born in this country, all the rights and immunities of citizenship.

“Your Committee with regret have witnessed the many oppressive, unjust, and unconstitutional laws which have been enacted in the different parts of the Union against the free people of color, and they would call upon this Convention, as possessing the rights of freemen, to recommend to the people, through their delegation, the propriety of memorializing the proper authorities, whenever they may feel themselves aggrieved, or their rights invaded, by any cruel or oppressive laws.

"And your Committee would further report, that, in their opinion, *Education, Temperance, and Economy* are best calculated to promote the elevation of mankind to a proper rank and standing among men, as they enable him to discharge all those duties enjoined on him by his Creator. We would, therefore, respectfully request an early attention to those virtues among our brethren who have a desire to be useful.

"And lastly, your Committee view with unfeigned regret, and respectfully submit to the wisdom of this Convention, the operations and misrepresentations of the American Colonization Society in these United States.

"We feel sorrowful to see such an immense and wanton waste of lives and property, not doubting the benevolent feelings of some individuals engaged in that cause. But we cannot for a moment doubt, but that the cause of many of our unconstitutional, unchristian, and unheard-of sufferings emanate from that unhallowed source; and we would call on Christians of every denomination firmly to resist it."¹

The convention was in session for several days. It attracted public attention on account of the intelligence, order, and excellent judgment which prevailed. It deeply touched the young white men who had, but a few months previous, enlisted under the broad banner Wm. Lloyd Garrison had given to the breeze. They called to see Colored men conduct a convention. The Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, of New Haven, Connecticut; Arthur Tappan, of New York; Benjamin Lundy, of Washington, D. C.; William Lloyd Garrison, of Boston, Massachusetts; Thomas Shipley and Charles Pierce, of Philadelphia, visited the convention and were cordially received. Messrs. Jocelyn, Tappan, and Garrison were invited to address the convention. They delivered stirring addresses, and especially urged the necessity of establishing a college for the education of "Young Men of Color." At the suggestion of the speaker the convention appointed a committee with whom the speaker conferred. The report of the committee was as follows:

"That a plan had been submitted to them by the above-named gentlemen, for the liberal education of Young Men of Color, on the Manual-Labor System, all of which they respectfully submit to the consideration of the Convention, are as follow:

"The plan proposed is, that a College be established at New Haven, Conn., as soon as \$20,000 are obtained, and to be on the Manual-Labor

System, by which, in connection with a scientific education, they may also obtain a useful Mechanical or Agricultural profession ; and (they further report, having received information) that a benevolent individual has offered to subscribe one thousand dollars toward this object, provided that a farther sum of nineteen thousand dollars can be obtained in one year.

"After an interesting discussion, the above report was unanimously adopted ; one of the inquiries by the Convention was in regard to the place of location. On interrogating the gentlemen why New Haven should be the place of location, they gave the following as their reasons :—

"1st. The site is healthy and beautiful.

"2d. Its inhabitants are friendly, pious, generous, and humane.

"3d. Its laws are salutary and protecting to all, without regard to complexion.

"4th. Boarding is cheap and provisions are good.

"5th. The situation is as central as any other that can be obtained with the same advantages.

"6th. The town of New Haven carries on an extensive West India trade, and many of the wealthy colored residents in the Islands, would, no doubt, send their sons there to be educated, and thus a fresh tie of friendship would be formed, which might be productive of much real good in the end.

"And last, though not the least, the literary and scientific character of New Haven, renders it a very desirable place for the location of the college."

The report of the Committee was received and adopted. The Rev. Samuel E. Cornish was appointed general agent to solicit funds, and Arthur Tappan was selected as treasurer. A Provisional Committee was appointed in each city, as follows :

"*Boston*—Rev. Hosea Easton, Robert Roberts, James G. Barbadoes, and Rev. Samuel Snowden.

"*New York*—Rev. Peter Williams, Boston Cromwell, Philip Bell, Thomas Downing, Peter Voglesang.

"*Philadelphia*—Joseph Cassey, Robert Douglass, Sr., James Forten, Richard Howell, Robert Purvis.

"*Baltimore*—Thomas Green, James P. Walker, Samuel G. Mathews, Isaac Whipper, Samuel Hiner.

"*New Haven*—Biars Stanley, John Creed, Alexander C. Luca.

"*Brooklyn, L. I.*—Jacob Deyes, Henry Thomson, Willis Jones.

"*Wilmington, Del.*—Rev. Peter Spencer, Jacob Morgan, William S. Thomas.



"*Albany*—Benjamin Latimore, Captain Schuyler, Captain Francis March.

"*Washington, D. C.*—William Jackson, Arthur Waring, Isaac Carey.

"*Lancaster, Pa.*—Charles Butler and Jared Grey.

"*Carlisle, Pa.*—John Peck and Rowland G. Roberts.

"*Chambersburg, Pa.*—Dennis Berry.

"*Pittsburgh*—John B. Vashon, Lewis Gardiner, Abraham Lewis.

"*Newark, N. J.*—Peter Petitt, Charles Anderson, Adam Ray.

"*Trenton*—Samson Peters, Leonard Scott."

The proceedings of the convention were characterized by a deep solemnity and a lively sense of the gravity of the situation. The delegates were of the ablest Colored men in the country, and were conversant with the wants of their people. The subjoined address shows that the committee that prepared it had a thorough knowledge of the public sentiment of America on the subject of race prejudice.

"CONVENTIONAL ADDRESS.

"*Respected Brethren and Fellow-Citizens :*

"Our attention has been called to investigate the political standing of our brethren wherever dispersed, but more particularly the situation of those in this great Republic.

"Abroad, we have been cheered with pleasant views of humanity, and the steady, firm, and uncompromising march of equal liberty to the human family. Despotism, tyranny, and injustice have had to retreat, in order to make way for the unalienable rights of man. Truth has conquered prejudice, and mankind are about to rise in the majesty and splendor of their native dignity.

"The cause of general emancipation is gaining powerful and able friends abroad. Britain and Denmark have performed such deeds as will immortalize them for their humanity, in the breasts of the philanthropists of the present day; whilst, as a just tribute to their virtues, after-ages will yet erect unperishable monuments to their memory. (Would to God we could say thus of our own native soil !)

"And it is only when we look to our own native land, to the birth-place of our *fathers*, to the land for whose prosperity their blood and our sweat have been shed and cruelly extorted, that the Convention has had cause to hang its head and blush. Laws, as cruel in themselves as they were unconstitutional and unjust, have in many places been enacted against our poor unfriended and unoffending brethren; laws, (without a shadow of provocation on our part,) at whose bare recital

the very savage draws him up for fear of the contagion,—looks noble, and prides himself because he bears not the name of a Christian.

“But the Convention would not wish to dwell long on this subject, as it is one that is too sensibly felt to need description.

“We would wish to turn you from this scene with an eye of pity, and a breast glowing with mercy, praying that the recording angel may drop a tear, which shall obliterate forever the remembrance of so foul a stain upon the national escutcheon of this great Republic.

“This spirit of persecution was the cause of our Convention. It was that first induced us to seek an asylum in the Canadas; and the Convention feels happy to report to its brethren, that our efforts to establish a settlement in that province have not been made in vain. Our prospects are cheering; our friends and funds are daily increasing; wonders have been performed far exceeding our most sanguine expectations; already have our brethren purchased eight hundred acres of land—and two thousand of them have left the soil of their birth, crossed the lines, and laid the foundation for a structure which promises to prove an asylum for the colored population of these United States. They have erected two hundred log-houses, and have five hundred acres under cultivation.

“And now it is to your fostering care the Convention appeals, and we appeal to you as to men and brethren, yet to enlarge their borders.

“We therefore ask of you, brethren,—we ask of you, philanthropists of every color and of every kindred,—to assist us in this undertaking. We look to a kind Providence and to you to say whether our desires shall be realized and our labors crowned with success.

“The Convention has done its duty, and it now remains for you, brethren, to do yours. Various obstacles have been thrown in our way by those opposed to the elevation of the human species; but, thanks to an all-wise Providence, his goodness has as yet cleared the way, and our advance has been slow but steady. The only thing now wanted, is an accumulation of funds, in order to enable us to make a purchase agreeable to the direction of the first Convention; and, to effect that purpose, the Convention has recommended, to the different Societies engaged in that cause, to preserve and prosecute their designs with double energy; and we would earnestly recommend to every colored man (who feels the weight of his degradation), to consider himself in duty bound to contribute his mite toward this great object. We would say to all, that the prosperity of the rising generation mainly depends upon our active exertions.

“Yes, it is with us to say whether they shall assume a rank and standing among the nations of the earth, as men and freemen, or whether they shall still be prized and held at market-price. Oh, then, by a brother's love, and by all that makes man dear to man, awake in time!

Be wise ! Be free ! Endeavor to walk with circumspection ; be obedient to the laws of our common country ; honor and respect its law-makers and law-givers ; and, through all, let us not forget to respect ourselves.

" During the deliberations of this Convention, we had the favor of advising and consulting with some of our most eminent and tried philanthropists—men of unblemished character and of acknowledged rank and standing. Our sufferings have excited their sympathy ; our ignorance appealed to their humanity ; and, brethren, we feel that gratitude is due to a kind and benevolent Creator, that our excitement and appeal have neither been in vain. A plan has been proposed to the Convention for the erection of a college for the instruction of young men of color, on the manual-labor system, by which the children of the poor may receive a regular classical education, as well as those of their more opulent brethren, and the charge will be so regulated as to put it within the reach of all. In support of this plan, a benevolent individual has offered the sum of one thousand dollars, provided that we can obtain subscriptions to the amount of nineteen thousand dollars in one year.

" The Convention has viewed the plan with considerable interest, and, after mature deliberation, on a candid investigation, feels strictly justified in recommending the same to the liberal patronage of our brethren, and respectfully solicits the aid of those philanthropists who feel an interest in sending light, knowledge, and truth to all of the human species.

" To the friends of general education, we do believe that our appeal will not be in vain. For the present ignorant and degraded condition of many of our brethren in these United States (which has been a subject of much concern to the Convention) can excite no astonishment (although used by our enemies to show our inferiority in the scale of human beings) ; for, what opportunities have they possessed for mental cultivation or improvement ? Mere ignorance, however, in a people divested of the means of acquiring information by books, or an extensive connection with the world, is no just criterion of their intellectual incapacity ; and it had been actually seen, in various remarkable instances, that the degradation of the mind and character, which has been too hastily imputed to a people kept, as we are, at a distance from those sources of knowledge which abound in civilized and enlightened communities, has resulted from no other causes than our unhappy situation and circumstances.

" True philanthropy disdains to adopt those prejudices against any people which have no better foundation than accidental diversities of color, and refuses to determine without substantial evidence and incontestible fact as the basis of her judgment. And it is in order to remove these prejudices, which are the actual causes of our ignorance, that we have appealed to our friends in support of the contemplated institution.

"The Convention has not been unmindful of the operations of the American Colonization Society, and it would respectfully suggest to that august body of learning, talent, and worth, that, in our humble opinion, strengthened, too, by the opinions of eminent men in this country, as well as in Europe, that they are pursuing the direct road to perpetuate slavery, with all its unchristianlike concomitants, in this boasted land of freedom; and, as citizens and men whose best blood is sapped to gain popularity for that institution, we would, in the most feeling manner, beg of them to desist; or, if we must be sacrificed to their philanthropy, we would rather die at home. Many of our fathers, and some of us, have fought and bled for the liberty, independence, and peace which you now enjoy; and, surely, it would be ungenerous and unfeeling in you to deny us an humble and quiet grave in that country which gave us birth!

"In conclusion, the Convention would remind our brethren that knowledge is power, and to that end, we call on you to sustain and support, by all honorable, energetic, and necessary means, those presses which are devoted to our instruction and elevation, to foster and encourage the mechanical arts and sciences among our brethren, to encourage simplicity, neatness, temperance, and economy in our habits, taking due care always to give the preference to the production of freemen wherever it can be had. Of the utility of a General Fund, the Convention believes there can exist but one sentiment, and that is for a speedy establishment of the same. Finally, we trust our brethren will pay due care to take such measures as will ensure a general and equal representation in the next Convention

[Signed]

"BELFAST BURTON,
 "JUNIOUS C. MOREL,
 "WILLIAM WHIPPER,
 "*Publishing Committee.*"

Encouraged by the good results that followed the first convention, another one was called, and assembled in Philadelphia, at Benezet Hall, Seventh Street, June 4, 1832. The following delegates were admitted to seats in the convention:

PENNSYLVANIA.

Pittsburgh—John B. Vashon.

Philadelphia—John Bowers, William Whipper, J. C. Morel, Benjamin Paschal, F. A. Hinton.

Carlisle—John Peck.

Lewistown, Mifflin County—Samuel Johnson.

NEW YORK.

New York City—William Hamilton, Thomas L. Jennings, Henry Sipkins, Philip A. Bell.

Brooklyn—James Pennington.

DELAWARE.

Wilmington—Joseph Burton, Jacob Morgan, Abm. D. Shad, William Johnson, Peter Gardiner.

MARYLAND.

Baltimore—Samuel Elliott, Robert Cowley, Samuel Hiner.

NEW JERSEY.

Gloucester—Thomas D. Coxsin, Thomas Banks.

Trenton—Aaron Roberts.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Boston—Hosea Easton.

New Bedford—Nathan Johnson.

CONNECTICUT.

Hartford—Paul Drayton.

New Haven—Scipio C. Augustus.

RHODE ISLAND.

Providence—Ichabod Northrop.

On the following day the convention adjourned to the "First African Presbyterian Church." The following report was adopted :

" *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Committee, the plan suggested by the first General Convention, of purchasing land or lands in Upper Canada, for the avowed object of forming a settlement in that province, for such colored persons as may choose to emigrate there, still merits and deserves our united support and exertions ; and further, that the appearances of the times, in this our native land, demand an immediate action on that subject. Adopted.

" *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this committee, we still solemnly and sincerely protest against any interference, on the part of the American Colonization Society, with the free colored population in these United States, so long as they shall countenance or endeavor to use coercive measures (either directly or indirectly) to colonize us in any place which is not the object of our choice. And we ask of them respectfully, as men and as Christians, to cease their unhallowed persecu-

tions of a people already sufficiently oppressed, or if, as they profess to have our welfare and prosperity at heart, to assist us in the object of our choice.

“Resolved, That this committee would recommend to the members of this Convention, to discountenance, by all just means in their power, any emigration to Liberia or Hayti, believing them only calculated to distract and divide the whole colored family.”

In accordance with a resolution of the previous day the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, was invited to address the convention. He endeavored to offer an acceptable explanation of the Society, and to advocate its principles. But the Colored people, almost to a man, were opposed to colonization; and most of the anti-slavery societies regarded colonization as impracticable and hurtful to the cause of emancipation. William Lloyd Garrison happened to be present, and followed Gurley in a speech that destroyed the hopes of the friends of colonization, and greatly delighted the convention.

While the Colored people opposed colonization they regarded Canada as a proper place to go. They felt that as citizens they had the right to decide where to go, and, when they got ready, to go on their own account. Canada had furnished an asylum to their flying, travel-soiled, foot-sore, and needy brethren,—was not so very far away, and, therefore, it was preferred to the West Coast of Africa. The committee having under consideration this subject, made the following comprehensive report:

“Resolved, That the members of this Convention take into consideration the propriety of effecting the purchase of lands in the province of Upper Canada, as an asylum for those of our bretheren who may be compelled to remove from these United States, beg leave, most respectfully to report:

“That, after due consideration, they believe the resolution embraces three distinct inquiries for the consideration of this Convention, which should be duly weighed before they can adopt the sentiments contained in the above-named resolution. Therefore, your Committee conceive the resolution premature, and now proceed to state the enquiries separately.

“First.—Is it proper for the Free people of color in this country, under existing circumstances, to remove to any distant territory beyond these United States?

“Secondly.—Does Upper Canada possess superior advantages and conveniences to those held out in these United States or elsewhere?

" *Thirdly*.—Is there any certainty that the people of color will be compelled by oppressive legislative enactments to abandon the land of their birth for a home in a distant region ?

" Your Committee, before examining those enquiries, would most respectfully take a retrospective view of the object for which the Convention was first associated, and the causes which have actuated their deliberations.

" The expulsive laws of Ohio, in 1829, which drove our people to seek a new home in Upper Canada, and their impoverished situation afterward, excited a general burst of sympathy for their situation, by the wise and good, over the whole country. This awakened public feeling on their behalf, and numerous meetings were called to raise funds to alleviate their present miseries. The bright prospects that then appeared to dawn on the new settlement, awakened our people to the precariousness of their situations, and, in order more fully to be prepared for future exigencies, and to extend the system of benevolence still further to those who should remove to Upper Canada, a circular was issued by five individuals, viz.:—the Rev. Richard Allen, Cyrus Black, Junius C. Morel, Benjamin Pascal, and James C. Cornish, in behalf of the citizens of Philadelphia, calling a convention of the colored delegates from the several States, to meet on the 20th day of September, 1830, to devise plans and means for the establishment of a colony in Upper Canada, under the patronage of the general Convention, then called.

" That Convention met, pursuant to public notice, and recommended the formation of a parent society, to be established, with auxiliaries in the different towns where they had been represented in *general* convention, for the purpose of raising moneys to defray the object of purchasing a colony in the province of Upper Canada, for those who should hereafter wish to emigrate thither, and that immediately after its organization, a corresponding agent should be appointed to reside at or near the intended purchase.

" Our then limited knowledge of the manners, customs, and privileges, and rights of aliens in Upper Canada, together with the climate, soil, and productions thereof, rendered it necessary to send out agents to examine the same, who returned with a favorable report, except that citizens of these United States could not purchase lands in Upper Canada, and legally transfer the same to other individuals.

" The Convention resolved to reassemble on the first Monday in June, 1831, during which time the order of the Convention had been carried into operation, relative to establishing Societies for the promotion of said object ; and the sum and total of their proceedings were, that the Convention recommended to the colored people generally, when persecuted as were our brethren in Ohio, to seek an Asylum in

Upper Canada. During which time, information having been received that a part of the white inhabitants of said province had, through prejudice and the fear of being overburthened with an ejected population, petitioned the provincial parliament to prohibit the general influx of colored population from entering their limits, which threw some consternation on the prospect. The Convention did not wholly abandon the subject, but turned its attention more to the elevation of our people in this, our native home.

"The recent occurrences at the South have swelled the tide of prejudice until it has almost revolutionized public sentiment, which has given birth to severe legislative enactments in some of the States, and almost ruined our interests and prospects in others, in which, in the opinion of your Committee, our situation is more precarious than it has been at any other period since the Declaration of Independence.

"The events of the past year have been more fruitful in persecution, and have presented more inducements than any other period of the history of our country, for the men of color to fly from the graves of their fathers, and seek new homes in a land where the roaring billows of prejudice are less injurious to their rights and privileges.

"Your Committee would now approach the present Convention and examine the resolution under consideration, beginning with the first interrogatory, viz. : Is it proper for the Free people of color in this country, under existing circumstances, to remove to any distant territory beyond the United States?

"If we admit the first interrogatory to be true, as it is the exact spirit of the language of this resolution, now under consideration, it is altogether unnecessary for us to make further preparation for either our moral, intellectual, or political advancement in this our own, our native land.

"Your Committee also believe that if this Convention shall adopt a resolution that will, as soon as means can be obtained, remove our colored population to the province of Upper Canada, the best and brightest prospect of the philanthropists who are laboring for our elevation in this country will be thwarted, and they will be brought to the conclusion that the great object which actuated their labors would now be removed, and they might now rest from their labors and have the painful feeling of transmitting to future generations, that an oppressed people, in the land of their birth, supported by the genuine philanthropists of the age, amidst friends, companions, and their natural attachments, a genial clime, a fruitful soil,—amidst the rays of as proud institutions as ever graced the most favored spot that has ever received the glorious rays of a meridian sun,—have abandoned their homes on account of their persecutions, for a home almost similarly precarious, for an abiding-place among strangers !

"Your Committee further believe that any express plan to colonize our people beyond the limits of these United States, tends to weaken the situation of those who are left behind, without any peculiar advantage to those who emigrate. But it must be admitted, that the rigid oppression abroad in the land is such, that a *part* of our suffering brethren cannot live under it, and that the compulsory laws and the inducements held out by the American Colonization Society are such as will cause them to alienate all their natural attachments to their homes, and accept of the only mode left open, which is to remove to a distant country to receive those rights and privileges of which they have been deprived. And as this Convention is associated for the purpose of recommending to our people the best mode of alleviating their present miseries,

"Therefore, your Committee would, most respectfully, recommend to the general Convention, now assembled, to exercise the most vigorous means to collect monies through their auxiliaries, or otherwise, to be applied in such manner, as will advance the interests, and contribute to the wants of the free colored population of this country generally.

"Your Committee would now most respectfully approach the *second inquiry*, viz. :—Does Upper Canada possess superior advantages and conveniences to those held out in the United States or elsewhere ?

"Your Committee, without summing up the advantages and disadvantages of other situations, would, most respectfully answer in the affirmative. At least they are willing to assert that the advantage is much in favor of those who are obliged to leave their present homes. For your more particular information on that subject we would, most respectfully, refer you to the interesting account given by our real and indefatigable friend, Benjamin Lundy, in a late number of the "Genius of Universal Emancipation." *Vide* "Genius of Universal Emancipation," No. 10, vol. 12.

"From the history there laid down, your Committee would, most respectfully, request the Convention to aid, so far as in their power lies, those who are obliged to seek an asylum in the province of Upper Canada ; and, in order that they may more effectually carry their views into operation, they would respectfully request them to appoint an Agent in Upper Canada, to receive such funds as may be there transmitted for their use.

"Your Committee have now arrived at the *third* and last inquiry, viz. :—Is there any certainty that we, as a people, will be compelled to leave this our native land, for a home in a distant region ? To this inquiry your Committee are unable to answer ; it belongs to the fruitful events of time to determine. The mistaken policy of some of the friends of our improvement, that the same could be effected on the shore of Africa, has raised the tide of our calamity until it has over-

flowed the valleys of peace and tranquillity—the dark clouds of prejudice have rained persecution—the oppressor and the oppressed have suffered together—and we have yet been protected by that Almighty arm, who holds in his hands the destinies of nations, and whose presence is a royal safeguard, should we place the utmost reliance on his wisdom and power.

“Your Committee, while they rejoice at the noble object for which the Convention was first associated, have been unable to come to any conclusive evidence that lands can be purchased by this Convention and legally transferred to individuals, residents of said colony, so long as the present laws exist. But, while they deem it inexpedient for the Convention to purchase lands in Upper Canada for the purpose of erecting a colony thereon, do again, most respectfully, hope that they will exercise the same laudable exertions to collect funds for the comfort and happiness of our people there situated, and those who may hereafter emigrate, and pursue the same judicious measures in the appropriation of said funds, as they would in procuring a tract of land, as expressed by the resolution.

“Your Committee, after examining the various circumstances connected with our situation as a people, have come, unanimously, to the conclusion to recommend to this Convention to adopt the following resolution, as the best mode of alleviating the miseries of our oppressed brethren :

“*Resolved*, That this Convention recommend the establishment of a Society, or Agent, in Upper Canada, for the purpose of purchasing lands and contributing to the wants of our people generally, who may be, by oppressive legislative enactments, obliged to flee from these United States and take up residence within her borders. And that this Convention will employ its auxiliary societies, and such other means as may lie in its power, for the purpose of raising monies, and remit the same for the purpose of aiding the proposed object.

[Signed]	“ ROBERT COWLEY,	BENJ. PASCHAL,	} <i>Committee.”</i>
	“ JOHN PECK,	THOS. D. COXSIN,	
	“ WM. HAMILTON,	J. C. MOREL,	
	“ WM. WHIPPER,		

This convention's work was carefully done, its plans were laid upon a broader scale, and the Colored people, beholding its proceedings, took heart, and went forward with zeal and courage seeking to increase their intelligence and wealth, and improve their social condition. In their address the convention did not fail to give the Colonization Society a parting shot.

"CONVENTIONAL ADDRESS.

"To the Free Colored Inhabitants of these United States :

"FELLOW-CITIZENS : We have again been permitted to associate in our representative character, from the different sections of this Union, to pour into one common stream, the afflictions, the prayers, and sympathies of our oppressed people ; the axis of time has brought around this glorious, annual event. And we are again brought to rejoice that the wisdom of Divine Providence has protected us during a year whose autumnal harvest has been a reign of terror and persecution, and whose winter has almost frozen the streams of humanity by its frigid legislation. It is under the influence of times and feelings like these, that we now address you. Of a people situated as we are, little can be said, except that it becomes our duty strictly to watch those causes that operate against our interests and privileges ; and to guard against whatever measures that will either lower us in the scale of being, or perpetuate our degradation in the eyes of the civilized world.

"The effects of Slavery on the bond and Colonization on the free. Of the first we shall say but little, but will here repeat the language of a high-minded Virginian in the Legislature of that State, on the recent discussion of the slave question before that honorable body, who declared, that man could not hold property in man, and that the master held no right to the slave, either by a law of nature or a patentee from God, but by the will of society ; which we declare to be an unjust usurpation of the rights and privileges of men.

"But how beautiful must the prospect be to the philanthropist, to view us, the children of persecution, grown to manhood, associating in our delegated character to devise plans and means for our moral elevation, and attracting the attention of the wise and good over the whole country, who are anxiously watching our deliberations.

"We have here to inform you, that we have patiently listened to the able and eloquent arguments produced by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, in behalf of the doings of said Society, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Esq., in opposition to its action.

"A more favorable opportunity to arrive at truth seldom has been witnessed, but while we admire the distinguished piety and Christian feelings with which he so solemnly portrayed the doctrines of that institution, we do now *assert*, that the result of the same has tended more deeply to rivet our solid conviction, that the doctrines of said Society are at enmity with the principles and precepts of religion, humanity, and justice, and should be regarded by every man of color in these United States as an evil, for magnitude, unexcelled, and whose doctrines aim at the entire extinction of the free colored population and the riveting of slavery.

"We might here repeat our protest against that institution, but it is unnecessary ; your views and sentiments have long since gone to the world ; the wings of the wind have borne your disapprobation to that institution. Time itself cannot erase it. You have dated your opposition from its beginning, and your views are strengthened by time and circumstances, and they hold the uppermost seat in your affections. We have not been unmindful of the compulsory laws which caused our brethren in Ohio to seek new homes in a distant land, there to share and suffer all the inconveniences of exiles in an uncultivated region ; which has led us to admire the benevolent feelings of a rival government in its liberal protection to strangers ; which has induced us to recommend to you, to exercise your best endeavors, to collect monies to secure the purchase of lands in the Canadas, for those who may by oppressive legislative enactments be obliged to move thither.

"In contributing to our brethren that aid which will secure them a refuge in a storm, we would not wish to be understood as possessing any inclination to remove, nor in the least to impoverish, that noble sentiment which we rejoice in exclaiming—

" This is *our* own,
Our native land.

"All that we have done, humanity dictated it ; neither inclination nor alienated feelings to our country prescribed it, but that power which is above all other considerations, viz. : the law of necessity.

"We yet anticipate in the moral strength of this nation, a final redemption from those evils that have been illegitimately entailed on us as a people. We yet expect, by due exertions on our part, together with the aid of the benevolent philanthropists of our country, to acquire a moral and intellectual strength that will unshaft the calumnious darts of our adversaries, and present to the world a general character that they will feel bound to respect and admire.

"It will be seen by a reference to our proceedings, that we have again recommended the further prosecution of the contemplated college, proposed by the last Convention, to be established at New Haven, under the rules and regulations then established. A place for its location will be selected in a climate and neighborhood where the inhabitants are less prejudiced to our rights and privileges. The proceedings of the citizens of New Haven, with regard to the erection of the college, were a disgrace to them, and cast a stigma on the reputed fame of New England and the country. We are unwilling that the character of the whole country should sink by the proceedings of a few. We are determined to present to another portion of the country not far distant, and at no very remote period, the

opportunity of gaining for them the character of a truly philanthropic spirit, and of retrieving the character of the country, by the disreputable proceedings of New Haven. We must have colleges and high-schools on the manual-labor system, where our youth may be instructed in all the arts of civilized life. If we ever expect to see the influence of prejudice decrease, and ourselves respected, it must be by the blessings of an enlightened education. It must be by being in possession of that classical knowledge which promotes genius, and causes man to soar up to those high intellectual enjoyments and acquirements, which place him in a situation to shed upon a country and a people that scientific grandeur which is imperishable by time, and drowns in oblivion's cup their moral degradation. Those who think that our primary schools are capable of effecting this, are a century behind the age when to have proved a question in the rule of three was considered a higher attainment than solving the most difficult problem in Euclid is now. They might have at that time performed what some people expect of them now, in the then barren state of science; but they are now no longer capable of reflecting brilliancy on our national character, which will elevate us from our present situation. If we wish to be respected, we must build our moral character on a base as broad and high as the nation itself; our country and our character require it; we have performed all the duties from the menial to the soldier,—our fathers shed their blood in the great struggle for independence. In the late war between Great Britain and the United States, a proclamation was issued to the free colored inhabitants of Louisiana, September 21, 1814, inviting them to take up arms in defence of their country, by Gen. Andrew Jackson. And in order that you may have an idea of the manner in which they acquitted themselves on that perilous occasion, we will refer you to the proclamation of Thomas Butler, Aid-de-Camp.

"You there see that your country expects much from you, and that you have much to call you into action, morally, religiously, and scientifically. Prepare yourselves to occupy the several stations to which the wisdom of your country may promote you. We have been told in this Convention, by the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, that there are causes which forbid our advancement in this country, which no humanity, no legislation, and no religion can control. Believe it not. Is not humanity susceptible of all the tender feelings of benevolence? Is not legislation supreme—and is not religion virtuous? Our oppressed situation arises from their opposite causes. There is an awakening spirit in our people to promote their elevation, which speaks volumes in their behalf. We anticipated at the close of the last Convention, a larger representation and an increased number of delegates; we were not deceived, the number has been tenfold. And we have a

right to expect that future Conventions will be increased by a geometrical ratio, until we shall present a body not inferior in numbers to our State Legislatures, and the *phenomenon* of an *oppressed people*, deprived of the rights of citizenship, in the midst of an enlightened nation, devising plans and measures for their personal and mental elevation, by *moral suasion alone*.

"In recommending you a path to pursue for our present good and future elevation, we have taken into consideration the circumstances of the free colored population, so far as it was possible to ascertain their views and sentiments, hoping that at a future Convention, you will all come ably represented, and that your wishes and views may receive that deliberation and attention for which this body is particularly associated.

"Finally, before taking our leave, we would admonish you, by all that you hold dear, beware of that bewitching evil, that bane of society, that curse of the world, that fell destroyer of the best prospects and the last hope of civilized man,—INTEMPERANCE.

"Be righteous, be honest, be just, be economical, be prudent, offend not the laws of your country,—in a word, live in that purity of life, by both precept and example,—live in the constant pursuit of that moral and intellectual strength which will invigorate your understandings and render you illustrious in the eyes of civilized nations, when they will assert that all that illustrious worth which was once possessed by the Egyptians, and slept for ages, has now arisen in their descendents, the inhabitants of the New World."

Excellent as was the work of these conventions of men of color, they nevertheless became the magazines from which the pro-slavery element secured dangerous ammunition with which to attack the anti-slavery movement. The white anti-slavery societies were charged with harboring a spirit of race prejudice ; with inconsistency, in that while seeking freedom for the Negro by means of agitation, separate efforts were put forth by the white and black anti-slavery people of the North. And this had its due effect. Massachusetts and other States had abolition societies composed entirely of persons of Color. "*The Massachusetts General Colored Association*" organized in the early days of the agitation movement. It had among its leading men the most intelligent and public-spirited Colored citizens of Boston. James G. Barbadoes, Coffin Pitts, John E. Scarlett, the Eastons, Hosea and Joshua ; Wm. C. Nell, Thomas Cole, Thomas Dalton, Frederick Brimley, Walker Lewis, and John T. Hilton were a few of "the faithful." In January, 1833, the following communication was sent to the white anti-slavery society of New England.

" BOSTON, January 15, 1833.

" *To the Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society :*

" The Massachusetts General Colored Association, cordially approving the objects and principles of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, would respectfully communicate their desire to become auxiliary thereto. They have accordingly chosen one of their members to attend the annual meeting of the Society as their delegate (Mr. JOSHUA EASTON, of North Bridgewater), and solicit his acceptance in that capacity.

" THOMAS DALTON, *President*,

" WILLIAM C. NELL, *Vice-President*.

" JAMES G. BARBADOES, *Secretary*."

The request was granted, but a few hints among friends on the outside sufficed to demonstrate the folly and hurtfulness of anti-slavery societies composed exclusively of men of color. Within the next two years Colored organizations perished, and their members took their place in the white societies. Such Colored men as John B. Vashon and Robert Purvis, of Pennsylvania; David Ruggles and Philip A. Bell, of New York; and Charles Lenox Remond and Wm. Wells Brown, of Massachusetts, were soon seen as orators and presiding officers in the different anti-slavery societies of the free States. Frederick Douglass, the Rev. Samuel Ringgold Ward, James McCune Smith, M.D.; James W. C. Pennington, D.D.; Henry Highland Garnett, D.D.; Alexander Crummell, D.D.; and other Colored men were eloquent, earnest, and effective in their denunciation of the institution that enslaved their brethren. In England and in Europe a corps of intelligent Colored orators was kept busy painting, to interested audiences, the cruelties and iniquities of American slavery. By association and sympathy these Colored orators took on the polish of Anglo-Saxon scholarship. Of the influence of the American Anti-slavery Society upon the Colored man, Maria Weston Chapman once said, it is " church and university, high school and common school, to all who need real instruction and true religion. Of it what a throng of authors, editors, lawyers, orators, and accomplished gentlemen of color have taken their degree! It has equally implanted hopes and aspirations, noble thoughts, and sublime purposes, in the hearts of both races. It has prepared the white man for the freedom of the black man, and it has made the black man scorn the thought of enslavement, as does a white man, as far as its influence has ex-

tended. *Strengthen that noble influence!* Before its organization, the country only saw here and there in slavery some 'faithful Cudjoe or Dinah,' whose strong natures blossomed even in bondage, like a fine plant beneath a heavy stone. Now, under the elevating and cherishing influence of the American Anti-slavery Society, the colored race, like the white, furnishes Corinthian capitals for the noblest temples. Aroused by the American Anti-slavery Society, the very white men who had forgotten and denied the claim of the black man to the rights of humanity, now thunder that claim at every gate, from cottage to capitol, from school-house to university, from the railroad carriage to the house of God. He has a place at their firesides, a place in their hearts—the man whom they once cruelly hated for his color. So feeling, they *cannot* send him to Coventry with a horn-book in his hand, and call it *instruction!* They inspire him to climb to their side by a visible, acted gospel of freedom. Thus, instead of bowing to prejudice, they conquer it."

In January, 1836, Rev. Mr. Follen offered the following resolution in a meeting of the New England Anti-slavery Society:

"Resolved, That we consider the Anti-slavery cause the cause of philanthropy, with regard to which all human beings, white men and colored men, citizens and foreigners, men and women, have the same duties and the same rights."

In support of his resolution, he said:

"We have been advised, if we really wished to benefit the slave and the colored race generally, not unnecessarily to shock the feelings, though they were but prejudices, of the white people, by admitting colored persons to our Anti-slavery meetings and societies. We have been told that many who would otherwise act in unison with us were kept away by our disregard of the feelings of the community in this respect. . . . But what, I would ask, is the great, the single object of all our meetings and societies? Have we any other object than to impress upon the community this one principle, that the *colored man is a man?* And, on the other hand, is not the prejudice which would have us exclude colored people from our meetings and societies the same which, in our Southern States, dooms them to perpetual bondage?"

In May, 1837, the *Anti-slavery Women of America* met in convention in New York. In a circular issued by the authority of the convention, and signed by Mary S. Parker, President,

Angelina E. Grimkie, Secretary, another attack was made upon proscription in anti-slavery societies. There was a Colored lady named Sarah Douglass on the Central Committee. The following paragraphs from the circular are specimens sufficient to show the character of the circular; and the poetry at the end, written by a Colored member, Miss Sarah Forten, justified the hopes of her white sisters concerning the race :

"Those Societies that reject colored members, or seek to avoid them, have never been active or efficient. The blessing of God does not rest upon them, because they 'keep back a part of the price of the land,'—they do not lay *all* at the apostle's feet.

"The abandonment of prejudice is required of us as a proof of our sincerity and consistency. How can we ask our Southern brethren to make sacrifices, if we are not even willing to encounter inconveniences? First cast the beam from thine own eye, then wilt thou see clearly to cast it from his eye.

"We are thy sisters. God has truly said
That of one blood the nations He has made.
O Christian woman! in a Christian land,
Canst thou unblushing read this great command?
Suffer the wrongs which wing our inmost heart,
To draw one throb of pity on thy part?
Our Skins may differ, but from thee we claim
A sister's privilege and a sister's name."

Every barrier was now broken down inside of anti-slavery organizations; and having conquered the prejudice that crippled their work, they enjoyed greater freedom in the prosecution of their labors.

The Colored orators wrought a wonderful change in public sentiment. In the inland white communities throughout the Northern States Negroes were few, and the majority of them were servants; some of them indolent and vicious. From these few the moral and intellectual photograph of the entire race was taken. So it was meet that Negro orators of refinement should go from town to town. The North needed arousing and educating on the anti-slavery question, and no class did more practical work in this direction than the little company of orators, with the peerless Douglass at its head, that pleaded the cause of their brethren in the flesh before the cultivated audiences of New England, the Middle and Western States,—yea, even in the capital cities of conservative Europe.

CHAPTER VII.

NEGRO INSURRECTIONS.

THE NEGRO NOT SO DOCILE AS SUPPOSED. — THE REASON WHY HE WAS KEPT IN BONDAGE. — NEGROES POSSESSED COURAGE BUT LACKED LEADERS. — INSURRECTION OF SLAVES. — GEN. GABRIEL AS A LEADER. — NEGRO INSURRECTION PLANNED IN SOUTH CAROLINA. — EVILS OF SLAVERY REVEALED. — THE "NAT. TURNER" INSURRECTION IN SOUTH HAMPTON COUNTY, VIRGINIA. — THE WHITES ARM THEMSELVES TO REPEL THE INSURRECTIONISTS. — CAPTURE AND TRIAL OF "NAT. TURNER." — HIS EXECUTION. — EFFECT OF THE INSURRECTION UPON SLAVES AND SLAVE-HOLDERS.

THE supposed docility of the American Negro was counted among the reasons why it was thought he could never gain his freedom on this continent. But this was a misinterpretation of his real character. Besides, it was next to impossible to learn the history of the Negro during the years of his enslavement at the South. The question was often asked: Why don't the Negroes rise at the South and exterminate their enslavers? Negatively, not because they lacked the courage, but because they lacked leaders [as has been stated already, they sought the North and their freedom through the Underground R. R.] to organize them. But notwithstanding this great disadvantage the Negroes *did* rise on several different occasions, and did effective work.

"Three times, at intervals of thirty years, has a wave of unutterable terror swept across the Old Dominion, bringing thoughts of agony to every Virginian master, and of vague hope to every Virginian slave. Each time has one man's name become a spell of dismay and a symbol of deliverance. Each time has that name eclipsed its predecessor, while recalling it for a moment to fresher memory; John Brown revived the story of Nat. Turner, as in his day Nat. Turner recalled the vaster schemes of Gabriel."¹

Mention has been made of the insurrection of slaves in South Carolina in the last century. Upon the very threshold of the

¹ Atlantic Monthly, vol. x. p. 337.

nineteenth century, "General Gabriel" made the master-class of Virginia quail with mortal dread. He was a man of more than ordinary intelligence ; and his plans were worthy of greater success. The following newspaper paragraph reveals the condition of the minds of Virginians respecting the Negroes :

"For the week past, we have been under momentary expectation of a rising among the negroes, who have assembled to the number of nine hundred or a thousand, and threatened to massacre all the whites. They are armed with desperate weapons, and secrete themselves in the woods. God only knows our fate ; we have strong guards every night under arms."

The above was communicated to the "United States Gazette," printed in Philadelphia, under date of September 8, 1800, by a Virginia correspondent. The people felt that they were sleeping over a magazine. The movement of Gabriel was to have taken place on Saturday, September 1st. The rendezvous of the Negro troops was a brook, about six miles from Richmond. The force was to comprise eleven hundred men, divided into three divisions. Richmond—then a town of eight thousand inhabitants—was the point of attack, which was to be effected under cover of night. The right wing was to fall suddenly upon the penitentiary, lately improvised into an arsenal ; the left wing was to seize the powder-house ; and, thus equipped and supplied with the munitions of war, the two columns were to assign the hard fighting to the third column. This column was to have possession of all the guns, swords, knives, and other weapons of modern warfare. It was to strike a sharp blow by entering the town from both ends, while the other two columns, armed with shovels, picks, clubs, etc., were to act as a reserve. The white troops were scarce, and the situation, plans, etc., of the Negroes were admirable.

" . . . the penitentiary held several thousand stand of arms ; the powder-house was well-stocked ; the capitol contained the State treasury ; the mills would give them bread ; the control of the bridge across James River would keep off enemies from beyond. Thus secured and provided, they planned to issue proclamations summoning to their standard 'their fellow-negroes and the friends of humanity throughout the continent.' In a week, it was estimated, they would have fifty thousand men on their side, with which force they could easily

possess themselves of other towns ; and, indeed, a slave named John Scott—possibly the dangerous possessor of ten dollars—was already appointed to head the attack on Petersburg. But in case of final failure, the project included a retreat to the mountains, with their new-found property. John Brown was therefore anticipated by Gabriel sixty years before, in believing the Virginia mountains to have been ‘created, from the foundation of the world, as a place of refuge for fugitive slaves.’”¹

The plot failed, but everybody, and the newspapers also, said the plan was well conceived.

In 1822 another Negro insurrection was planned in Charleston, S. C. The leader of this affair was Denmark Vesey.² This plot for an insurrection extended for forty-five or fifty miles around Charleston, and intrusted its secrets to thousands. Denmark Vesey, assisted by several other intelligent and trusty Negroes, had conceived the idea of slaughtering the whites in and about Charleston, and thus securing liberty for the blacks. A recruiting committee was formed, and every slave enlisted was sworn to secrecy. Household servants were rarely trusted. Talkative and intemperate slaves were not enlisted. Women were excluded from the affair that they might take care of the children. Peter Poyas, it was said, had enlisted six hundred without assistance. There were various opinions respecting the number enlisted. Some put it at hundreds, others thousands; one witness at the trial said there were nine thousand, another six thousand. But no white person ever succeeded in gaining the confidence of the black conspirators. Never was a plot so carefully guarded for so long a time.

“During the excitement and the trial of the supposed conspirators, rumor proclaimed all, and doubtless more than all, the horrors of the plot. The city was to be fired in every quarter, the arsenal in the immediate vicinity was to be broken open, and the arms distributed to the insurgents, and an universal massacre of the white inhabitants to take place. Nor did there seem to be any doubt in the mind of the people that such would actually have been the result, had not the plot fortunately been detected before the time appointed for the outbreak. It was believed, as a matter of course, that every black in the city would join in the insurrection, and that, if the original design had been at-

¹ Atlantic Monthly, vol. x. p. 339.

² Atlantic Monthly, vol. vii. pp. 728, 744.

tempted, and the city taken by surprise, the negroes would have achieved a complete and easy victory. Nor does it seem at all impossible that such might have been or yet may be the case, if any well-arranged and resolute rising should take place."¹

This bold plot failed because a Negro named William Paul began to make enlistments without authority. He revealed the secret to a household servant, just the very man he should have left to the skilful manipulations of Peter Poyas or Denmark Vesey. As an evidence of the perfection of the plot it should be stated that after a month of official investigation only fifteen out of the thousands had been apprehended!

"The leaders of this attempt at insurrection died as bravely as they had lived; and it is one of the marvels of the remarkable affair, that none of this class divulged any of their secrets to the court. The men who did the talking were those who knew but little."

The effect was to reveal the evils of slavery, to stir men to thought, and to hasten the day of freedom.

"Nat." Turner combined the lamb and lion. He was a Christian and a *man*. He was conscious that he was a man and not a "thing"; therefore, driven by religious fanaticism, he undertook a difficult and bloody task. Nathaniel Turner was born in Southampton County, Virginia, October 2, 1800. His master was one Benjamin Turner, a very wealthy and aristocratic man. He owned many slaves, and was a cruel and exacting master. Young "Nat." was born of slave parents, and carried to his grave many of the superstitions and traits of his father and mother. The former was a preacher; the latter a "mother in Israel." Both were unlettered, but, nevertheless, very pious people. The mother began when Nat. was quite young to teach him that he was born, like Moses, to be the deliverer of his race. She would sing to him snatches of wild, rapturous songs, and repeat portions of prophecy she had learned from the preachers of those times. Nat. listened with reverence and awe, and believed every thing his mother said. He imbibed the deep religious character of his parents, and soon manifested a desire to preach. He was solemnly set apart to "the Gospel Ministry" by his father, the Church, and visiting preachers. He was quite low in stature, dark, and had the genuine African features. His eyes

¹ Atlantic Monthly, vol. vii. p. 737.

were small, but sharp, and gleamed like fire when he was talking about his "mission," or preaching from some prophetic passage of Scripture. It is said that he never laughed. He was a dreamy sort of a man, and avoided the crowd. Like Moses, he lived in the solitudes of the mountains and brooded over the condition of his people. There was something grand to him in the rugged scenery that nature had surrounded him with. He believed that he was a prophet, a leader raised up by God to burst the bolts of the prison-house and set the oppressed free. The thunder, the hail, the storm-cloud, the air, the earth, the stars, at which he would sit and gaze half the night, all spake the language of the God of the oppressed. He was seldom seen in a large company, and never drank a drop of ardent spirits. Like John the Baptist, when he had delivered his message, he would retire to the fastness of the mountain, or seek the desert, where he could meditate upon his great work.

At length he declared that God spake to him. He began to dream dreams and to see visions. His grandmother, a very old and superstitious person, encouraged him in his dreaming. But, notwithstanding, he believed that he had communion with God, and saw the most remarkable visions, he denounced in the severest terms the familiar practices among slaves, known as "conjuring," "gufering," and fortune-telling. The people regarded him with mixed feelings of fear and reverence. He preached with great power and authority. He loved the prophecies, and drew his illustrations from nature. He presented God as the "*All-Powerful*"; he regarded him as a great "*Warrior*." His master soon discovered that Nat. was the acknowledged leader among the slaves, and that his fame as "prophet" and "leader" was spreading throughout the State. The poor slaves on distant plantations regarded the name of Nat. Turner as very little removed from that of God. Though having never seen him, yet they believed in him as the man under whose lead they would some time march out of the land of bondage. His influence was equally great among the preachers, while many white people honored and feared him. His master thought it necessary to the safety of his property, to hire Nat. out to a most violent and cruel man. Perhaps he thought to have him "broke." If so, he was mistaken. Nat. Turner was the last slave to submit to an insult given by a white man. His new master could do nothing with him. He ran off, and spent thirty

days in the swamps—but returned. He was upbraided by some of his fellow-slaves for not seeking, as he certainly could have done, “the land of the free.” He answered by saying, that a voice said to him: “Return to your earthly master; for he who knoweth his Master’s will and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.” It was no direction to submit to an earthly master, but to return to him in order to carry out the will of his Heavenly Master. He related some of the visions he saw during his absence. “About that time I had a vision, and saw white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle; and the sun was darkened, the thunder rolled in the heavens, and blood flowed in streams; and I heard a voice saying: ‘Such is your luck, such are you called on to see; and let it come, rough or smooth, you must surely bear it.’” It was not long after this when he saw another vision. He says a spirit appeared unto him and spake as follows: “The serpent is loosened, and Christ has laid down the yoke he has borne for the sins of men; and you must take it up and fight against the serpent, for the time is fast approaching when the first shall be last, and the last shall be first.” These visions and many others enthused Nat., and led him to believe that the time was near when the Blacks would be “first” and the whites “last.”

The plot for a general uprising was laid in the month of February, 1831. He had seen the last vision. He says: “I was told I should arise and prepare myself, and slay my enemies with their own weapons.” He was now prepared to arrange the details of his plot. He appointed a meeting, to which he invited four trusted friends, Sam. Edwards, Hark Travis, Henry Porter, and Nelson Williams. A wild and desolate glen was chosen as the place of meeting, and night the time when they could perfect their plans without being molested by the whites. They brought with them provisions, and ate while they debated among themselves the methods by which to carry out their plan of blood and death. The main difficulty that confronted them was how to get arms. Nat. remembered that a spirit had instructed him to “slay my enemies with their own weapons,” so they decided to follow these instructions. After they had decided upon a plan, “the prophet Nat.” arose, and, like a great general, made a speech to his small but brave force. “Friends and brothers,” said he, “we are to commence a great work to-night! Our race is to be delivered from slavery, and God has appointed us as the

men to do his bidding; and let us be worthy of our calling. I am told to slay all the whites we encounter, without regard to age or sex. We have no arms or ammunition, but we will find these in the houses of our oppressors; and, as we go on, others can join us. Remember, we do not go forth for the sake of blood and carnage; but it is necessary that, in the commencement of this revolution, all the whites we meet should die, until we have an army strong enough to carry on the war upon a Christian basis. Remember that ours is not a war for robbery, nor to satisfy our passions; it is a *struggle for freedom*. Ours must be deeds, not words. Then let's away to the scene of action!"

The blow was struck on the night of the 21st of August, 1831, in Southampton County, near Jerusalem Court-House. The latter place is about seventy miles from Richmond. Not only Southampton County but old Virginia reeled under the blow administered by the heavy hand of Nat. Turner. On their way to the first house they were to attack, that of a planter by the name of Joseph Travis, they were joined by a slave belonging to a neighboring plantation. We can find only one name for him, "Will." He was the slave of a cruel master, who had sold his wife to the "nigger traders." He was nearly six feet in height, well developed, and the most powerful and athletic man in the county. He was marked with an ugly scar, extending from his right eye to the extremity of the chin. He hated his master, hated slavery, and was glad of an opportunity to wreak his vengeance upon the whites. He armed himself with a sharp broad-axe, under whose cruel blade many a white man fell. Nat.'s speech gives us a very clear idea of the scope and spirit of his plan. We quote from his confession at the time of the trial, and will let him tell the story of this terrible insurrection.

"On returning to the house, Hark went to the door with an axe, for the purpose of breaking it open, as we knew we were strong enough to murder the family should they be awakened by the noise; but, reflecting that it might create an alarm in the neighborhood, we determined to enter the house secretly, and murder them whilst sleeping. Hark got a ladder and set it against the chimney, on which I ascended, and, hoisting a window, entered and came down stairs, unbarred the doors, and removed the guns from their places. It was then observed that I must spill the first blood, on which, armed with a hatchet and accompanied by Will., I entered my master's chamber. It being dark, I could not give a death-blow. The hatchet glanced from his head; he sprang

from his bed and called his wife. It was his last word. Will. laid him dead with a blow of his axe."

After they had taken the lives of this family, they went from plantation to plantation, dealing death-blows to every white man, woman, or child they found. They visited vengeance upon every white household they came to. The excitement spread rapidly, and the whites arose and armed themselves in order to repel these insurrectionists.

"The first news concerning the affair was in the shape of a letter from Col. Trezvant, which reached Richmond Tuesday morning, too late for the columns of the (Richmond) "Enquirer," which was a tri-weekly. The letter was written on the 21st of August, and lacked definiteness, which gave rise to doubts in reference to the 'insurrection.' It was first sent to Petersburg, and was then immediately dispatched to the Mayor of Richmond.

"Arms and ammunition were dispatched in wagons to the county of Southampton. The four volunteer companies of Petersburg, the dragoons and Lafayette artillery company of Richmond, one volunteer company from Norfolk and one from Portsmouth, and the regiments of Southampton and Sussex, were at once ordered out. The cavalry and infantry took up their line of march on Tuesday evening, while the artillery embarked on the steamer 'Norfolk,' and landed at Smithfield. . . . A member of the Richmond dragoons, writing from Petersburg, under date of the 23d, after careful examination, thought that 'about two hundred and fifty negroes from a camp-meeting about the Dismal Swamp had murdered about sixty persons, none of them families much known.'"¹

Will., the revengeful slave, proved himself the most destructive and cruel of Nat.'s followers. A hand to hand battle came. The whites were well armed, and by the force of their superior numbers overcame the army of the "Prophet,"—five men. Will. would not surrender. He laid three white men dead at his feet, when he fell mortally wounded. His last words were: "Bury my axe with me," believing that in the next world he would need it for a similar purpose. Nat. fought with great valor and skill with a short sword, and finding it useless to continue the struggle, escaped with some of his followers to the swamps, where he defied the vigilance of the military and the patient watching of the

¹ Richmond Enquirer, August 26, 1831.

citizens for more than two months. He was finally compelled to surrender. When the Court asked: "Guilty or not guilty?" he pleaded: "Not guilty." He was sustained during his trial by his unflinching faith in God. Like Joan of Arc, he "heard the spirits," the "voices," and believed that God had "sent him to free His people."

In the impression of the "Enquirer" of the 30th of August, 1831, the first editorial, or leader, is under the caption of *THE BANDITTE*. The editor says:

"They remind one of a parcel of blood-thirsty wolves rushing down from the Alps; or, rather like a former incursion of the Indians upon the white settlements. Nothing is spared: neither age nor sex respected—the helplessness of women and children pleads in vain for mercy . . . The case of Nat. Turner warns us. No black-man ought to be permitted to turn a Preacher through the country. The law must be enforced—or the tragedy of Southampton appeals to us in vain."¹

A remarkable prophecy was made by Nat. The trial was hurried, and, like a handle on a pitcher, was on one side only. He was sentenced to die on the gallows. He received the announcement with stoic indifference, and was executed at Jerusalem, the county seat of Southampton, in April, 1831. He died like a man, bravely, calmly; looking into eternity, made radiant by a faith that had never faltered. He prophesied that on the day of his execution the sun would be darkened, and other evidences of divine disapprobation would be seen. The sheriff was much impressed by Nat.'s predictions, and consequently refused to have any thing to do with the hanging. No Colored man could be secured to cut the rope that held the trap. An old white man, degraded by drink and other vices, was engaged to act as executioner, and was brought forty miles. Whether it was a fulfilment of Nat.'s prophecy or not, the sun was hidden behind angry clouds, the thunder rolled, the lightning flashed, and the most terrific storm visited that county ever known. All this, in connection with Nat.'s predictions, made a wonderful impression upon the minds of the Colored people, and not a few white persons were frightened, and regretted the death of the "Prophet."

The results of this uprising, led by a lone man—he was alone,

¹ *Richmond Enquirer*, August 26 and 30, 1831.

and yet he was not alone,—are apparent when we consider that fifty-seven whites and seventy-three Blacks were killed and many were wounded.

The first reliable list of the victims of the "tragedy" was written on the 24th of August, 1831.

"List of the dead that have been buried :—At Mrs. Whiteheads', 7 ; Mrs. Waller's, 13 ; Mr. Williams', 3 ; Mr. Barrows', 2 ; Mr. Vaughn's, 5 ; Mrs. Turner's, 3 ; Mr. Travis's, 5 ; Mr. J. Williams', 5 ; Mr. Reice's, 4 ; Names unknown, 10 ; Total, 57."

Then there was a feeling of unrest among the slaves and a fear among the whites throughout the State. Even the proceedings of the trial of Nat. were suppressed for fear of evil consequences among the slaves. But now all are free, and the ex-planters will not gnash their teeth at this revelation. Nat. Turner's insurrection, like all other insurrections led by oppressed people, lacked detail and method. History records but one successful uprising—San Domingo has the honor. Even France failed in 1789, and in 1848. There is always a zeal for freedom, but not according to knowledge. No stone marks the resting-place of this martyr to freedom, this great religious fanatic, this Black John Brown. And yet he has a prouder and more durable monument than was ever erected of stone or brass. The image of Nat. Turner is carved on the fleshy tablets of four million hearts. His history has been kept from the Colored people at the South, but the women have handed the tradition to their children, and the "Prophet Nat." is still marching on.

Of the character of this remarkable man, Mr. Gray, the gentleman to whom he made his confession, had the following to say :—

"It has been said that he was ignorant and cowardly, and that his object was to murder and rob, for the purpose of obtaining money to make his escape. It is notorious that he was never known to have a dollar in his life, to swear an oath, or drink a drop of spirits. As to his ignorance, he certainly never had the advantages of education ; but he can read and write, and for natural intelligence and quickness of apprehension, is surpassed by few men I have ever seen. As to his being a coward, his reason, as given, for not resisting Mr. Phipps, shows the decision of his character. When he saw Mr. Phipps present his gun, he said he knew it was impossible for him to escape, as the woods were full of men ; he therefore thought it was better for him to surrender, and trust to fortune for his escape.

"He is a complete fanatic, or plays his part most admirably. On other subjects he possesses an uncommon share of intelligence, with a mind capable of attaining any thing, but warped and perverted by the influence of early impressions. He is below the ordinary stature, though strong and active, having the true negro face, every feature of which is strongly marked. I shall not attempt to describe the effect of his narrative, as told and commented on by himself, in the condemned hole of the prison : the calm, deliberate composure with which he spoke of his late deeds and intentions ; the expression of his fiend-like face, when excited by enthusiasm ; still bearing the stains of the blood of helpless innocence about him, clothed with rags and covered with chains, yet daring to raise his manacled hands to Heaven, with a spirit soaring above the attributes of man. I looked on him, and the blood curdled in my veins."

In the "Richmond Enquirer," of September 2, 1831, appeared the following: "It is reported that a map was found, and said to have been drawn by Nat. Turner, with *polk-berry juice*, which was a description of the county of Southampton."

The influence of this bloody insurrection spread beyond the Old Dominion, and for years afterward, in nearly every Southern State the whites lived in a state of dread. To every dealer in flesh and blood the "Nat. Turner Insurrection" was a stroke of poetic justice.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE "AMISTAD" CAPTIVES.

THE SPANISH SLAVER "AMISTAD" SAILS FROM HAVANA, CUBA, FOR PORTO PRINCEPE. — FIFTY-FOUR NATIVE AFRICANS ON BOARD. — JOSEPH CINQUEZ, THE SON OF AN AFRICAN PRINCE. — THE "AMISTAD" CAPTURED AND TAKEN INTO NEW LONDON, CONN. — TRIAL AND RELEASE OF THE SLAVES. — TOUR THROUGH THE UNITED STATES. — RETURN TO THEIR NATIVE COUNTRY IN COMPANY WITH MISSIONARIES. — THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE BENEFITED BY THEIR STAY IN THE UNITED STATES. — THEIR APPRECIATION OF CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION.

ON the 28th of June, 1839, the "Amistad," a Spanish slaver (schooner), with Captain Ramon Ferrer in command, sailed from Havana, Cuba, for Porto Principe, a place in the island of Cuba, about 100 leagues distant. The passengers were Don Pedro Montes and Jose Ruiz, with fifty-four Africans just from their native country, Lemboko, as slaves. Among the slaves was one man, called in Spanish, Joseph Cinquez,¹ said to be the son of an African prince. He was possessed of wonderful natural abilities, and was endowed with all the elements of an intelligent and intrepid leader. The treatment these captives received was very cruel. They were chained down between the decks—space not more than four feet—by their wrists and ankles; forced to eat rice, sick or well, and whipped upon the slightest provocation. On the fifth night out, Cinquez chose a few trusty companions of his misfortunes, and made a successful attack upon the officers and crew. The captain and cook struck down, two sailors put ashore, the Negroes were in full possession of the vessel. Montes was compelled, under pain of death, to navigate the vessel to Africa. He steered eastwardly during the daytime, but at night put about hoping to touch the American shore. Thus the vessel wandered until it was cited off of the coast of the United States during the month of August. It was described as a "long, low, black schooner." Notice was sent to all the collectors of the ports along the Atlantic Coast, and a steamer and several revenue

¹ Sometimes written Cinque.

cutters were dispatched after her. Finally, on the 26th of August, 1839, Lieut. Gedney, U. S. Navy, captured the "Amistad," and took her into New London, Connecticut.

The two Spaniards and a Creole cabin boy were examined before Judge Andrew T. Judson, of the United States Court, who, without examining the Negroes, bound them over to be tried as pirates. The poor Africans were cast into the prison at New London. Public curiosity was at a high pitch; and for a long time the "*Amistad captives*" occupied a large place in public attention. The Africans proved to be natives of the Mendi country, and quite intelligent. The romantic story of their sufferings and meanderings was given to the country through a competent interpreter; and many Christian hearts turned toward them in their lonely captivity in a strange land. The trial was continued several months. During this time the anti-slavery friends provided instruction for the Africans. Their minds were active and receptive. They soon learned to read, write, and do sums in arithmetic. They cultivated a garden of some fifteen acres, and proved themselves an intelligent and industrious people.

The final decision of the court was that the "Amistad captives" were not slaves, but freemen, and, as such, were entitled to their liberty. The good and liberal Lewis Tappan had taken a lively interest in these people from the first, and now that they were released from prison, felt that they should be sent back to their native shores and a mission started amongst their countrymen. Accordingly he took charge of them and appeared before the public in a number of cities of New England. An admission fee of fifty cents was required at the door, and the proceeds were devoted to leasing a vessel to take them home. Large audiences greeted them everywhere, and the impression they made was of the highest order. Mr. Tappan would state the desire of the people to return to their native land, appeal to the philanthropic to aid them, and then call upon the people to read the Scriptures, sing songs in their own language, and then in the English. Cinquez would then deliver an account of their capture, the horrors of the voyage, how he succeeded in getting his manacles off, how he aided his brethren to loose their fetters, how he invited them to follow him in an attempt to gain their liberty, the attack, and their rescue, etc., etc. He was a man of magnificent physique, commanding presence, graceful manners, and effective

oratory. His speeches were delivered in Mendi, and translated into English by an interpreter.

"It is impossible," wrote Mr. Tappan from Boston, "to describe the novel and deeply interesting manner in which he acquitted himself. The subject of his speech was similar to that of his countrymen who had spoken in English ; but he related more minutely and graphically the occurrences on board the "Amistad." The easy manner of Cinquez, his natural, graceful, and energetic action, the rapidity of his utterance, and the remarkable and various expressions of his countenance, excited admiration and applause. He was pronounced a powerful natural orator, and one born to sway the minds of his fellow-men. Should he be converted and become a preacher of the cross in Africa what delightful results may be anticipated !"

A little fellow called Kali, only eleven years of age, pleased the audience everywhere he went by his ability not only to spell any word in the Gospels, but sentences, without blundering. For example, he would spell out a sentence like the following sentence, naming each letter and syllable, and recapitulating as he went along, until he pronounced the whole sentence : "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

Of their doings in Philadelphia, Mr. Joseph Sturge wrote :

"On this occasion, a very crowded and miscellaneous assembly collected to see and hear the Mendians, although the admission had been fixed as high as half a dollar, with the view of raising a fund to carry them to their native country. Fifteen of them were present, including one little boy and three girls. Cinque, their chief, spoke with great fluency in his native language ; and his action and manner were very animated and graceful. Not much of his speech was translated, yet he greatly interested his audience. The little boy could speak our language with facility ; and each of them read, without hesitation, one or two verses in the New Testament. It was impossible for any one to go away with the impression, that in native intellect these people were inferior to the whites. The information which I privately received from their tutor, and others who had full opportunities of appreciating their capacities and attainments, fully confirmed my own very favorable impressions."

But all the while their sad hearts were turning toward their home and the dear ones so far away. One of them eloquently declared : "If Merica men offer me as much gold as fill this cap

full up, and give me houses, land, and every ting, so dat I stay in this country, I say: 'No! no! I want to see my father, my mother, my brother, my sister.'" Nothing could have been more tender and expressive. They were willing to endure any hardships short of life that they might once more see their own, their native land. The religious instruction they had enjoyed made a wonderful impression on their minds. One of them said: "We owe every thing to God; he keeps us alive, and makes us free. When we go to home to Mendi we tell our brethren about God, Jesus Christ, and heaven." Another one was asked: "What is faith?" and replied: "Believing in Jesus Christ, and trusting in him." Reverting to the murder of the captain and cook of the "Amistad," one of the Africans said that if it were to be done over again he would pray for rather than kill them. Cinquez, hearing this, smiled and shook his head. When asked if he would not pray for them, said: "Yes, I would pray for 'em, an' kill 'em too."

These captives were returned to their native country in the fall of 1841, accompanied by five missionaries. Their objective point was Sierra Leone, from which place the British Government assisted them to their homes. Their stay in the United States did the anti-slavery cause great good. Here were poor, naked, savage pagans, unable to speak English, in less than three years able to speak the English language and appreciate the blessings of a Christian civilization.

Part 6.

THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION.

CHAPTER IX.

NORTHERN SYMPATHY AND SOUTHERN SUBTERFUGES.

1850-1860.

VIOLENT TREATMENT OF ANTI-SLAVERY ORATORS.—THE SOUTH MISINTERPRETS THE MOBOCRATIC SPIRIT OF THE NORTH.—THE "GARRISONIANS" AND "CALHOUNITES."—SLAVE POPULATION OF 1830-1850.—THE THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS.—MOTION FOR THE ADMISSION OF NEW MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA.—THE DEMOCRATIC AND WHIG PARTIES ON THE TREATMENT OF THE SLAVE QUESTION.—CONVENTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.—NOMINATION OF FRANKLIN PIERCE FOR PRESIDENT.—WHIG PARTY CONVENTION.—NOMINATION OF GEN. WINFIELD SCOTT FOR THE PRESIDENCY BY THE WHIGS.—MR. PIERCE ELECTED PRESIDENT IN 1853.—A BILL INTRODUCED TO REPEAL THE "MISSOURI COMPROMISE."—SPEECH BY STEPHEN A DOUGLASS.—MR. CHASE'S REPLY.—AN ACT TO ORGANIZE THE TERRITORIES OF KANSAS AND NEBRASKA.—STATE MILITIA IN THE SOUTH MAKE PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.—PRESIDENT BUCHANAN IN SYMPATHY WITH THE SOUTH.

THE arguments of anti-slavery orators were answered everywhere throughout the free States by rotten eggs, clubs, and missiles. The public journals, as a rule, were unfriendly and intolerant. Even Boston could contemplate, with unruffled composure, a mob of her most "reputable citizens" dragging Mr. Garrison through the streets with a halter about his neck. Public meetings were broken up by pro-slavery mobs; owners of public halls required a moneyed guarantee against the destruction of their property, when such halls were used for anti-slavery meetings. Colored schools were broken up, the teachers driven away, and the pupils maltreated.

The mobocratic demonstrations in the Northern States were the thermometer of public feeling upon the subject of slavery. The South was, therefore, emboldened; for the political leaders in that section thought they saw a light from the distance that

encouraged them to entertain the belief and indulge the hope that their present sectional institution could be made national. Southerners thought slavery would grow in the cold climate of the North, excited into a lively existence by the warmth of a generous sympathy. But the South misinterpreted the real motive that inspired opposition to anti-slavery agitation in the North. The violent opposition came from the mercantile class and foreign element who believed that the agitation of the slavery question was a practical disturbance of their business affairs. The next class, more moderate in opposition to agitation, believed slavery constitutional, and, therefore, argued that anti-slavery orators were traitors to the government. The third class, conservative, did not take sides, because of the unpopularity of agitation on the one hand, and because of an harassing conscience on the other.

There were two classes of men who were seeking the dissolution of the Union. The Garrisonians sought this end in the hope of forming another Union *without* slavery.

In an address delivered by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, July 20, 1860, at the Framingham celebration, he declares:

"Our object is the abolition of slavery *throughout the land*; and whether in the prosecution of our object this party goes up or the other party goes down, it is nothing to us. We cannot alter our course one hair's breadth, nor accept a compromise of our principles for the hearty adoption of our principles. I am for *meddling with slavery everywhere*—*attacking it by night and by day, in season and out of season* (no, it can never be out of season)—in order to *effect its overthrow*. (Loud applause.) Higher yet will be my cry. Upward and onward! No union with slave-holders! Down with this slave-holding government! Let this 'covenant with death and agreement with hell' be annulled! *Let there be a free, independent, Northern republic, and the speedy abolition of slavery* will inevitably follow! (Loud applause.) So I am laboring to dissolve this blood-stained Union as a work of paramount importance. Our mission is to regenerate public opinion."

The Calhounites sought the dissolution of the Union in order that another Union might be formed *with* slavery as its chief corner-stone. Inspired by this hope and misguided by the apparent sympathy of the North, Southern statesmen began *preparations to dissolve the Union of the United States*.

During these years of agitation and discussion, although the

foreign slave-trade had been suppressed, the slave population increased at a wonderful ratio.

CENSUS OF 1830.—SLAVE POPULATION.

District of Columbia	6,119
Delaware	3,292
Florida	15,501
Georgia	217,531
Illinois	747
Kentucky	165,213
Louisiana	109,588
Maryland	102,994
Alabama	117,549
Mississippi	65,659
Missouri	25,091
New Jersey	2,254
North Carolina	245,601
South Carolina	315,401
Tennessee	141,603
Virginia	469,757
Arkansas	4,576

Aggregate 2,008,476

Now, this was the year the agitation movement began. Instead of the slave population decreasing during the first decade of anti-slavery discussion and work, it really increased 478,412!¹

CENSUS OF 1840.—SLAVE POPULATION.

Alabama	253,532
Arkansas	19,935
District of Columbia	4,694
Delaware	2,605
Florida	25,717
Georgia	280,944
Illinois	331
Kentucky	182,258
Louisiana	168,452
Maryland	89,737
Mississippi	195,211
Missouri	58,240
New Jersey	674
New York	4

¹ There were nearly 500 slaves held in Northern States not placed in this census.

CENSUS OF 1840.—SLAVE POPULATION.—(*Continued.*)

Pennsylvania	64
North Carolina	245,817
South Carolina	327,038
Tennessee	183,059
Virginia	449,087
Aggregate	2,487,399

During the next decade the slave population swept forward to an increase of 716,858. The entire population of slaves was 3,204,313; 2,957,657 were unmixed Africans, and 246,656 were Mulattoes. The free Colored population amounted to 434,495, of whom 275,400 were unmixed, and 159,095 mixed or Mulatto. The total number of families owning slaves in 1850 was 347,525.

CENSUS OF 1850.—SLAVE POPULATION.

Alabama	342,844
Arkansas	47,100
District of Columbia	3,687
Delaware	2,290
Florida	39,310
Georgia	381,682
Kentucky	210,981
Louisiana	244,809
Maryland	90,368
Mississippi	309,878
Missouri	87,422
New Jersey	236
North Carolina	288,548
South Carolina	384,984
Tennessee	239,459
Texas	58,161
Virginia	472,528
Utah Territory	26
Total	3,204,313

The Thirty-first Congress was three weeks attempting an organization, and at last effected it by the election of a Southerner to the Speakership, the Hon. Howell Cobb, of Georgia. President Zachary Taylor had called the attention of Congress to the admission of California and New Mexico into the Union, in his message to that body upon its assembling. On the 4th of January, 1850, Gen. Sam. Houston, United States Senator from Texas, submitted the following proposition to the Senate :

"WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States, possessing only a delegated authority, has no power over the subject of negro slavery within the limits of the United States, either to prohibit or to interfere with it in the States, territories, or districts, where, by municipal law, it now exists, or to establish it in any State or territory where it does not exist; but as an assurance and guarantee to promote harmony, quiet apprehension, and remove sectional prejudice, which by possibility might impair or weaken love and devotion to the Union in any part of the country, it is hereby

"*Resolved*, That, as the people in territories have the same inherent rights of self-government as the people in the States, if, in the exercise of such inherent rights, the people in the newly acquired territories, by the annexation of Texas and the acquisition of California and New Mexico, south of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude, extending to the Pacific Ocean, shall establish negro slavery in the formation of their State governments, it shall be deemed no objection to their admission as a State or States into the Union, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States."

On the 29th of January, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, submitted to the United States Senate the following propositions looking toward an amicable adjustment of the entire slavery question:

"1. *Resolved*, That California, with suitable boundaries, ought, upon her application, to be admitted as one of the States of this Union, without the imposition by Congress of any restriction in respect to the exclusion or introduction of slavery within those boundaries.

"2. *Resolved*, That as slavery does not exist by law, and is not likely to be introduced into any of the territory acquired by the United States from the republic of Mexico, it is inexpedient for Congress to provide by law either for its introduction into, or exclusion from, any part of the said territory; and that appropriate territorial governments ought to be established by Congress in all the said territory not assigned as within the boundaries of the proposed State of California, without the adoption of any restriction or condition on the subject of slavery.

"3. *Resolved*, That the western boundary of the State of Texas ought to be fixed on the Rio del Norte, commencing one marine league from its mouth, and running up that river to the southern line of New Mexico, thence with that line eastwardly, and so continuing in the same direction to the line as established between the United States and Spain, excluding any portion of New Mexico, whether lying on the east or west of that river.

"4. *Resolved*, That it be proposed to the State of Texas, that the United States will provide for the payment of all that portion of the legitimate and *bona-fide* public debt of that State contracted prior to its annexation to the United States, and for which the duties on foreign imports were pledged by the said State to its creditors, not exceeding the sum of ——— dollars, in consideration of the said duties so pledged having been no longer applicable to that object after the said annexation, but having thenceforward become payable to the United States ; and upon the condition, also, that the said State of Texas shall, by some solemn and authentic act of her Legislature, or of a convention, relinquish to the United States any claim which she has to any part of New Mexico.

"5. *Resolved*, That it is inexpedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia whilst that institution continues to exist in the State of Maryland, without the consent of that State, without the consent of the people of the District, and without just compensation to the owners of slaves within the District.

"6. *But Resolved*, That it is expedient to prohibit within the District, the slave-trade in slaves brought into it from States or places beyond the limits of the District, either to be sold therein as merchandise, or to be transported to other markets without the District of Columbia.

"7. *Resolved*, That more effectual provision ought to be made by law, according to the requirement of the Constitution, for the restitution and delivery of persons bound to service or labor in any State, who may escape into any other State or territory in the Union. And

"8. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to prohibit or obstruct the trade in slaves between the slave-holding States, but that the admission or exclusion of slaves brought from one into another of them, depends exclusively upon their own particular laws."

Senator Bell, of Tennessee, offered a series of resolutions on the same question on the 28th of February, containing nine resolves. As usual, on all propositions respecting slavery, the debate was protracted, earnest, and able. The Clay resolutions attracted most attention. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, said :

"Sir, we are called upon to receive this as a measure of compromise ! As a measure in which we of the minority are to receive nothing. A measure of compromise ! I look upon it as but a modest mode of taking that, the claim to which has been more boldly asserted by others ; and, that I may be understood upon this question, and that my position may go forth to the country in the same columns that convey the senti-

ments of the Senator from Kentucky, I here assert, that never will I take less than the Missouri compromise line extended to the Pacific Ocean, with the specific recognition of the right to hold slaves in the territory below that line ; and that, before such territories are admitted into the Union as States, slaves may be taken there from any of the United States at the option of the owners. I can never consent to give additional power to a majority to commit further aggressions upon the minority in this Union, and will never consent to any proposition which will have such a tendency, without a full guaranty or counteracting measure is connected with it."

A number of very able speeches were made on the resolutions of Mr. Clay, but the most characteristic one—the one most thoroughly representing the sentiment of the South—was made by John C. Calhoun. He said :

"The Union was in danger. The cause of this danger was the discontent at the South. And what was the cause of this discontent ? It was found in the belief which prevailed among them that they could not, consistently with honor and safety, remain in the Union. And what had caused this belief ? One of the causes was the long-continued agitation of the slave question at the North, and the many aggressions they had made on the rights of the South. But the primary cause was in the fact, that the equilibrium between the two sections at the time of the adoption of the Constitution had been destroyed. The first of the series of acts by which this had been done, was the ordinance of 1787, by which the South had been excluded from all the northwestern region. The next was the Missouri compromise, excluding them from all the Louisiana territory north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, except the State of Missouri,—in all 1,238,025 square miles, leaving to the South the southern portion of the original Louisiana territory, with Florida, to which had since been added the territory acquired with Texas,—making in all but 609,023 miles. And now the North was endeavoring to appropriate to herself the territory recently acquired from Mexico, adding 526,078 miles to the territory from which the South was, if possible, to be excluded. Another cause of the destruction of this equilibrium was our system of revenue (the tariff), the duties falling mainly upon the Southern portion of the Union, as being the greatest exporting States, while more than a due proportion of the revenue had been disbursed at the North.

"But while these measures were destroying the equilibrium between the two sections, the action of the government was leading to a radical change in its character. It was maintained that the government it-

self had the right to decide, in the last resort, as to the extent of its powers, and to resort to force to maintain the power it claimed. The doctrines of General Jackson's proclamation, subsequently asserted and maintained by Mr. Madison, the leading framer and expounder of the Constitution, were the doctrines which, if carried out, would change the character of the government from a federal republic, as it came from the hands of its framers, into a great national consolidated democracy."

Mr. Calhoun also spoke of the anti-slavery agitation, which, if not arrested, would destroy the Union ; and he passed a censure upon Congress for receiving abolition petitions. Had Congress in the beginning adopted the course which he had advocated, which was to refuse to take jurisdiction, by the united voice of all parties, the agitation would have been prevented. He charged the North with false professions of devotion to the Union, and with having violated the Constitution. Acts had been passed in Northern States to set aside and annul the clause of the slavery question, with the avowed purpose of abolishing slavery in the States, which was another violation of the Constitution. And during the fifteen years of this agitation, in not a single instance had the people of the North denounced these agitators. How then could their professions of devotion to the Union be sincere ?

Mr. Calhoun disapproved both the plan of Mr. Clay and that of President Taylor, as incapable of saving the Union. He would pass by the former without remark, as Mr. Clay had been replied to by several Senators. The Executive plan could not save the Union, because it could not satisfy the South that it could safely or honorably remain in the Union. It was a modification of the Wilmot proviso, proposing to effect the same object, the exclusion of the South from the new territory. The Executive proviso was more objectionable than the Wilmot. Both inflicted a dangerous wound upon the Constitution, by depriving the Southern States of equal rights as joint partners in these territories ; but the former inflicted others equally great. It claimed for the inhabitants the right to legislate for the territories, which belonged to Congress. The assumption of this right was utterly unfounded, unconstitutional, and without example. Under this assumed right, the people of California had formed a constitution and a State government, and appointed Senators and Representatives. If the people as adventurers had conquered the territory and established their independence, the sovereignty of the country would have been vested in them. In that case they would have had the right to form a State government, and afterward they might have applied to Congress for admission into the Union. But the United States had conquered and acquired California ; therefore, to them belonged the sovereignty

and the powers of government over the territory. Michigan was the first case of departure from the uniform rule of acting. Hers, however, was a slight departure from established usage. The ordinance of 1787 secured to her the right of becoming a State when she should have 60,000 inhabitants. Congress delayed taking the census. The people became impatient; and after her population had increased to twice that number, they formed a constitution without waiting for the taking of the census; and Congress waived the omission, as there was no doubt of the requisite number of inhabitants. In other cases there had existed territorial governments.

Having shown how the Union could not be saved, he then proceeded to answer the question how it could be saved. There was but one way certain. Justice must be done to the South, by a full and final settlement of all the questions at issue. The North must concede to the South an equal right to the acquired territory, and fulfil the stipulations respecting fugitive slaves; must cease to agitate the slave question, and join in an amendment of the Constitution, restoring to the South the power she possessed of protecting herself, before the equilibrium between the two sections had been destroyed by the action of the government.

Here was a clear statement of the position and feelings of the South respecting slavery. The ordinance of 1787 and the Missouri compromise of 1820 "were destroying the equilibrium between the *two sections*!" And the anti-slavery agitation, "if not arrested, would destroy the Union!" The sophistry of Calhoun sought a reasonable excuse for the South to dissolve the Union. In a speech of his, written during a spell of sickness, and read by Mr. Mason, of Virginia, he referred to Washington as "the illustrious Southerner." When it was read in the Senate Mr. Cass said:

"Our Washington—the Washington of our whole country—receives in this Senate the epithet of 'Southerner,' as if that great man, whose distinguished characteristic was his attachment to his country, and his whole country, who was so well known, and who, more than any one, deprecated all sectional feeling and all sectional action, loved Georgia better than he loved New Hampshire, because he happened to be born on the southern bank of the Potomac. I repeat, sir, that I heard with great pain that expression from the distinguished Senator from South Carolina."

There was certainly no ground for reasonable complaint on the part of the South. From the convention that framed the

Federal Constitution, through all Congressional struggle, and in national politics as well, the South had secured nearly all measures asked for. And the discussion in Congress at this time was intended to divert attention from the real object of the South. Another fugitive-slave law was demanded by the South, and the Northern members voted them the right to hunt slaves upon free soil. The law passed, and was approved on the 18th of September, 1850.

It was difficult to choose between the Democratic and Whig parties by reading the planks in their platforms referring to the subject of slavery. On the 1st of June, 1852, the Democratic Convention, at Baltimore, Maryland, nominated Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, for the Presidency, on the forty-ninth ballot. This plank defined the position of that party on the question of slavery.

"That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of every thing appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution ; that all efforts of the abolitionists, or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences ; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

"That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress ; and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the compromise measures settled by the last Congress—the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor included ; which act being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, can not with fidelity thereto be repealed, nor so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

"That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made."

The Whig party, at the same city, in convention assembled, on the 16th of June, 1852, nominated Gen. Winfield Scott, for the Presidency, on the fifty-third ballot. The Whig party declared its position on the slavery question as follows :

"That the series of acts of the Thirty-first Congress—the act known as the fugitive-slave law included—are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States, as a settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting question which they embrace; and so far as they are concerned, we will maintain them and insist on their strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation, to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand, and the abuse of their powers on the other, not impairing their present efficiency; and we deprecate all agitation of the question thus settled, as dangerous to our peace; and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation whenever, wherever, or however the attempt may be made; and we will maintain this system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party of the Union."

The political contest ended in the autumn in favor of Mr. Pierce. The public journals in many parts of the country thought the end of the "slavery question" had come, and that as the Whigs were determined to "discountenance all efforts to continue or renew" the agitation of the subject, there was no fear of sectional strife.

In his inaugural address, March 4, 1853, President Pierce said:

"I believe that involuntary servitude is recognized by the Constitution. I believe that the States where it exists are entitled to efficient remedies to enforce the constitutional provisions. I hold that the compromise measures of 1850 are strictly constitutional, and to be unhesitatingly carried into effect. And now, I fervently hope that the question is at rest," etc.

In the month of December, upon the assembling of Congress, the President, in his message to that body, again referred to slavery as "a subject which had been set at rest by the deliberate judgment of the people." But on the 15th of December, nine days after the message of the President had been received by Congress, Mr. Dodge, of Iowa, submitted to the Senate a bill to organize the territory of Nebraska, which was referred to the Committee on Territories. After some discussion in the committee, it was finally reported back to the Senate by Mr. Douglass, of Illinois, with amendments. The report was elaborate, and raised considerable doubt as to whether the amendments did not repeal the Missouri compromise. A special report was made on the 4th of January, 1854, so amending the bill as to remove all doubt; and, contemplating the opening of all the vast territory secured

forever to freedom, startled the nation from the "repose" it had apparently taken from agitation on the slavery question, and opened an interminable controversy.

On the 16th of January, Mr. Dixon, of Kentucky, gave notice that he would introduce a bill clearly repealing the Missouri compromise. The first champion of the repeal of the compromise of 1820 was a Northern Senator, Stephen A. Douglass, of Illinois. He hung a massive argument—excelling rather in quantity than in quality—upon the following propositions:

"From these provisions, it is apparent that the compromise measures of 1850 affirm, and rest upon, the following propositions:

"*First.*—That all questions pertaining to slavery in the territories, and the new States to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, by their appropriate representatives, to be chosen by them for that purpose.

"*Second.*—That 'all cases involving title to slaves,' and 'questions of personal freedom,' are to be referred to the adjudication of the local tribunals, with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

"*Third.*—That the provision of the Constitution of the United States in respect to fugitives from service, is to be carried into faithful execution in all 'the original territories,' the same as in the States.

"The substitute for the bill which your committee have prepared, and which is commended to the favorable action of the Senate, proposes to carry these propositions and principles into practical operation, in the precise language of the compromise measures of 1850."

Mr. Douglass said:

"The legal effect of this bill, if passed, was neither to legislate slavery into nor out of these territories, but to leave the people to do as they pleased. 'And why should any man, North or South, object to this principle? It was by the operation of this principle, and not by any dictation from the Federal government, that slavery had been abolished in half of the twelve States in which it existed at the time of the adoption of the Constitution.'"

On the 3d of February, Mr. Chase, of Ohio, moved to amend by striking out the words, "was superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, and," so that the clause would read: "That the Constitution, and all laws of the United States which are not locally in-

applicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said territory of Nebraska as elsewhere within the United States, except the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820, which is hereby declared inoperative."

Mr. Chase then proceeded to reply to Mr. Douglass. He called attention to that part of the President's message which referred to the "repose" of the subject of slavery, and then said:

"The agreement of the two old political parties, thus referred to by the Chief Magistrate of the country, was complete, and a large majority of the American people seemed to acquiesce in the legislation of which he spoke. A few of us, indeed, doubted the accuracy of these statements, and the permanency of this repose. We never believed that the acts of 1850 would prove to be a permanent adjustment of the slavery question. But, sir, we only represented a small, though vigorous and growing party in the country. Our number was small in Congress. By some we were regarded as visionaries, by some as factionists; while almost all agreed in pronouncing us mistaken. And so, sir, the country was at peace. As the eye swept the entire circumference of the horizon and upward to mid-heaven, not a cloud appeared; to common observation there was no mist or stain upon the clearness of the sky. But suddenly all is changed; rattling thunder breaks from the cloudless firmament. The storm bursts forth in fury. And now we find ourselves in the midst of an agitation, the end and issue of which no man can foresee.

"Now, sir, who is responsible for this renewal of strife and controversy? Not we, for we have introduced no question of territorial slavery into Congress; not we, who are denounced as agitators and factionists. No, sir; the quietists and the finalists have become agitators; they who told us that all agitation was quieted, and that the resolutions of the political conventions put a final period to the discussion of slavery. This will not escape the observation of the country. It is *slavery* that renews the strife. It is slavery that again wants room. It is slavery with its insatiate demand for more slave territory and more slave States. And what does slavery ask for now? Why, sir, it demands that a time-honored and sacred compact shall be rescinded—a compact which has endured through a whole generation—a compact which has been universally regarded as inviolable, North and South—a compact, the constitutionality of which few have doubted, and by which all have consented to abide."

But notwithstanding the able and eloquent speech of Mr. Chase, his amendment only received thirteen votes. The debate

went on until the 3d of March, when the bill was placed upon its passage, and even then the discussion went on. When the vote was finally taken, the bill passed by a vote of 37 yeas to 14 nays. The bill went to the House, where it was made a substitute to a bill already introduced, and passed by a vote of 113 yeas to 100 nays as follows:

"Representatives from free States in favor of the bill, 44.

"Representatives from slave States in favor of the bill, 69.

—113.

"Representatives from free States against the bill, 91.

"Representatives from slave States against the bill, 9.

—100."

And thus, approved by the President, the measure became a law under the title of "*An Act to Organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska.*"

Congress had violated the sublimest principles of law, had broken faith with the people; had opened a wide door to slavery; had blotted from the map of the United States the last asylum where the oppressed might seek protection; had put the country in a way to be reddened with a fratricidal war, and made our flag a flaunting lie in the eyes of the civilized world. There was nothing to be done now but to let the leaven of sectional malice work, that had been hurled into the slavery discussions in Congress. The bloodless war of words was now transferred to the territory of Kansas, where a conflict of political parties, election frauds, and assassination did their hateful work.

The South began to put her State militia upon a war footing, and to make every preparation for battle. The Administration of President Buchanan was in the interest of the South from beginning to end. He refused to give Gov. John W. Geary, of Kansas, the military support the "*border ruffians*" made necessary; allowed the public debt to increase, our precious coin to go abroad, our treasury to become depleted, our navy to go to the distant ports of China and Japan, our army to our extremest frontiers, the music of our industries to cease; and the faith of a loyal people in the perpetuity of the republic was allowed to faint amid the din of mobs and the threats of secession.

CHAPTER X.

THE "BLACK LAWS" OF "BORDER STATES."

STRINGENT LAWS ENACTED AGAINST FREE NEGROES AND MULATTOES. — FUGITIVE-SLAVE LAW RESPECTED IN OHIO. — A LAW TO PREVENT KIDNAPPING. — THE FIRST CONSTITUTION OF OHIO. — HISTORY OF THE DRED SCOTT CASE. — JUDGE TANEY'S OPINION IN THIS CASE. — OHIO CONSTITUTION OF 1851 DENIED FREE NEGROES THE RIGHT TO VOTE. — THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COLORED SCHOOLS. — LAW IN INDIANA TERRITORY IN REFERENCE TO EXECUTIONS. — AN ACT FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF NEGROES AND MULATTOES INTO THE TERRITORY. — FIRST CONSTITUTION OF INDIANA. — THE ILLINOIS CONSTITUTION OF 1818. — CRIMINAL CODE ENACTED. — ILLINOIS LEGISLATURE PASSES AN ACT TO PREVENT THE EMIGRATION OF FREE NEGROES INTO THE STATE. — FREE NEGROES OF THE NORTHERN STATES ENDURE RESTRICTION AND PROSCRIPTION.

ALTHOUGH slavery was excluded from all the new States northwest of the Ohio River, the free Negro was but little better off in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois than in any of the Southern States. From the earliest moment of the organic existence of the border free States, severe laws were enacted against free Negroes and Mulattoes. At the second session of the first Legislature of the State of Ohio, "*An Act to Regulate Black and Mulatto Persons*"¹ was passed.

Sec. 1. That no black or mulatto person shall be permitted to settle or reside in this State "without a certificate of his or her actual freedom."

2. Resident blacks and mulattoes to have their names recorded, etc. (Amended in 1834, Jan. 5 1, Curwen, 126.) *Proviso*, "That nothing in this act contained shall bar the lawful claim to any black or mulatto person."

3. Residents prohibited from hiring black or mulatto persons not having a certificate.

4. Forbids, under penalty, to "harbor or secrete any black or mulatto person the property of any person whatever," or to "hinder or prevent the lawful owner or owners from re-taking," etc.

5. Black or mulatto persons coming to reside in the State with a legal certificate, to record the same.

¹ 1, Chase, p. 393, sects. 1-7.

6. "That in case any person or persons, his or their agent or agents, claiming any black or mulatto person or persons that now are or hereafter may be in this State, may apply, upon making satisfactory proof that such black or mulatto person or persons are the property of him or her who applies, to any associate judge or justice of the peace within the State, the associate judge or justice is hereby empowered and required, by his precept, to direct the sheriff or constable to arrest such black or mulatto person or persons, and deliver the same, in the county or township where such officers shall reside, to the claimant or claimants, or his or their agent or agents, for which service the sheriff or constable shall receive such compensation as he is entitled to receive in other cases for similar services."

7. "That any person or persons who shall attempt to remove or shall remove from this State, or who shall aid and assist in removing, contrary to the provisions of this act, any black or mulatto person or persons, without first proving, as herein before directed, that he, she, or they is or are legally entitled so to do, shall, on conviction thereof before any court having cognizance of the same, forfeit and pay the sum of one thousand dollars, one half to the use of the informer and the other half to the use of the State, to be recovered by the action of debt *quitam* or indictment, and shall moreover be liable to the action of the party injured "

So here upon free soil, under a State government that did not recognize slavery in its constitution, the Negro was compelled to produce a certificate of freedom. Thus the fugitive-slave law was recognized, but at the same time an unlawful removal of free Negroes from the State was forbidden.

At the session of 1806-7, "*An Act to Amend the Act Entitled 'an Act Regulating Black and Mulatto Persons,'*" was passed amending the old law. The first act simply required "a certificate of freedom"; the amended law required Negroes and Mulattoes intending to settle in Ohio to give a bond not to become a charge upon the county in which they settled. Section four reads as follows:

"4. That no black or mulatto person or persons shall hereafter be permitted to be sworn or give evidence in any court of record or elsewhere in this State, in any cause depending or matter of controversy where either party to the sale is a white person, or in any prosecution which shall be instituted in behalf of this State, against any white person."¹

¹ 1, Chase, p. 555.

But this law did not apply to persons a shade nearer white than Mulatto [the seven-eighths law].¹ Their testimony was admissible, while that of Negroes and Mulattoes was not admitted against them. In *Jordan vs. Smith* [1846], 14, Ohio, p. 199: "A black person sued by a white, may make affidavit to a plea so as to put the plaintiff to proof."

Attention has been called to the fact that the fugitive-slave law was respected in Ohio. In 1818-19, a law was passed to prevent the unlawful kidnapping of free Negroes, which, in its preamble, recites the provisions of the law of Congress, passed February 12, 1793, respecting fugitives from service and labor.² And in 1839 the Legislature passed another act relating to "fugitives from labor," etc., paving the way by the following recital:

"WHEREAS, The second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States declares that 'no person' [etc., reciting it]; and whereas the laws now in force within the State of Ohio are wholly inadequate to the protection pledged by this provision of the Constitution to the Southern States of this Union; and whereas it is the duty of those who reap the largest measure of benefits conferred by the Constitution to recognize to their full extent the obligations which that instrument imposes; and whereas it is the deliberate conviction of this General Assembly that the Constitution can only be sustained as it was framed by a spirit of just compromise; therefore."

Sec. 1. Authorizes judges of courts of record, "or any justice of the peace, or the mayor of any city or town corporate," on application, etc., of claimant, to bring the fugitive before a judge within the county where the warrant was issued, or before some State judge with certain cautions as to proving the official character of the officer issuing the warrant; gives the form of warrant, directing the fugitive to be brought before, etc., "to be dealt with as the law directs."³

J. Peck, Esq. [9, Ohio, p. 212], refers to the laws of 1818-19, and 1830-31, as a recognition by the State of Ohio of the power of Congress to pass the act of 1793, though that the act was not specially mentioned.

The first constitution of Ohio [1802] restricted the right of suffrage to "all white male inhabitants." "In all elections, all white male inhabitants above the age of twenty-one years, hav-

¹ *Jeffries vs. Ankeny*, 11, Ohio, p. 375.

² 2, Chase L., p. 1052.

³ Curwen, p. 533.

ing resided in the State one year next preceding the election, and who have paid or are charged with a State or county tax, shall enjoy the right of an elector," etc.¹ This was repeated in the Bill of Rights adopted in 1851.²

Article iv., Section 2, of the Constitution of the United States says: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." The question as to whether free Negroes were included in the above was discussed at great length in the Dred Scott case, where Chief-Justice Taney took the ground that a Negro was not a citizen under the fourth article of the Constitution. But the fourth article of the Articles of Confederation [1778] recognized free Negroes as citizens. It is given here :

"ART. 4.—The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States—paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted—shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States ; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof, respectively ; provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State, from any other State, of which the owner is an inhabitant ; provided, also, that no imposition, duty, or restriction shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States, or either of them."³

By this it is evident that "paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice" were the only persons excluded from the right of citizenship. The following is the history of the Dred Scott case :

"In the year 1834, the plaintiff was a negro slave belonging to Dr. Emerson, who was a surgeon in the army of the United States. In that year, 1834, said Dr. Emerson took the plaintiff from the State of Missouri to the military post at Rock Island, in the State of Illinois, and held him there as a slave until the month of April or May, 1836. At the time last mentioned, said Dr. Emerson removed the plaintiff from said military post at Rock Island to the military post at Fort Snelling, situate on the west bank of the Mississippi River, in the territory known as Upper Louisiana, acquired by the United States of France,

¹ Revised Statutes of Ohio, vol. i. p. 60.

² Ibid., p. 111.

³ Elliot's Debates, vol. i. p. 79.

and situate north of the latitude of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north, and north of the State of Missouri. Said Dr. Emerson held the plaintiff in slavery at said Fort Snelling, from said last-mentioned date until the year 1838.

"In the year 1835, Harriet, who is named in the second count of the plaintiff's declaration, was the negro slave of Major Taliaferro, who belonged to the army of the United States. In that year, 1835, said Major Taliaferro took said Harriet to said Fort Snelling, a military post, situated as herein before stated, and kept her there as a slave until the year 1836, and then sold and delivered her as a slave at said Fort Snelling unto the said Dr. Emerson herein before named. Said Dr. Emerson held said Harriet in slavery at said Fort Snelling until the year 1838.

"In the year 1836, the plaintiff and said Harriet at said Fort Snelling, with the consent of said Dr. Emerson, who then claimed to be their master and owner, intermarried, and took each other for husband and wife. Eliza and Lizzie, named in the third count of the plaintiff's declaration, are the fruit of that marriage. Eliza is about fourteen years old, and was born on board the steamboat 'Gipsey,' north of the north line of the State of Missouri, and upon the river Mississippi. Lizzie is about seven years old, and was born in the State of Missouri, at the military post called Jefferson Barracks.

"In the year 1838, said Dr. Emerson removed the plaintiff and said Harriet and their said daughter Eliza from said Fort Snelling to the State of Missouri, where they have ever since resided.

"Before the commencement of this suit, said Dr. Emerson sold and conveyed the plaintiff, said Harriet, Eliza, and Lizzie to the defendant, as slaves, and the defendant has ever since claimed to hold them and each of them as slaves.

"At the time mentioned in the plaintiff's declaration, the defendant, claiming to be owner as aforesaid, laid his hands upon said plaintiff, Harriet, Eliza, and Lizzie, and imprisoned them, doing in this respect, however, no more than what he might lawfully do if they were of right his slaves at such times.

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"It is agreed that Dred Scott brought suit for his freedom in the Circuit Court of St. Louis County; that there was a verdict and judgment in his favor; that on a writ of error to the Supreme Court the judgment below was reversed, and the same remanded to the Circuit Court, where it has been continued to await the decision of this case.

"In May, 1854, the cause went before a jury, who found the following verdict, viz.: 'As to the first issue joined in this case, we of the jury find the defendant not guilty; and as to the issue secondly above

joined, we of the jury find that before and at the time when, etc., in the first count mentioned, the said Dred Scott was a negro slave, the lawful property of the defendant ; and as to the issue thirdly above joined, we, the jury, find that before and at the time when, etc., in the second and third counts mentioned, the said Harriet, wife of said Dred Scott, and Eliza and Lizzie, the daughters of the said Dred Scott, were negro slaves, the lawful property of the defendant.'

"Whereupon, the court gave judgment for the defendant.

"After an ineffectual motion for a new trial, the plaintiff filed the following bill of exceptions.

"On the trial of this cause by the jury, the plaintiff, to maintain the issues on his part, read to the jury the following agreed statement of facts (see agreement above). No further testimony was given to the jury by either party. Thereupon the plaintiff moved the court to give to the jury the following instructions, viz. :

" 'That, upon the facts agreed to by the parties, they ought to find for the plaintiff.' The court refused to give such instruction to the jury, and the plaintiff, to such refusal, then and there duly excepted.

The court then gave the following instruction to the jury, on motion of the defendant :

" 'The jury are instructed, that upon the facts in this case, the law is with the defendant.' The plaintiff excepted to this instruction.

"Upon these exceptions, the case came up to the Supreme Court, December term, 1856."¹

Judge Taney gave the following opinion :

"The question is simply this : Can a negro, whose ancestors were imported into this country and sold as slaves, become a member of the political community formed and brought into existence by the Constitution of the United States, and as such become entitled to all the rights and privileges and immunities guaranteed by that instrument to the citizen ? One of which rights is the privilege of suing in a court of the United States in the cases specified in the Constitution.

"It will be observed that the plea applies to that class of persons only whose ancestors were negroes of the African race, and imported into this country, and sold and held as slaves. The only matter in issue before the court, therefore, is, whether the descendants of such slaves, when they shall be emancipated, or who are born of parents who had become free before their birth, are citizens of a State, in the sense in which the word citizen is used in the Constitution of the United States. And this being the only matter in dispute on the pleadings, the

¹ Sanford's Dred Scott Case, pp. 397-399.

court must be understood as speaking in this opinion of that class only, that is, of those persons who are the descendants of Africans who were imported into this country and sold as slaves.

“We proceed to examine the case as presented by the pleadings.

“The words ‘people of the United States’ and ‘citizens’ are synonymous terms, and mean the same thing. They both describe the political body who, according to our republican institutions, form the sovereignty, and who hold the power and conduct the government through their representatives. They are what we familiarly call the ‘sovereign people, and every citizen is one of this people, and a constituent member of this sovereignty. The question before us is, whether the class of persons described in the plea in abatement compose a portion of this people, and are constituent members of this sovereignty. We think they are not, and that they are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word ‘citizen’ in the Constitution, and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States. On the contrary, they were at that time considered as a subordinate [405] and inferior class of beings, who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and, whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the government might choose to grant them.

“It is not the province of the court to decide upon the justice or injustice, the policy or impolicy, of these laws. . . .

“In discussing this question, we must not confound the rights of citizenship which a State may confer within its own limits, and the rights of citizenship as a member of the Union. It does not by any means follow, because he has all the rights and privileges of a citizen of a State, that he must be a citizen of the United States. He may have all of the rights and privileges of the citizen of a State, and yet not be entitled to the rights and privileges of a citizen of any other State. For, previous to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, every State had the undoubted right to confer on whomsoever it pleased the character of citizen, and to endow him with all its rights. But this character of course was confined to the boundaries of the State, and gave him no rights or privileges in other States beyond those secured to him by the laws of nations and the comity of States. Nor have the several States surrendered the power of conferring these rights and privileges by adopting the Constitution of the United States. Each State may still confer them upon an alien, or any one it thinks proper, or upon any class or description of persons; yet he would not be a citizen in the sense in which that word is used in the Constitution of the

United States, nor entitled to sue as such in one of its courts, nor to the privileges and immunities of a citizen in the other States. The rights which he would acquire would be restricted to the State which gave them. The Constitution has conferred on Congress the right to establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and this right is evidently exclusive, and has always been held by this court to be so. Consequently no State, since the adoption of the Constitution, can, by naturalizing an alien, invest him with the rights and privileges secured to a citizen of a State under the Federal Government, although, so far as the State alone was concerned, he would undoubtedly be entitled to the rights of a citizen, and clothed with all the [406] rights and immunities which the Constitution and laws of the State attached to that character.

"It is very clear, therefore, that no State can, by any act or law of its own, passed since the adoption of the Constitution, introduce a new member into the political community created by the Constitution of the United States. It cannot make him a member of this community by making him a member of its own. And, for the same reason, it cannot introduce any person or description of persons who were not intended to be embraced in this new political family, which the Constitution brought into existence, but were intended to be excluded from it.

"The question then arises, whether the provisions of the Constitution, in relation to the, personal rights and privileges to which the citizen of a State should be entitled, embraced the negro African race, at that time in this country, or who might afterwards be imported, who had then or should afterwards be made free in any State; and to put it in the power of a single State to make him a citizen of the United States, and indue him with the full rights of citizenship in every other State without their consent. Does the Constitution of the United States act upon him whenever he shall be made free under the laws of a State, and raised there to the rank of a citizen, and immediately clothe him with all the privileges of a citizen in every other State and in its own courts?

"The court think the affirmative of these propositions cannot be maintained. And if it cannot, the plaintiff in error could not be a citizen of the State of Missouri, within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, and, consequently, was not entitled to sue in its courts."¹

This decision of the Supreme Court on the plea in abatement that the plaintiff (a Negro, Dred Scott) was not a citizen in the sense of the word in Article iii, Sec. 2 of the Constitution, was

¹ Howard's Reports, vol. xix. pp. 403-405, sq.

based upon an erroneous idea respecting the location of the word *citizen* in the instrument. The premise of the court was wrong, and hence the feebleness of the reasoning and the false conclusions. Article iii, Section 2 of the Constitution, extends judicial power to all cases, in law and equity, "between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State," etc. But Article iv, Section 2, declares that "citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." The plea in abatement was brought under Article iii, but all the judges, except Justice McLean, built their decision upon the word *citizen* as it stood in Article iv.

By the constitution of Ohio, adopted in 1851, free Negroes were not only denied the right to vote, but were excluded from the militia service. This law was not repealed until 1878.

Neither the constitution of 1802, nor that of 1851, discriminated against free Negroes in matters of education; but separate schools have been maintained in Ohio from the beginning down to the present time, by special acts of the Legislature.

In the territory of Indiana there were quite a number of Negroes from the beginning of the century. Some were slaves. In 1806, the first Legislature, at its second session, passed a law in reference to *executions*, as follows:

"Sec. 7. And whereas doubts have arisen whether the time of service of negroes and mulattoes, bound to service in this territory, may be sold on execution against the master, *Be it therefore enacted* that the time of service of such negroes or mulattoes may be sold on execution against the master, in the same manner as personal estate, immediately from which sale the said negroes or mulattoes shall serve the purchaser or purchasers for the residue of their time of service; and the said purchasers and negroes and mulattoes shall have the same remedies against each other as by the laws of the territory are mutually given them in the several cases therein mentioned, and the purchasers shall be obliged to fulfil to the said servants the contracts they made with the masters, as expressed in the indenture or agreement of servitude, and shall, for want of such contract, be obliged to give him or them their freedom due at the end of the time of service, as expressed in the second section of the law of the territory, entitled 'Law concerning servants,' adopted the twenty-second day of September, eighteen hundred and three. This act shall commence and be in force from and after the first day of February next."¹

¹ Hurd, vol ii, p. 123.

This was bold legislation ; but it was not all. Negroes were required to carry passes, as in the slave States. And on the 17th of September, 1807, "*An Act for the Introduction of Negroes and Mulattoes into*" the territory was passed.

"Sec. 1. That it shall and may be lawful for any person being the owner or possessor of any negroes or mulattoes of and above the age of fifteen years, and owning service and labor as slaves in any of the States or territories of the United States, or for any citizens of the said States or territories purchasing the same to bring the said negroes and mulattoes into this territory.

"Sec. 2. The owners or possessors of any negroes or mulattoes as aforesaid, and bringing the same into this territory, shall, within thirty days after such removal, go with the same before the clerk of Court of Common Pleas of proper county, and in presence of said clerk the said owner or possessor shall determine and agree to, and with his or her negro or mulatto, upon the term of years which the said negro or mulatto will and shall serve his or her said owner or possessor, and the clerk shall make a record.

"Sec. 3. If any negro or mulatto removed into this territory as aforesaid shall refuse to serve his or her owner as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful for such person, within sixty days thereafter, to remove the said negro or mulatto to any place [to] which by the laws of the United States or territory from whence such owner or possessor may [have come] or shall be authorized to remove the same. (As quoted in *Phœbe v. Jay*, Breese, Ill. R., 208.)

"Sec. 4. An owner failing to act as required in the preceding sections should forfeit all claim and right to the service of such negro or mulatto.

"Sec. 5. Declares that any person removing into this territory and being the owner or possessor of any negro or mulatto as aforesaid, under the age of fifteen years, or if any person shall hereafter acquire a property in any negro or mulatto under the age aforesaid, and who shall bring them into this territory, it shall and may be lawful for such person, owner, or possessor to hold the said negro to service or labor—the males until they arrive at the age of thirty-five, and females until they arrive at the age of thirty-two years.

"Sec. 6. Provides that any person removing any negro or mulatto into this territory under the authority of the preceding sections, it shall be incumbent on such person, within thirty days thereafter, to register the name and age of such negro or mulatto with the clerk of the Court of Common Pleas for the proper county.

"Sec. 7. Requires new registry on removal to another county."

"Secs. 8, 9. Penalties by fine for breach of this act.

"Sec. 10. Clerk to take security that negro be not chargeable when his term expires.

"Sec. 12. Fees.

"Sec. 13. That the children born in said territory of a parent of color owning service or labor, by *indenture* according to law, should serve the master or mistress of such parent—the males until the age of thirty, and the females until the age of twenty-eight years. (As quoted in *Boon v. Juliet*, 1836, 1, *Scammon*, 258.)

"Sec. 14. That an act respecting apprentices misused by their master or mistress should apply to such children. (See the statute cited in *Rankin v. Lydia*, 2, *A. K. Marshall's Ky.*, 467; and in *Jarrot v. Jarrot*, 2, *Gilman*, 19.) This act was repealed in 1810."¹

Under the first constitution of Indiana, adopted in 1816, Negroes were not debarred from the elective franchise. In Article i, Section 1, of the Bill of Rights, this remarkable language occurs: "That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent, and unalienable rights," etc. But the very next year the primal rights of the Negro as a citizen were struck down by the following: "No negro, mulatto, or Indian shall be a witness, except in pleas of the State against negroes, mulattoes, or Indians, or in civil cases where negroes, mulattoes, or Indians alone shall be parties."²

In 1819 [March 22d], an execution law was passed by which the time of service of Negroes could be sold on execution against the master, in the same manner as personal estate. From the time of the sale, such Negroes or Mulattoes were compelled to serve the buyer until the expiration of the term of service.³

In 1831, an act regulating free Negroes and Mulattoes, servants and slaves, declared:

"Sec. 1. Negroes and mulattoes emigrating into the State shall give bond, etc.

"Sec. 2. In failure of this, such negro, etc., may be hired out and the proceeds applied to his benefit, or removed from the State under the poor law.

"Sec. 3. Penalty for committing such without authority.

"Sec. 4. Penalty for harboring such who have not given bond.

"Sec. 5. That the right of any persons to pass through this State,

¹ Terr. laws 1807-8, p. 423.

² Laws of 1817, ch. 3, sec. 52.

³ See Hurd, vol. ii. p. 129.

with his, her, or their negroes or mulattoes, servant or servants, when emigrating or travelling to any other State or territory or country, making no unnecessary delay, is hereby declared and secured."¹

In 1851 the new constitution limited the right of franchise to "white male citizens of the United States." "No negro or mulatto shall have the right of suffrage."

"Art. xii., Sec. 1. The militia shall consist of all able-bodied white male persons, between, etc.

"Art. xiii., Sec. 1. No negro or mulatto shall come into, or settle in the State after the adoption of this Constitution.

"Sec. 2. All contracts made with any negro or mulatto coming into the State contrary to the foregoing section shall be void ; and any person who shall employ such negro or mulatto or encourage him to remain in the State shall be fined not less than ten, nor more than five hundred dollars.

"Sec. 3. All fines which may be collected for a violation of the provisions of this article, or of any law hereafter passed for the purpose of carrying the same into execution, shall be set apart and appropriated for the colonization of such negroes and mulattoes and their descendants as may be in the State at the adoption of this Constitution and may be willing to emigrate.

"Sec. 4. The General Assembly shall pass laws to carry out the provisions of this article."

Other severe laws were enacted calculated to modify and limit the rights of free persons of color.

The first constitution of the State of Illinois, adopted in 1818, limited the [Art. ii, Sec. 27] elective franchise to "free white" persons. Article v, Sec. 1, exempted "negroes, mulattoes, and Indians" from service in the militia. In March, 1819, "*An Act Respecting Free Negroes, Mulattoes, Servants, and Slaves*" passed. Sec. 1 required Negro and Mulatto persons coming into the State to produce a certificate of freedom. Sec. 2 required them to register their family as well as themselves. Sec. 3 required persons bringing slaves into the State, for the purpose of emancipating them, to give bonds. Passes were required of Colored people, and many other hard exactions. The bill above referred to contained twenty-five sections.²

¹ Revised Laws of Indiana, 1838.

² Session Laws, 1819, p. 354. R. S., 1833, p. 466.

On the 6th of January, 1827, a criminal code was enacted for offences committed by Negroes and servants, which contained many cruel features. On the 2d of February a law was passed declaring that all Negroes, Mulattoes, and Indians were incompetent to be witnesses in any court against a white person; and that a person having one fourth part Negro blood shall be adjudged a Mulatto. This law was re-enacted in 1845.¹ In 1853, February 12th, the Legislature of Illinois passed "*An Act to Prevent the Immigration of Free Negroes into this State.*"

"Secs. 1, 2. Fine and imprisonment for bringing slave, for any purpose, into the State. *Proviso*: 'That this shall not be construed so as to affect persons or slaves, *bona fide*, travelling through this State from and to any other State in the United States.'

"Sec. 3. Misdemeanor for negro or mulatto, bond or free, to come with intention of residing.

"Sec. 4. Such may be prosecuted and fined or sold, for time, for fine and costs.

"Secs. 5, 6, 7. If such do not afterwards remove, increased fine and like proceedings, etc., etc. Appeal allowed to the circuit.

"Sec. 8. If claimed as fugitive slave, after being thus arrested, a justice of the peace, 'after hearing the evidence, and being satisfied that the person or persons claiming said negro or mulatto is or are the owner or owners of and entitled to the custody of said negro or mulatto, in accordance with the laws of the United States passed upon this subject,' shall give the owner a certificate, after his paying the costs and the negro's unpaid fine, 'and the said owner or agent so claiming shall have a right to take and remove said slave out of the State.'

"Sec. 9. Punishment of justice for nonfeasance, and of witness falsely accusing negro."²

While slavery had no legal, constitutional existence in the three border States, there were, in fact, quite a number of slaves within their jurisdiction during the first generation of their existence. And the free people of Color were, *first*, denied the right of citizenship; *second*, excluded from the militia service; *third*, ruled out of the courts whenever their testimony was offered against a white person; *fourth*, could not come into the free border States without producing a certificate of freedom; and, *fifth*, were annoyed by many little, mean laws in the exercise of the few rights they were suffered to enjoy. A full

¹ R. S., 1845, p. 154.

² Rev. St. of 1856, p. 780.

description of the infamous "*Black Code*" of these States would occupy too much space, and, therefore, the dark subject must be dismissed. Posterity shall know, however, how patiently the free Negroes of the Northern States endured the restrictions and proscriptions which law and public sentiment threw across their social and political pathway!

CHAPTER XI.

THE NORTHERN NEGROES.

NOMINAL RIGHTS OF NEGROES IN THE SLAVE STATES.—FUGITIVE SLAVES SEEK REFUGE IN CANADA.—NEGROES PETITION AGAINST TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.—A LAW PREVENTING NEGROES FROM OTHER STATES FROM SETTLING IN MASSACHUSETTS.—NOTICE TO BLACKS, INDIANS, AND MULATTOS, WARNING THEM TO LEAVE THE COMMONWEALTH.—THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF THE NEGRO RESTRICTED.—COLORED MEN TURN THEIR ATTENTION TO THE EDUCATION OF THEIR OWN RACE.—JOHN V. DE GRASSE, THE FIRST COLORED MAN ADMITTED TO THE MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY.—PROMINENT COLORED MEN OF NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA.—THE ORGANIZATION OF THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL AND COLORED BAPTIST CHURCHES.—COLORED MEN DISTINGUISH THEMSELVES IN THE PULPIT.—REPORT TO THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF COLORED PEOPLE IN CINCINNATI IN 1835.—MANY PURCHASE THEIR FREEDOM.—HENRY BOYD, THE MECHANIC AND BUILDER.—HE BECOMES A SUCCESSFUL MANUFACTURER IN CINCINNATI.—SAMUEL T. WILCOX, THE GROCER.—HIS SUCCESS IN BUSINESS IN CINCINNATI.—BALL AND THOMAS, THE PHOTOGRAPHERS.—COLORED PEOPLE OF CINCINNATI EVINCE A DESIRE TO TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES.—LYDIA P. MOTT ESTABLISHES A HOME FOR COLORED ORPHANS.—THE ORGANIZATION EFFECTED IN 1844.—ITS SUCCESS.—FORMATION OF A COLORED MILITARY COMPANY CALLED "THE ATTACKS GUARDS."—EMIGRATION OF NEGROES TO LIBERIA.—THE COLORED PEOPLE LIVE DOWN MUCH PREJUDICE.

IN 1850 there were 238,187 free Negroes in the slave States. Their freedom was merely nominal. They were despised beneath the slaves, and were watched with suspicious eyes, and disliked by their brethren in bondage.

In 1850 there were 196,016 free Negroes in the Northern States. Their increase came from [chiefly] two sources, viz.: births and emancipated persons from the South. Fugitive slaves generally went to Canada, for in addition to being in danger of arrest under the fugitive-slave law, none of the State governments in the North sympathized with escaped Negroes. The Negroes in the free States were denied the rights of citizenship, and were left to the most destroying ignorance. In 1780, some free Negroes, of the town of Dartmouth, petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts for relief from taxation, because they were denied the privileges and duties of citizenship. The petition set forth the hardships free Negroes were obliged to endure, even in Massachusetts, and was in itself a proof of the fitness of the petitioners for the duties of citizenship.

"To the Honorable Council and House of Representatives, in General Court Assembled, for the State of Massachusetts Bay, in New England :

"The petition of several poor negroes and mulattoes, who are inhabitants of the town of Dartmouth, humbly sheweth :

"That we being chiefly of the African extract, and by reason of long bondage and hard slavery, we have been deprived of enjoying the profits of our labor or the advantage of inheriting estates from our parents, as our neighbors the white people do, having some of us not long enjoyed our own freedom ; yet of late, contrary to the invariable custom and practice of the country, we have been, and now are, taxed both in our polls and that small pittance of estate which, through much hard labor and industry, we have got together to sustain ourselves and families withall. We apprehend it, therefore, to be hard usage, and will doubtless (if continued) reduce us to a state of beggary, whereby we shall become a burthen to others, if not timely prevented by the interposition of your justice and power.

"Your petitioners further show, that we apprehend ourselves to be aggrieved, in that, while we are not allowed the privilege of freemen of the State, having no vote or influence in the election of those that tax us, yet many of our color (as is well known) have cheerfully entered the field of battle in the defence of the common cause, and that (as we conceive) against a similar exertion of power (in regard to taxation) too well known to need a recital in this place.

"We most humble request, therefore, that you would take our unhappy case into your serious consideration, and, in your wisdom and power, grant us relief from taxation, while under our present depressed circumstances ; and your poor petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, etc.

"JOHN CUFFE,

"ADVENTUR CHILD,

"PAUL CUFFE,

"SAMUEL GRAY, [his x mark.]

"PERO HOWLAND, [his x mark.]

"PERO RUSSELL, [his x mark.]

"PERO COGGESHALL.

"Dated at Dartmouth, the 10th of February, 1780.

"Memorandum in the handwriting of John Cuffe :

"This is the copy of the petition which we did deliver unto the Honorable Council and House, for relief from taxation in the days of our distress. But we received none. JOHN CUFFE."¹

¹ This is inserted in this volume as the more appropriate place.

Not discouraged at the failure that attended the above petition, the indefatigable Paul Cuffe, addressed the following to the selectmen of his town the next year.

"A REQUEST.

"To the Selectmen of the Town of Dartmouth, Greeting :

We, the subscribers, your humble petitioners, desire that you would, in your capacity, put a stroke in your next warrant for calling a town meeting, so that it may legally be laid before said town, by way of vote, to know the mind of said town, whether all free negroes and mulattoes shall have the same privileges in this said Town of Dartmouth as the white people have, respecting places of profit, choosing of officers, and the like, together with all other privileges in all cases that shall or may happen or be brought in this our said Town of Dartmouth. We, your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray,

[Signed.]

"JOHN CUFFE,

"PAUL CUFFE,

"Dated at Dartmouth, the 22d of the 4th mo., 1781."

As early as 1788 Massachusetts passed a law requiring all Negroes who were not citizens, to leave the Commonwealth within two months from the date of the publication of the law. It has been said, upon good authority, that this law was drawn by several of the ablest lawyers in the Bay State, and was intended to keep out all Negroes from the South who, being emancipated, might desire to settle there. It became a law on the 26th of March, 1788, and instead of becoming a dead letter, was published and enforced in post-haste. The following section is the portion of the act pertinent to this inquiry.

"V. *Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid* [the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled], that no person being an African or Negro, other than a subject of the Emperor of Morocco, or a citizen of some one of the United States (to be evidenced by a certificate from the Secretary of the State of which he shall be a citizen), shall tarry within this Commonwealth, for a longer time than two months, and upon complaint made to any Justice of the Peace within this Commonwealth, that any such person has been within the same more than two months, the said Justice shall order the said person to depart out of this Commonwealth, and in case that the said African or Negro shall not depart as aforesaid, any Justice of the

Peace within this Commonwealth, upon complaint and proof made that such person has continued within this Commonwealth ten days after notice given him or her to depart as aforesaid, shall commit the said person to any house of correction within the county, there to be kept to hard labor, agreeable to the rules and orders of the said house, until the Sessions of the Peace, next to be holden within and for the said county ; and the master of the said house of correction is hereby required and directed to transmit an attested copy of the warrant of commitment to the said Court on the first day of their said session, and if upon trial at the said Court, it shall be made to appear that the said person has thus continued within the Commonwealth, contrary to the tenor of this act, he or she shall be whipped not exceeding ten stripes, and ordered to depart out of this Commonwealth within ten days ; and if he or she shall not so depart, the same process shall be had and punishment inflicted, and so *toties quoties*." ¹

The following notice, with the subjoined names, shows that the cruel law was enforced.

NOTICE TO BLACKS.

The Officers of Police having made return to the Subscriber of the names of the following persons, who are Africans or Negroes, not subjects of the Emperor of *Morocco* nor citizens of the *United States*, the same are hereby warned and directed to depart out of this Commonwealth before the 10th day of October next, as they would avoid the pains and penalties of the law in that case provided, which was passed by the Legislature, March 26, 1788.

CHARLES BULFINCH,
Superintendent.

By Order and Direction of the Selectmen.

Portsmouth—Prince Patterson, Eliza Cotton, Flora Nash.

Rhode Island—Thomas Nichols and Philis Nichols, Hannah Champ-
lin, Plato Alderson, Raney Scott, Jack Jeffers, Thomas Gardner, Julius
Holden, Violet Freeman, Cuffy Buffum, Sylvia Gardner, Hagar Black-
burn, Dolly Peach, Polly Gardner, Sally Alexander, Philis Taylor.

Providence—Dinah Miller, Salvia Hendrick, Rhode Allen, Nancy
Hall, Richard Freeman, Elizabeth Freeman, Nancy Gardner, Margaret
Harrison.

Connecticut—Bristol Morandy, John Cooper, Scipio Kent, Margaret
Russell, Phoebe Seamore, Phoebe Johnson, Jack Billings.

¹ Slavery in Massachusetts, pp. 228, 229.

New London—John Denny, Thomas Burdine, Hannah Burdine.

New York—Sally Evens, Sally Freeman, Cæsar West and Hannah West, Thomas Peterson, Thomas Santon, Henry Sanderson, Henry Wilson, Robert Willet, Edward Cole, Mary Atkins, Polly Brown, Amey Spalding, John Johnson, Rebecca Johnson, George Homes, Prince Kilsbury, Abraham Fitch, Joseph Hicks, Abraham Francis, Elizabeth Francis, Sally Williams, William Williams, Rachel Pewinck, David Dove, Esther Dove, Peter Bayle, Thomas Bostick, Katy Bostick, Prince Hayes, Margaret Bean, Nancy Hamik, Samuel Benjamin, Peggy Ocamum, Primus Hutchinson.

Philadelphia—Mary Smith, Richard Allen, Simon Jeffers, Samuel Posey, Peter Francies, Prince Wales, Elizabeth Branch, Peter Gust, William Brown, Butterfield Scotland, Clarissa Scotland, Cuffy Cummings, John Gardner, Sally Gardner, Fortune Gorden, Samuel Stevens.

Baltimore—Peter Larkin and Jenny Larkin, Stepney Johnson, Anne Melville.

Virginia—James Scott, John Evens, Jane Jackson, Cuffey Cook, Oliver Nash, Robert Woodson, Thomas Thompson.

North Carolina—James Jurden, Polly Johnson, Janus Crage.

South Carolina—Anthony George, Peter Cane.

Halifax—Catherine Gould, Charlotte Gould, Cato Small, Philip Cole, Richard M'Coy.

West Indies—James Morfut and Hannah his wife, Mary Davis, George Powell, Peter Lewis, Charles Sharp, Peter Hendrick, William Shoppo and Mary Shoppo, Isaac Johnson, John Pearce, Charles Esings, Peter Branch, Newell Symonds, Rosanna Symonds, Peter George, Lewis Victor, Lewis Sylvester, John Laco, Thomas Foster, Peter Jesemy, Rebecca Jesemy, David Bartlet, Thomas Grant, Joseph Lewis, Hamet Lewis, John Harrison, Mary Brown, Boston Alexander.

Cape François—Casme Francisco and Nancy his wife, Mary Fraceway.

Aux Cayes—Susannah Ross.

Port-au-Prince—John Short.

Jamaica—Charlotte Morris, John Robinson.

Bermuda—Thomas Williams.

New Providence—Henry Taylor.

Liverpool—John Mumford.

Africa—Francis Thompson, John Brown, Mary Joseph, James Melvile, Samuel Bean, Hamlet Earl, Cato Gardner, Charles Mitchel, Sophia Mitchel, Samuel Frazier, Samuel Blackburn, Timothy Philips, Joseph Ocamum.

France—Joseph ———.

Isle of France—Joseph Lovering.

LIST OF INDIANS AND MULATTOES.

The following persons from several of the United States, being people of colour, commonly called Mulattoes, are presumed to come within the intention of the same law, and are accordingly warned and directed to depart out of the Commonwealth before the 10th day of October next.

Rhode Island—Peter Badger, Kelurah Allen, Waley Green, Silvia Babcock.

Providence—Polly Adams, Paul Jones.

Connecticut—John Brown, Polly Holland, John Way and Nancy Way, Peter Virginia, Leville Steward, Lucinda Orange, Anna Sprague, Britton Doras, Amos Willis, Frank Francies.

New London—Hannah Potter.

New York—Jacob and Nelly Cummings, James and Rebecca Smith, Judith Chew, John Schumagger, Thomas Willouby, Peggy Willouby, John Reading, Mary Reading, Charles Brown, John Miles, Hannah Williams, Betsy Harris, Douglass Brown, Susannah Foster, Thomas Burros, Mary Thomson, James and Free love Buck, Lucy Glapcion, Lucy Lewis, Eliza Williams, Diana Bayle, Cæsar and Sylvia Caton, ——— Thompson, William Guin.

Albany—Elone Virginia, Abijah Reed and Lydia Reed, Abijah Reed, Jr., Rebecca Reed and Betsy Reed.

New Jersey—Stephen Boadley, Hannah Victor.

Philadelphia—Polly Boadley, James Long, Hannah Murray, Jeremiah Green, Nancy Principeso, David Johnson, George Jackson William Coak, Moses Long.

Maryland—Nancy Gust.

Baltimore—John Clark, Sally Johnson.

Virginia—Sally Hacker, Richard and John Johnson, Thomas Stewart, Anthony Paine, Mary Burk, William Hacker, Polly Losours, Betsy Guin, Lucy Brown.

Africa—Nancy Doras.¹

The constitutions of nearly all the States, statutes, or public sentiment drove the Negro from the ballot-box, excused him from the militia, and excluded him from the courts. Although born on the soil, a soldier in two wars, an industrious, law-abiding *person*, the Negro, nevertheless, was not regarded as a member of political society. He was taxed, but enjoyed no representation; was governed by laws, and yet had no voice in making the laws.

¹ Massachusetts Mercury, vol. xvi. No. 22, Sept. 16, 1780.

The doors of nearly all the schools of the entire North were shut in his face; and the few separate schools accorded him were given grudgingly. They were usually held in the lecture-room of some Colored church edifice, or thrust off to one side in a portion of the city or town toward which aristocratic ambition would never turn. These schools were generally poorly equipped; and the teachers were either Colored persons whose opportunities of securing an education had been poor, or white persons whose mental qualifications would not encourage them to make an honest living among their own race; there were noble exceptions.

A deeply rooted prejudice shut the Negro out from the trades. He could not acquire the art of setting type, civil engineering, building machinery, house carpentering, or any of the trades. The schools of medicine, law, and theology were not open to him; and even if he secured admission into some gentleman's office, or instruction from some divine, the future gave him no promise. The white wings of hope were broken in an ineffectual attempt to move against the bitter winds of persecution, under the dark sky of hate and proscription. Corporations, churches, theatres, and political parties made the Negro a subject of official action. If a Negro travelled by stage coach, it was among the baggage in the "boot," or on top with the driver. If he were favored with a ride on a street car, it was in a separate car marked, "*This car for Colored people.*" If he journeyed any distance by rail, he was assigned to the "Jim Crow" car, or "smoker," where himself and family were subjected to inconvenience, insult, and the society of the lowest class of white rowdies. If he were hungry and weary at the end of the journey, there was "no room for him in the inn," and, like his Master, was assigned a place among the cattle. If he were so fortunate as to get into a hotel as a servant, bearing the baggage of his master, he slept in the garret, and took his meals in the kitchen. It mattered not who the Colored man was—whether it was Langston, the lawyer, McCune Smith, the physician, or Douglass, the orator—he found no hotel that would give him accommodations. And forsooth, if some host had the temerity to admit a Negro to his dining-room, a dozen white guests would leave the hotel rather than submit to the "*outrage!*"

The places of amusements in all the large cities in the North excluded the Negro; and when he did gain admission, he was

shown to the gallery, where he could enjoy peanut-hulls, boot-blacks, and "black-legs." Occasionally the side door of a college was put ajar for some invincible Negro. But this was a performance of very rare occurrence; and the instances are easily remembered.

When courts and parties, corporations and companies had refused to accord the Negro the rights that were his due as a man, he carried his case to the highest earthly court, the Christian Church. He felt sure of sympathy and succor from this source. The Church had stood through the centuries as a refuge for the unfortunate and afflicted. But, alas! the Church shrank from the Negro as if he had been a reptile. If he gained admission it was to the "Negro pew" in the "organ loft." If he secured the precious "emblems of the broken body and shed blood" of his Divine Master, it was after the "white folks" were through. If the cause of the Negro were mentioned in the prayer or sermon, it was in the indistinct whisper of the moral coward who occupied the sacred desk. And when the fight was on at fever heat, when it was popular to plead the cause of the slave and demand the rights of the free Negro, the Church was the last organization in the country to take a position on the question; and even then, her "moderation was known to all men."

If the Negro had suffered from neglect only, had been left to solve the riddle of his anomalous existence without further embarrassment, it would have been well. But no, it was not so. Studied insolence jostled Colored men and women from the streets of the larger cities; mobocratic violence broke up assemblages and churches of Colored people; and malice sought them in the quiet of their homes—outraged and slew them in cold blood. Thus with the past as a haunting, bitter recollection, the present filled with fear and disaster, and the future a shapeless horror, think ye life was sweet to the Negro? Bitter? Bitter as death? Ay, bitter as hell!

Driven down from the lofty summit of laudable ambitions into the sultry plains of domestic drudgery and menial toil, nearly every ray of hope had perished upon the strained vision of the Negro. The only thing young Colored men could aspire to was the position of a waiter, the avocation of a barber, the place of a house-servant or groom, and teach or preach to their own people with little or no qualifications. Denied the opportunities and facilities of securing an education, they were upbraided

by the press and pulpit, in private gatherings and public meetings, for their ignorance, which was enforced by a narrow and contracted public prejudice.

But "none of these things moved" the Negro. Undismayed he bowed to his herculean task with a complacency and courage worthy of any race or age of the world's history. The small encouragement that came to him from the conscientious minority of white men and women was as refreshing as the cool ocean breeze at even-tide to the feverish brow of a travel-soiled pilgrim. The Negro found it necessary to exert *himself*, to lift himself out of his social, mental, and political dilemma by the straps of his boots. Colored men turned their attention to the education of themselves and their children. Schools were begun, churches organized, and work of general improvement and self-culture entered into with alacrity and enthusiasm. Boston had among its teachers the scholarly Thomas Paul; among its clergymen Leonard A. Grimes and John T. Raymond; among its lawyers Robert Morris and E. G. Walker; among its business men J. B. Smith and Coffin Pitts; among its physicians John R. Rock and John V. DeGrasse; among its authors Brown and Nell; and among its orators Remond and Hilton. Robert Morris was admitted to the bar in Boston, on Thursday, June 27, 1850, at a meeting of the members of the Suffolk County Bar. The record is as follows:

"*Resolved*, That ROBERT MORRIS, Esq., be recommended for admittance to practice as a Counsellor and Attorney of the Circuit and District Courts of the United States.

"(Signed) ELLIS GRAY LORING, *Chairman*.

"CHAS. THEO. RUSSELL, *Secretary*."

John V. DeGrasse, M.D., an eminent physician of Boston was perhaps the most accomplished Colored gentleman in New England between 1850-1860. The following notice appeared in a Boston journal in August, 1854:

"On the 24th of August, 1854, Mr. DeGrasse was admitted in due form a member of the 'Massachusetts Medical Society.' It is the first instance of such honor being conferred upon a colored man in this State, at least, and probably in the country; and therefore it deserves particular notice, both because the means by which he has reached this distinction are creditable to his own intelligence and perseverance, and because others of his class may be stimulated to seek an elevation which

has hitherto been supposed unattainable by men of color. The Doctor is a native of New York City, where he was born in June, 1825, and where he spent his time in private and public schools till 1840. He then entered the Oneida Institute, Beriah Green, President, and spent one year ; but as Latin was not taught there, he left and entered the Clinton Seminary, where he remained two years, intending to enter college in the fall of 1843. He was turned from this purpose, however, by the persuasions of a friend in France, and after spending two years in a college in that country, he returned to New York in November, 1845, and commenced the study of medicine with Dr. Samuel R. Childs, of that city. There he spent two years in patient and diligent study, and then two more in attending the medical lectures of Bowdoin College, Me. Leaving that institution with honor in May, 1849, he went again to Europe in the autumn of that year, and spent considerable time in the hospitals of Paris, travelling, at intervals, through parts of France, England, Italy, and Switzerland. Returning home in the ship 'Samuel Fox,' in the capacity of surgeon, he was married in August, 1852, and since that time he has practised medicine in Boston. Earning a good reputation here by his diligence and skill, he was admitted a member of the Medical Society, as above stated. Many of our most respectable physicians visit and advise with him whenever counsel is required. The Boston medical profession, it must be acknowledged, has done itself honor in thus discarding the law of caste, and generously acknowledging real merit, without regard to the hue of the skin."

The Colored population of New York was equal to the great emergency that required them to put forth their personal exertions. Dr. Henry Highland Garnet, Dr. Charles B. Ray, and the Rev. Peter Williams in the pulpit ; Charles L. Reason and William Peterson as teachers ; James McCune Smith and Philip A. White as physicians and chemists ; James Williams and Jacob Day among business men, did much to elevate the Negro in self-respect and self-support.

Philadelphia early ranked among her foremost leaders of the 'Colored people, William Whipper, Stephen Smith, Robert Purvis, William Still, Frederick A. Hinton, and Joseph Cassey. From an inquiry instituted in 1837, it was ascertained that out of the 18,768 Colored people in Philadelphia, 250 had paid for their freedom the aggregate sum of \$79,612, and that the real and personal property owned by them was near \$1,500,000. There were returns of several chartered benevolent societies for the purpose of affording mutual aid in sickness and distress, and

there were sixteen houses of public worship, with over 4,000 communicants. And in Western Pennsylvania there were John Peck, John B. Vashon, Geo. Gardner, and Lewis Woodson. Every State in the North seemed to produce Colored men of marked ability to whom God committed a great work. Their examples of patient fortitude, industry, and frugality, and their determined efforts to obtain knowledge and build up character, stimulated the youth of the Negro race to greater exertions in the upward direction.

The African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized as early as 1816. Its churches grew and its ministry increased in numbers, intelligence, and piety, until it became the most powerful organization of Colored men on the continent. The influence of this organization upon the Colored race in America was excellent. It brought the people together, not only in religious sympathy, but by the ties of a common interest in all affairs of their race and condition. The men in the organization who possessed the power of speech, who had talents to develop, and an ambition to serve their race, found this church a wide field of usefulness.

The Colored Baptists were organized before the Methodists, [in Virginia,] but their organization has always lacked strength. The form of government, being purely Democratic, was adapted to a people of larger intelligence and possessed of greater capacity for self-government. But, notwithstanding this fact, the "independent" order of Colored Baptists gave the members and clergymen of the denomination exalted ideas of government, and abiding confidence in the capacity of the Negro for self-government. No organization of Colored people in America has produced such able men as the Colored Baptist Church.

In Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan, Colored men distinguished themselves in the pulpit, in the forum, in business, and letters. William Howard Day, of Cleveland, during this period [1850-1860] Librarian of the Cleveland Library and editor of a newspaper; John Mercer Langston, of Oberlin; John Liverpool and John I. Gaines, of Cincinnati, Ohio, were good men and true. What they did for their race was done worthily and well. At the Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention, held at Putnam on the 22d, 23d, and 24th of April, 1835, the committee on the condition of the "people of Color," made the following report from Cincinnati:

136 HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA.

The number of Colored people in Cincinnati is about 2,500. As illustrating their general condition, we will give the statistics of one or two small districts. The families in each were visited from house to house, taking them all as far as we went :

Number of families in one of these districts	26
“ of individuals	125
“ of heads of families	49
“ of heads of families who are professors of religion	19
“ of children at school	20
“ of <i>heads of families</i> who have been slaves	39
“ of individuals who have been slaves	95
Time since they obtained their freedom, from 1 to 15 years ; average, 7 years.	
Number of individuals who have purchased themselves	23
Whole amount paid for themselves	\$9,112
Number of fathers and mothers still in slavery	9
“ of children	18
“ of brothers and sisters	98
“ of newspapers taken	0
“ of heads of families who can read	2

EMPLOYMENT OF HEADS OF FAMILIES.

Common laborers and porters	7
Dealers in second-hand clothing	1
Hucksters	1
Carpenters	2
Shoe-blacks	6
Cooks and waiters	11
Washer-women	18

Five of these women purchased themselves from slavery. One paid four hundred dollars for herself, and has since bought a house and lot worth six hundred dollars. All this she has done by washing.

Another individual had bargained for his wife and two children. Their master agreed to take four hundred and twenty dollars for them. He succeeded at length in raising the money, which he carried to their owner. “I shall charge you thirty dollars more than when you was here before,” said the planter, “for your wife is in a family-way, and you may pay thirty dollars for that or not take her, just as you please.”

"And so," said he (patting the head of a little son, three years old, who hung upon his knee), "I had to pay thirty dollars for this little fellow six months before he was born."

Number of families in another district	63
" of individuals	258
" of heads of families	106
" of families who are professors of religion	16
" of heads of families at school	53
" of newspapers taken	7
Amount of property in real estate	\$9,850
Number of <i>individuals</i> who have been slaves	108
" of <i>heads of families</i> who have been slaves	69
Age at which they obtained their freedom, from 3 months to 60 years ; average, 33 years.	
Time since they obtained their freedom, from 4 weeks to 27 years ; average, 9 years.	
Number of heads of families who have purchased themselves,	36
Whole amount paid for themselves	\$21,515.00
Average price	\$597.64
Number of children which the same families have already purchased	14
Whole amount paid for these children	\$2,425.75
Average price	\$173.27
Total amount paid for these parents and children	\$23,940.75
Number of parents still in slavery	16
" of husbands or wives	7
" of children	35
" of brothers and sisters	144

These districts were visited without the least reference to their being exhibited separately. If they give a fair specimen of the whole population (and we believe that to be a fact), then we have the following results: 1,129 of the Colored population of Cincinnati have been in slavery; 476 have purchased themselves, at the total expense of \$215,522.04, averaging for each, \$452.77; 163 parents are still in slavery, 68 husbands and wives, 346 children, 1,579 brothers and sisters.

There are a large number in the city who are now working out their own freedom—their free papers being retained as security. One man of our acquaintance has just given his master seven notes of one hundred dollars each, one of which he intends to pay every year, till he has paid them all; his master promises then to give him his free papers. After paying for himself, he intends to buy his wife and then his chil-

dren. Others are buying their husbands or wives, and others again their parents or children. To show that on this subject they have sympathies like other people, we will state a single fact. A young man, after purchasing himself, earned three hundred dollars. This sum he supposed was sufficient to purchase his aged mother, a widow, whom he had left in slavery five years before, in Virginia. Hearing that she was for sale, he started immediately to purchase her. But, after travelling five hundred miles, and offering all his money, he was refused. Not because she was not for sale, nor because he did not offer her full value. She had four sons and daughters with her, and the planter thought he could do better to keep the family together and send them all down the river. In vain the affectionate son pleaded for his mother. The planter's heart was steel. He would not sell her, and with a heavy heart the young man returned to Cincinnati. He has since heard that they were sold in the New Orleans market "*in lots to suit purchasers.*"

Cincinnati produced quite a number of business men among her Colored population.

HENRY BOYD

was born in the State of Kentucky, on the 14th day of May, 1802. He received some instruction in reading and writing. He was bound out to a gentleman, from whom he learned the cabinet-making trade. He developed at quite an early age a genius for working in all kinds of wood—could make any thing in the business. He came to Ohio in 1826, and located in Cincinnati. He was a fine-looking man of twenty-four years, and a master mechanic. He expected to secure employment in some of the cabinet shops in the city. Accordingly, he applied at several, but as often as he applied he was refused employment on the ground of complexional prejudice. In some instances the proprietor was willing that a Colored man should work for him, but the white mechanics would not work by the side of a Colored man. In other cases it was quite different. The proprietors would not entertain the idea of securing the services of a "Black mechanic." So it was for weeks that Mr. Boyd sought an opportunity to use his skill in the direction of his genius and training; but he sought in vain. Disappointed, though not disheartened, he turned to the work of a stevedore, which he did for four months. At the expiration of this time he found employment with a house-builder. Within six months from the time he be-

gan work as a builder he had so thoroughly mastered the trade that he quit working as a journeyman, formed a co-partnership with a white man, and went into business. The gentleman with whom he joined his fortunes was a mechanic of excellent abilities, and acknowledged the superior fitness of Boyd for the business.

As a builder he succeeded first-rate for four years. But his color was against him. His white partner would make the contracts, secure the jobs, and then Boyd would come forward when the work was to be done. He had an abundance of work, and always finished it to the entire satisfaction of his patrons. It is impossible to estimate just how many houses he built, but the number is not small. He had made a beginning, and secured some capital. He did not like the builder's trade, and only entered it at the first from necessity—as a stepping-stone to his own trade, for which he had a great deal of enthusiasm. In 1836, ten years after his arrival in Cincinnati, he engaged in the manufacture of bedsteads. For six years he carried on this business—found a ready market and liberal pay. He brought to his business some of the oldest buyers in the bedstead line, and had a trade that kept him busy at all seasons of the year. His very excellent business habits won for him many friends, and through their solicitations he enlarged his business by manufacturing all kinds of furniture. He put up a building on the corner of Eighth Street and Broadway, where he carried on his manufacturing from 1836 till 1859, a period of twenty-three years. His business required four large buildings and a force of skilful workmen, never less than twenty, frequently fifty. He used the most approved machinery and paid excellent wages.

His manufactory presented, perhaps, what was never seen in this country before or since. His workmen represented almost all the leading races. There were Negroes, Americans, Irishmen, Scotchmen, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and men of other nationalities. And they did n't bite each other! Their relations were pleasant.

He was burned out three times, but he rebuilt and went ahead. He was doing such an extensive business that some thought it advisable to destroy his buildings. His losses were very heavy, yet he kept right on, and kept up his business for some time; but finally had to yield at the last fire, when he had no insurance.

He invented a machine to turn the rails of a bed, but being a Colored man he could not take out a patent. He, therefore, had one taken out in the name of a white gentleman. "The Boyd bedstead" sold throughout the United States then, and was popular for many years after he quit the business.

He has been engaged in several different businesses since he quit manufacturing, and for the last nine years has been in the employ of the city.

SAMUEL T. WILCOX.

In 1850 Samuel T. Wilcox decided to embark in some business venture in Cincinnati. Accordingly he built a store on the northeast corner of Broadway and Fifth streets. He at once occupied it as a grocer. In those days fancy groceries were not kept. But Mr. Wilcox opened a new era in the business. He introduced fancy articles, such as all varieties of canned fruit, choice liquors, cigars, first quality of hams, all kinds of dried fruit, the best brands of sugars, molasses, and fine soaps. He made a specialty of these, and succeeded admirably.

His trade was divided between two classes—the finest river packets and the best families of the city. His customers were the very *best families*—people of wealth and high standing. And perhaps no grocer of his times in Cincinnati did so large a business as Samuel T. Wilcox.

His business increased rapidly until he did about \$140,000 *of trade per year!* This continued for six years, when his social habits were not favorable to permanent success. He had been sole owner of the business up to this time. He sold out one half of the store to Charles Roxboro, Sr.; thus the firm name became "Wilcox & Roxboro." The latter gentleman was energetic and business-like in his habits. He cast his courage and marvellous tact against the high tide of business disaster that came sweeping along in the last days of the firm. He resorted to every honorable and safe expedient in order to avert failure. But the handwriting was upon the wall. He failed. Wilcox had begun business with \$25,000 cash. He had accumulated \$60,000 in real estate, and had transacted \$140,000 of business in a single year! He failed because his life was immoral, his habits extravagant, and his attention to business indifferent.

ALEX. S. THOMAS.

This gentleman came to Cincinnati in 1852, where he made the acquaintance of a Colored gentleman of intelligence, J. P. Ball, who was in the daguerrian business at Nos. 28 and 30 West Fourth Street. Mr. Thomas became affianced to Miss Elizabeth Ball, sister of J. P. Ball; and after they were married, Mr. Thomas accepted the position of reception clerk for his brother-in-law. He filled this position with credit and honor for the space of one year. It was now 1853. Daguerrotypes were all the "rage." Photography was unknown. Mr. Ball had an excellent run of custom, and was making money rapidly.

As operator, Mr. Ball soon discovered that Mr. Thomas was a man of quick perception, thorough, and entirely trustworthy. He soon became familiar with the instrument, and in 1854 began to "operate." He continued at the instrument during the remainder of the time he spent at 28 West Fourth Street. He shortly acquired the skill of an old and well-trained operator; and his success in this department of the business added greatly to the already well-established reputation of the gallery.

Mr. Thomas was not satisfied with being a successful clerk and first-class operator. He wanted to go into business for himself. Accordingly he opened a gallery at No. 120 West Fourth Street, near the "Commercial," under the firm name of "Ball & Thomas." The rooms were handsomely fitted up, and the building leased for five years.

In May, 1860, a severe tornado passed over the city, destroying much property and several lives. The roof of the Commercial [Potter's Building] was carried away; part passed over the gallery of Ball & Thomas, while part went through the operating room, and some fragments of timber, etc., penetrated a saloon in the rear of the photographic gallery, and killed a child and a woman. The gallery was a complete wreck, the instruments, chemicals, scenery, cases, pictures, carpets, furniture, and every thing else, were ruined. This was in the early days of the firm. All their available capital had been converted into stock, used in fitting up the gallery. Ball & Thomas were young men—they were Colored men, and were financially ruined. Apparently their business was at an end. But they were artists; and many white families in Cincinnati recognized them as such. Their white friends came to the rescue. The gallery was fitted up again most elaborately, and was known as "the finest photographic gallery west of the Alleghany Mountains."

This marked a distinct era in the history of the firm, and many persons often remarked that the luckiest moment in their history was when the roof of the Commercial building sat down upon them. For years the best families of the city patronized the famous firm of Ball & Thomas. They had more business than they could attend to at times, and consequently had to engage extra help. These were years of unprecedented success. One hundred dollars a day was small money then. The firm became quite wealthy. After spending fifteen years at 120 they returned to 30 West Fourth Street, where they remained until May, 1874.

Photographers move considerable, and it is seldom that men in this business remain in one street or building as long as Ball & Thomas. They passed twenty-one of the best years of the firm in Fourth Street. This is both a compliment to the public and themselves. It shows, on the one hand, that Colored men can conduct business like white men, and, on the other hand, if Colored men have ability to carry on any kind of business, white people will patronize them.

The old stand at 30 West Fourth Street was fitted up anew, and business began with all the wonted zeal and desire to please the public which characterized the firm in former years. The rooms were at once elegant and capacious. Their motto was to do the best work at the cheapest rates. But as in all other businesses, so in photographic art, there was competition. And rather than do poor work at the low rates of competitors, they decided to remove to another locality. Accordingly, in May, 1874, they moved into No. 146 West Fifth Street. The building was leased for a term of years. It was in no wise adapted to the photographic business. The walls were cut out, doors made, stairs changed, skylight put in, chemical rooms constructed, gas-fixtures put in, papering, painting, and graining done, carpets and new furniture ordered. It cost the firm more than \$2,800 to enter this new stand.

The first year at the new stand was characterized by liberal custom and excellent work. The old customers who were delighted with the work done at 30 West Fourth Street, were convinced that the firm had redoubled its artistic zeal, and was determined to outdo the palmy days of Fourth Street. The business, which at this time was in a flourishing condition, was destined to suffer an interruption in the death of Thomas Carroll

Ball, the senior member of the firm. It was at a time when the trade demanded the energies of both gentlemen. But Death never tarries to consider the far-reach of results or the wishes of the friends of his subject. The business continued. Ball Thomas, the son of Mr. A. S. Thomas, who had grown up under the faithful tuition of his father, now became a successful retouching artist. For the last two years Mr. Thomas has conducted the business alone. He is now doing business at 166 West Fifth Street, and it is said that he is doing a good business.

The Colored people of Cincinnati evinced not only an anxiety to take care of themselves, but took steps early toward securing a home for the orphans in their midst.

In *ante-bellum* days there was no provision made for Colored paupers or Colored orphans. Where individual sympathy or charity did not intervene, they were left to die in the midst of squalid poverty, and were cast into the common ditch, without having medical aid or ministerial consolation. There was not simply studious neglect, but a strong prohibition against their entrance into institutions sustained by the county and State for white persons not more fortunate than they. At one time a good Quaker was superintendent of the county poorhouse. His heart was touched with kindest sympathy for the uncared-for Colored paupers in Cincinnati. He acted the part of a true Samaritan, and gave them separate quarters in the institution of which he was the official head. This fact came to the public ear, and the trustees of the poorhouse, in accordance with their own convictions and in compliance with the complexional prejudices of the community, discharged the Quaker for this breach of the law. The Colored paupers were turned out of this lazaret-house on the Sabbath. The time to perpetuate this crime against humanity was indeed significant—on the Lord's day. The God of the poor and His followers beheld the streets of Christian Cincinnati filled with the maimed, halt, sick, and poor, who were denied the common fare accorded the white paupers! There was no sentiment in those days, either in the pulpit or press, to raise its voice against this act of cruelty and shame.

Lydia P. Mott, an eminent member of the Society of Friends and an able leader of a conscientious few, espoused the cause of the motherless, fatherless, and homeless Colored children of this community. She attracted the attention and won the confi-

dence of the few Abolitionists of this city. She determined to establish a home for these little wanderers, and immediately set to work at a plan. The late Salmon P. Chase was then quite young, a man of brilliant abilities and of anti-slavery sentiments. He joined himself to the humane movement of Lydia P. Mott, with the following persons: Christian Donaldson, James Pullan, William Donaldson, Robert Buchanan, John Liverpool, Richard Phillips, John Woodson, Charles Satchell, Wm. W. Watson, William Darnes, Michael Clark, A. M. Sumner, Reuben P. Graham, Louis P. Brux, Sarah B. McLain, Mrs. Eustis, Mrs. Dr. Stanton, Mrs. Hannah Cooper, Mrs. Mary Jane Gordon, Mrs. Susan Miller, Mrs. Rebecca Darnes, Mrs. Charlotte Armstrong, Mrs. Eliza Clark, Mrs. Ruth Ellen Watson, and others. Six of the gentlemen and four of the ladies were white. Only six of this noble company are living at this time.

The organization was effected in 1844, and the act of incorporation was drawn up by Salmon P. Chase. It was chartered in February, 1845, the passage of the act having been assured through the personal influence of Mr. Chase upon the members of the Legislature.

The first Board of Trustees under the charter were William Donaldson, John Woodson, Richard Phillips, Christian Donaldson, Reuben P. Graham, Richard Pullan, Charles Satchell, Louis P. Brux, and John Liverpool. But one is alive—Richard Pullan.

The first building the Trustees secured as an asylum was on Ninth Street, between Plum and Elm. They paid a rental of \$12.50 per month. The building was owned by Mr. Nicholas Longworth, but the ground was leased by him from Judge Burnet. The Trustees ultimately purchased the building for \$1,500; and in 1851 the ground also was purchased of Mr. Groesbeck for \$4,400 in cash.

During the three or four years following, the institution had quite an indifferent career. The money requisite to run it was not forthcoming. The children were poorly fed and clothed, and many times there was no money in the treasury at all. The Trustees were discouraged, and it seemed that the asylum would have to be closed. But just at this time that venerable Abolitionist and underground railroader, Levi Coffin, with his excellent wife, "Aunt Kitty," came to the rescue. He took charge of the institution as superintendent, and his wife assumed the duties of matron. Through their exertions and adroit management they

succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of many benevolent folk, and secured the support of many true friends.

It was now 1866. The asylum building presented a forlorn aspect. It was far from being a comfortable shelter for the children. But a lack of funds forbade the Trustees from having it repaired. They began to look about for a more desirable and comfortable building. During the closing year of the Rebellion a large number of freedmen sought the shelter of our large Northern cities. Cincinnati received her share of them, and acted nobly toward them. The government authorities built a hospital for freedmen in a very desirable locality in Avondale. At this time (1866), the building, which was very capacious, was not occupied. The Trustees secured a change in the charter, permitting them, by consent of the subscribers, to sell the Ninth Street property, and purchase the hospital building and the accompanying six acres in Avondale. The Ninth Street property brought \$9,000; the purchase in Avondale, refitting, etc., cost \$11,000, incurring a debt of \$2,000.

During the first twenty-two years of the institution much good was accomplished. Hundreds of children—orphans and friendless children—found shelter in the asylum, which existed only through the almost superhuman efforts of the intelligent Colored persons in the community, and the unstinted charity of many generous white persons. The asylum has been pervaded with a healthy religious atmosphere; and many of its inmates have gone forth to the world giving large promise of usefulness. An occasional letter from former inmates often proves that much good has been done; and that some of these children, without the kindly influence and care of the asylum, instead of occupying places of usefulness and trust in society, might have drifted into vagrancy and crime.

Amidst the struggle for temporal welfare, the Colored people of Cincinnati were not unmindful of the interests and destinies of the Union. A military company was formed, bearing the name of *Attucks Guards*. On the 25th of July, 1855, an association of ladies presented a flag to the company. The address, on the part of the ladies, was delivered by Miss Mary A. Darnes. Among many excellent things, she said:

“Should the love of liberty and your country ever demand your services, may you, in imitation of that noble patriot whose name you bear,

promptly respond to the call, and fight to the last for the great and noble principles of liberty and justice, to the glory of your fathers and the land of your birth.

"The time is not far distant when the *slave must be free*; if not by moral and intellectual means, it must be done by the sword. Remember, gentlemen, should duty call, it will be yours to obey, and strike to the last for freedom or the grave.

"But God forbid that you should be called upon to witness our peaceful homes involved in war. May our eyes never behold this flag in any conflict; let the quiet breeze ever play among its folds, and the fullest peace dwell among you!"

While the great majority of the Colored people in the country were bowing themselves cheerfully to the dreadful task of living among wolves, some of the race were willing to brave the perils of the sea, and find a new home on the West Coast of Africa. Between the years of 1850-1856, 9,502 Negroes went to Liberia, of whom 3,676 had been born free. In 1850, there were 1,467 manumitted, while 1,011 ran away from their masters.

Notwithstanding the many disadvantages under which the free Negroes of the North had to labor, they accomplished a great deal. In an incredibly short time they built schools, planted churches, established newspapers; had their representatives in law, medicine, and theology before the world as the marvel of the centuries. Shut out from every influence calculated to incite them to a higher life, and provoke them to better works, nevertheless, the Colored people were enabled to live down much prejudice, and gained the support and sympathy of noble men and women of the Anglo-Saxon race.

CHAPTER XII.

NEGRO SCHOOL LAWS.

1619-1860.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE HUMAN INTELLECT — IGNORANCE FAVORABLE TO SLAVERY. — AN ACT BY THE LEGISLATURE OF ALABAMA IMPOSING A PENALTY ON ANY ONE INSTRUCTING A COLORED PERSON. — EDUCATIONAL PRIVILEGES OF THE CREOLES IN THE CITY OF MOBILE. — PREJUDICE AGAINST COLORED SCHOOLS IN CONNECTICUT. — THE ATTEMPT OF MISS PRUDENCE CRANDALL TO ADMIT COLORED GIRLS INTO HER SCHOOL AT CANTERBURY. — THE INDIGNATION OF THE CITIZENS AT THIS ATTEMPT TO MIX THE RACES IN EDUCATION. — THE LEGISLATURE OF CONNECTICUT PASSES A LAW ABOLISHING THE SCHOOL. — THE BUILDING ASSAULTED BY A MOB. — MISS CRANDALL ARRESTED AND IMPRISONED FOR TEACHING COLORED CHILDREN AGAINST THE LAW — GREAT EXCITEMENT. — THE LAW FINALLY REPEALED. — AN ACT BY THE LEGISLATURE OF DELAWARE TAKING PERSONS WHO BROUGHT INTO, OR SOLD SLAVES OUT OF, THE STATE. — UNDER ACT OF 1829 MONEY RECEIVED FOR THE SALE OF SLAVES IN FLORIDA WAS ADDED TO THE SCHOOL FUND IN THAT STATE. — GEORGIA PROHIBITS THE EDUCATION OF COLORED PERSONS UNDER HEAVY PENALTY. — ILLINOIS ESTABLISHES SEPARATE SCHOOLS FOR COLORED CHILDREN. — THE "FREE MISSION INSTITUTE" AT QUINCY, ILLINOIS, DESTROYED BY A MISSOURI MOB. — NUMEROUS AND CRUEL SLAVE LAWS IN KENTUCKY RETARD THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGROES. — AN ACT PASSED IN LOUISIANA PREVENTING THE NEGROES IN ANY WAY FROM BEING INSTRUCTED. — MAINE GIVES EQUAL SCHOOL PRIVILEGES TO WHITES AND BLACKS. — ST. FRANCIS ACADEMY FOR COLORED GIRLS FOUNDED IN BALTIMORE IN 1831. — THE WELLS SCHOOL. — THE FIRST SCHOOL FOR COLORED CHILDREN ESTABLISHED IN BOSTON BY INTELLIGENT COLORED MEN IN 1798. — A SCHOOL-HOUSE FOR THE COLORED CHILDREN BUILT AND PAID FOR OUT OF A FUND LEFT BY ABIEL SMITH FOR THAT PURPOSE. — JOHN B. RUSSELL ONE OF THE TEACHERS AND AFTERWARD GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY OF CAPE PALMAS, LIBERIA. — FIRST PRIMARY SCHOOL FOR COLORED CHILDREN ESTABLISHED IN 1820. — MISSOURI PASSES STRINGENT LAWS AGAINST THE INSTRUCTION OF NEGROES. — NEW YORK PROVIDES FOR THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES. — ELIAS NEAU OPENS A SCHOOL IN NEW YORK CITY FOR NEGRO SLAVES IN 1704. — "NEW YORK AFRICAN FREE SCHOOL" IN 1786. — VISIT OF LAFAYETTE TO THE AFRICAN SCHOOLS IN 1824. — HIS ADDRESS. — PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR COLORED CHILDREN IN NEW YORK. — COLORED SCHOOLS IN OHIO. — "CINCINNATI HIGH SCHOOL" FOR COLORED YOUTHS FOUNDED IN 1844. — OBERLIN COLLEGE OPENS ITS DOORS TO COLORED STUDENTS. — THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COLORED SCHOOLS IN PENNSYLVANIA BY ANTHONY BENEZET IN 1750. — HIS WILL. — "INSTITUTE FOR COLORED YOUTHS" ESTABLISHED IN 1837. — "AVERY COLLEGE," AT ALLEGHENY CITY, PENNSYLVANIA, FOUNDED IN 1849. — ASHMUN INSTITUTE, OR LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, FOUNDED IN OCTOBER, 1856 — SOUTH CAROLINA TAKES DEFINITE ACTION AGAINST THE EDUCATION OR PROMOTION OF THE COLORED RACE IN 1800-1803-1834. — TENNESSEE MAKES NO DISCRIMINATION AGAINST COLOR IN THE SCHOOL LAW OF 1840. — LITTLE OPPORTUNITY AFFORDED IN VIRGINIA FOR THE COLORED MAN TO BE ENLIGHTENED. — STRINGENT LAWS ENACTED. — HISTORY OF SCHOOLS FOR THE COLORED POPULATION IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

THE institution of American slavery needed protection from the day of its birth to the day of its death. Whips, thumb-screws, and manacles of iron were far less helpful to it than the thralldom of the intellects of its hapless victims. "Created a little lower than the angels," "crowned with glory and honor,"

armed with authority "over every living creature," man was intended by his Maker to rule the world through his intellect. The homogeneity of the crude faculties of man has been quite generally admitted throughout the world; while even scientists, differing widely in many other things, have united in ascribing to the human mind everywhere certain possibilities. But one class of men have dissented from this view—the slave-holders of all ages. A justification of slavery has been sought in the alleged belief of the inferiority of the persons enslaved; while the broad truism of the possibilities of the human mind was confessed in all legislation that sought to prevent slaves from acquiring knowledge. So the slave-holder asserted his belief in the mental inferiority of the Negro, and then advertised his lack of faith in his assertion by making laws to prevent the Negro intellect from receiving those truths which would render him valueless as a slave, but equal to the duties of a freeman.

ALABAMA

had an act in 1832 which declared that "Any person or persons who shall attempt to teach any free person of color or slave to spell, read, or write, shall, upon conviction thereof by indictment, be fined in a sum not less than \$250, nor more than \$500." This act also prohibited with severe penalties, by flogging, "any free negro or person of color" from being in company with any slaves without written permission from the owner or overseer of such slaves; it also prohibited the assembling of more than five male slaves at any place off the plantation to which they belonged; but nothing in the act was to be considered as forbidding attendance at places of public worship held by white persons. No slave or free person of color was permitted to "preach, exhort, or harangue any slave or slaves, or free persons of color, except in the presence of five respectable slave-holders, or unless the person preaching was licensed by some regular body of professing Christians in the neighborhood, to whose society or church the negroes addressed properly belonged."

In 1833, the mayor and aldermen of the city of Mobile were authorized by an act of the Legislature to grant licenses to such persons as they deemed suitable to give instruction to the children of free Colored Creoles. This applied only to those who resided in the city of Mobile and county of Baldwin. The instruction was to be given at brief periods, and the children had to secure a

certificate from the mayor and aldermen. The ground of this action was the treaty between France and the United States in 1803, by which the rights and privileges of citizens had been secured to the Creoles residing in the above places at the time of the treaty.

ARKANSAS,

so far as her laws appear, did not prohibit the education of Negroes; but a study of her laws leaves the impression that the Negroes there were practically denied the right of instruction.

CONNECTICUT

never legislated against educating Colored persons, but the prejudice was so strong that it amounted to the same thing. The intolerant spirit of the whites drove the Colored people of Hartford to request a separate school in 1830. Prejudice was so great against the presence of a Colored school in a community of white people, that a school, established by a very worthy white lady, was mobbed and then legislated out of existence.

"In the summer of 1832, Miss Prudence Crandall, an excellent, well-educated Quaker young lady, who had gained considerable reputation as a teacher in the neighboring town of Plainfield, purchased, at the solicitation of a number of families in the village of Canterbury, Connecticut, a commodious house in that village, for the purpose of establishing a boarding and day school for young ladies, in order that they might receive instruction in higher branches than were taught in the public district school. Her school was well conducted, but was interrupted early in 1833 in this wise: Not far from the village a worthy colored man was living, by the name of Harris, the owner of a good farm, and in comfortable circumstances. His daughter Sarah, a bright girl, seventeen years of age, had passed with credit through the public school of the district in which she lived, and was anxious to acquire a better education, to qualify herself to become a teacher of the colored people. She applied to Miss Crandall for admission to her school. Miss Crandall hesitated, for prudential reasons, to admit a colored person among her pupils; but Sarah was a young lady of pleasing appearance and manners, well known to many of Miss Crandall's present pupils, having been their classmate in the district school, and was, moreover, a virtuous, pious girl, and a member of the church in Canterbury. No objection could be made to her admission, except on account of her complexion, and Miss Crandall decided to receive her as a pupil.

No objection was made by the other pupils, but in a few days the parents of some of them called on Miss Crandall and remonstrated; and although Miss Crandall pressed upon their consideration the eager desire of Sarah for knowledge and culture, and the good use she wished to make of her education, her excellent character, and her being an accepted member of the same Christian church to which they belonged, they were too much prejudiced to listen to any arguments—'they would not have it said that their daughters went to school with a nigger girl.' It was urged that if Sarah was not dismissed, the white pupils would be withdrawn; but although the fond hopes of success for an institution which she had established at the risk of all her property, and by incurring a debt of several hundred dollars, seemed to be doomed to disappointment, she decided not to yield to the demand for the dismissal of Sarah; and on the 2d day of March, 1833, she advertised in the 'Liberator' that on the first Monday in April her school would be open for 'young ladies and little misses of color.' Her determination having become known, a fierce indignation was kindled and fanned by prominent people of the village and pervaded the town. In this juncture, the Rev. Samuel J. May, of the neighboring town of Brooklyn, addressed her a letter of sympathy, expressing his readiness to assist her to the extent of his power, and was present at the town meeting held on the 9th of March, called for the express purpose of devising and adopting such measures as 'would effectually avert the nuisance or speedily abate it if it should be brought into the village.'

"The friends of Miss Crandall were authorized by her to state to the moderator of the town meeting that she would give up her house, which was one of the most conspicuous in the village, and not wholly paid for, if those who were opposed to her school being there would take the property off her hands at the price for which she had purchased it, and which was deemed a reasonable one, and allow her time to procure another house in a more retired part of the town.

"The town meeting was held in the meeting-house, which, though capable of holding a thousand people, was crowded throughout to its utmost capacity. After the warning for the meeting had been read, resolutions were introduced in which were set forth the disgrace and damage that would be brought upon the town if a school for colored girls should be set up there, protesting emphatically against the impending evil, and appointing the civil authority and select-men a committee to wait upon 'the person contemplating the establishment of said school, and persuade her, if possible, to abandon the project.'

"The resolutions were advocated by Rufus Adams, Esq., and Hon. Andrew T. Judson, who was then the most prominent man of the town, and a leading politician in the State, and much talked of as the Demo-

cratic candidate for governor, and was a representative in Congress from 1835 to 1839, when he was elected judge of the United States District Court, which position he held until his death in 1853, adjudicating, among other causes, the libel of the 'Amistad' and the fifty-four Africans on board. After his address on this occasion, Mr. May, in company with Mr. Arnold Buffum, a lecturing agent of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, applied for permission to speak in behalf of Miss Crandall, but their application was violently opposed, and the resolutions being adopted, the meeting was declared, by the moderator, adjourned.

"Mr. May at once stepped upon the seat where he had been sitting, and rapidly vindicated Miss Crandall, replying to some of the mis-statements as to her purposes and the character of her expected pupils, when he gave way to Mr. Buffum, who had spoken scarcely five minutes before the trustees of the church ordered the house to be vacated and the doors to be shut. There was then no alternative but to yield.

"Two days afterward Mr. Judson called on Mr. May, with whom he had been on terms of a pleasant acquaintance, not to say of friendship, and expressed regret that he had applied certain epithets to him; and went on to speak of the disastrous effect on the village from the establishment of 'a school for nigger girls.' Mr. May replied that his purpose was, if he had been allowed to do so, to state at the town meeting Miss Crandall's proposition to sell her house in the village at its fair valuation, and retire to some other part of the town. To this Mr. Judson replied: 'Mr. May, we are not merely opposed to the establishment of that school in Canterbury, we mean there shall not be such a school set up anywhere in the State.'

"Mr. Judson continued, declaring that the colored people could never rise from their menial condition in our country, and ought not to be permitted to rise here; that they were an inferior race and should not be recognized as the equals of the whites; that they should be sent back to Africa, and improve themselves there, and civilize and Christianize the natives. To this Mr. May replied that there never would be fewer colored people in this country than there were then; that it was unjust to drive them out of the country; that we must accord to them their rights or incur the loss of our own; that education was the primal, fundamental right of all the children of men; and that Connecticut was the last place where this should be denied.

"The conversation was continued in a similar strain, in the course of which Mr. Judson declared with warmth: 'That nigger school shall never be allowed in Canterbury, nor in any town of this State'; and he avowed his determination to secure the passage of a law by the Legislature then in session, forbidding the institution of such a school in any part of the State.

"Undismayed by the opposition and the threatened violence of her neighbors, Miss Crandall received, early in April, fifteen or twenty colored young ladies and misses from Philadelphia, New York, Providence, and Boston, and the annoyances of her persecutors at once commenced : all accommodations at the stores in Canterbury being denied her, her pupils being insulted whenever they appeared on the streets, the doors and door-steps of her house being besmeared, and her well filled with filth ; under all of which, both she and her pupils remained firm. Among other means used to intimidate, an attempt was made to drive away those innocent girls by a process under the obsolete vagrant law, which provided that the select-men of any town might warn any person, not an inhabitant of the State, to depart forthwith, demanding \$1.67 for every week he or she remained after receiving such warning ; and in case the fine was not paid and the person did not depart before the expiration of ten days after being sentenced, *then he or she should be whipped on the naked body, not exceeding ten stripes.*

"A warrant to that effect was actually served upon Eliza Ann Hammond, a fine girl from Providence, aged seventeen years ; but it was finally abandoned, and another method was resorted to, most disgraceful to the State as well as the town. Foiled in their attempts to frighten away Miss Crandall's pupils by their proceedings under the obsolete 'pauper and vagrant law,' Mr. Judson and those who acted with him pressed upon the Legislature, then in session, a demand for the enactment of a law which should enable them to accomplish their purpose ; and in that bad purpose they succeeded, by securing the following enactment, on the 24th of May, 1833, known as the '*black law.*'

"Whereas, attempts have been made to establish literary institutions in this State for the instruction of colored persons belonging to other States and countries, which would tend to the great increase of the colored population of the State, and thereby to the injury of the people : therefore,

"*Be it enacted, etc.,* That no person shall set up or establish in this State any school, academy, or other literary institution for the instruction or education of colored persons, who are not inhabitants of this State, or harbor or board, for the purpose of attending or being taught or instructed in any such school, academy, or literary institution, any colored person who is not an inhabitant of any town in this State, without the consent in writing, first obtained, of a majority of the civil authority, and also of the select-men of the town in which such school, academy, or literary institution is situated,' etc.

"And each and every person who shall knowingly do any act forbidden as aforesaid, or shall be aiding or assisting therein, shall for the first offense forfeit and pay to the treasurer of this State a fine of \$100, and for the second offense \$200, and so double for every offense of

which he or she shall be convicted ; and all informing officers are required to make due presentment of all breaches of this act.'

"On the receipt of the tidings of the passage of this law, the people of Canterbury were wild with exultation ; the bells were rung and a cannon was fired to manifest the joy. On the 27th of June, Miss Crandall was arrested and arraigned before Justices Adams and Bacon, two of those who had been the earnest opponents of her enterprise ; and the result being predetermined, the trial was of course brief, and Miss Crandall was 'committed' to take her trial at the next session of the Supreme Court at Brooklyn, in August. A messenger was at once dispatched by the party opposed to Miss Crandall to Brooklyn, to inform Mr. May, as her friend, of the result of the trial, stating that she was in the hands of the sheriff, and would be put in jail unless he or some of her friends would 'give bonds' for her in a certain sum."

The denouement may be related most appropriately in the language of Mr. May :

"I calmly told the messenger that there were gentlemen enough in Canterbury whose bond for that amount would be as good or better than mine, and I should leave it for them to do Miss Crandall that favor. 'But,' said the young man, 'are you not her friend?' 'Certainly,' I replied, 'too sincerely her friend to give relief to her enemies in their present embarrassment, and I trust you will not find any one of her friends, or the patrons of her school, who will step forward to help them any more than myself.' 'But, sir,' he cried, 'do you mean to allow her to be put in jail?' 'Most certainly,' was my answer, 'if her persecutors are unwise enough to let such an outrage be committed.' He turned from me in blank surprise, and hurried back to tell Mr. Judson and the justices of his ill success.

"A few days before, when I first heard of the passage of the law, I had visited Miss Crandall with my friend, Mr. George W. Benson, and advised with her as to the course she and her friends ought to pursue when she should be brought to trial. She appreciated at once and fully the importance of leaving her persecutors to show to the world how base they were, and how atrocious was the law they had induced the Legislature to enact—a law, by the force of which a woman might be fined and imprisoned as a felon in the State of Connecticut for giving instruction to colored girls. She agreed that it would be best for us to leave her in the hands of those with whom the law originated, hoping that, in their madness, they would show forth all their hideous features.

"Mr. Benson and I, therefore, went diligently around to all who he knew were friendly to Miss Crandall and her school, and counselled

them by no means to give bonds to keep her from imprisonment, because nothing would expose so fully to the public the egregious wickedness of the law and the virulence of her persecutors as the fact that they had thrust her into jail.

"When I found that her resolution was equal to the trial which seemed to be impending, that she was ready to brave and to bear meekly the worst treatment that her enemies would venture to subject her to, I made all the arrangements for her comfort that were practicable in our prison. It fortunately happened that the most suitable room, unoccupied, was the one in which a man named Watkins had recently been confined for the murder of his wife, and out of which he had been taken and executed. This circumstance we foresaw would add not a little to the public detestation of the *black law*. The jailer, at my request, readily put the room in as nice order as was possible, and permitted me to substitute for the bedstead and mattress on which the murderer had slept, fresh and clean ones from my own house and Mr. Benson's.

"About 2 o'clock, P.M., another messenger came to inform me that the sheriff was on the way from Canterbury to the jail with Miss Crandall, and would imprison her unless her friends would give the required bail. Although in sympathy with Miss Crandall's persecutors, he saw clearly the disgrace that was about to be brought upon the State, and begged me and Mr. Benson to avert it. Of course we refused. I went to the jailer's house and met Miss Crandall on her arrival. We stepped aside. I said: 'If now you hesitate—if you dread the gloomy place so much as to wish to be saved from it, I will give bonds for you even now.' 'Oh, no,' she promptly replied, 'I am only afraid they will not put me in jail. Their evident hesitation and embarrassment show plainly how much they deprecated the effect of this part of their folly, and therefore I am the more anxious that they should be exposed, if not caught in their own wicked devices.'

"We therefore returned with her to the sheriff and the company that surrounded him, to await his final act. He was ashamed to do it. He knew it would cover the persecutors of Miss Crandall and the State of Connecticut with disgrace. He conferred with several about him, and delayed yet longer. Two gentlemen came and remonstrated with me in not very seemly terms: 'It would be a — shame, an eternal disgrace to the State, to have her put into jail—into the very room that Watkins had last occupied.'

"'Certainly, gentlemen,' I replied, 'and this you may prevent if you please.'

"'Oh!' they cried, 'we are not her friends; we are not in favor of her school; we don't want any more — niggers coming among us. It is your place to stand by Miss Crandall and help her now. You and

your——abolition brethren have encouraged her to bring this nuisance into Canterbury, and it is——mean in you to desert her now.'

"I rejoined: 'She knows we have not deserted her, and do not intend to desert her. The law which her persecutors have persuaded our legislators to enact is an infamous one, worthy of the dark ages. It would be just as bad as it is whether we would give bonds for her or not. But the people generally will not so soon realize how bad, how wicked, how cruel a law it is unless we suffer her persecutors to inflict upon her all the penalties it prescribes. She is willing to bear them for the sake of the cause she has so nobly espoused. If you see fit to keep her from imprisonment in the cell of a murderer for having proffered the blessings of a good education to those who in our country need it most, you may do so; *we shall not.*'

"They turned from us in great wrath, words falling from their lips which I shall not repeat.

"The sun had descended nearly to the horizon; the shadows of night were beginning to fall around us. The sheriff could defer the dark deed no longer. With no little emotion, and with words of earnest deprecation, he gave that excellent, heroic, Christian young lady into the hands of the jailer, and she was led into the cell of Watkins. So soon as I had heard the bolts of her prison door turned in the lock, and saw the key taken out, I bowed and said: 'The deed is done, completely done. It cannot be recalled. It has passed into the history of our nation and our age.' I went away with my steadfast friend, George W. Renson, assured that the legislators of the State had been guilty of a most unrighteous act, and that Miss Crandall's persecutors had also committed a great blunder; that they all would have much more reason to be ashamed of her imprisonment than she or her friends could ever have.

"The next day we gave the required bonds. Miss Crandall was released from the cell of the murderer, returned home, and quietly resumed the duties of her school until she should be summoned as a culprit into court, there to be tried by the infamous '*Black Law of Connecticut.*' And, as we expected, so soon as the evil tidings could be carried in that day, before Professor Morse had given to Rumor her telegraphic wings, it was known all over the country and the civilized world, that an excellent young lady had been imprisoned as a criminal—yes, put into a murderer's cell—in the State of Connecticut, for opening a school for the instruction of colored girls. The comments that were made upon the deed in almost all the newspapers were far from grateful to the feelings of her persecutors. Even many who, under the same circumstances, would probably have acted as badly as Messrs. A. T. Judson & Co., denounced their procedure as 'un-Christian, inhuman, anti-Democratic, base, mean.'

"On the 23d of August, 1833, the first trial of Miss Crandall was

had in Brooklyn, the seat of the county of Windham, Hon. Joseph Eaton presiding at the county court.

"The prosecution was conducted by Hon. A. T. Judson, Jonathan A. Welch, Esq., and I. Bulkley, Esq. Miss Crandall's counsel was Hon. Calvin Goddard, Hon. W. W. Elsworth, and Henry Strong, Esq.

"The judge, somewhat timidly, gave it as his opinion 'that the law was constitutional and obligatory on the people of the State.'

"The jury, after an absence of several hours, returned into court, not having agreed upon a verdict. They were instructed and sent out again, and again a third time, in vain; they stated to the judge that there was no probability that they could ever agree. Seven were for conviction and five for acquittal, so they were discharged.

"The second trial was on the 3d of October, before Judge Daggett of the Supreme Court, who was a strenuous advocate of the black law. His influence with the jury was overpowering, insisting in an elaborate and able charge that the law was constitutional, and, without much hesitation, the verdict was given against Miss Crandall. Her counsel at once filed a bill of exceptions, and took an appeal to the Court of Errors, which was granted. Before that, the highest legal tribunal in the State, the cause was argued on the 22d of July, 1834. Both the Hon. W. W. Elsworth and the Hon. Calvin Goddard argued with great ability and eloquence against the constitutionality of the black law. The Hon. A. T. Judson and Hon. C. F. Cleaveland said all they could to prove such a law consistent with the *Magna Charta* of our republic. The court reserved a decision for some future time; and that decision was never given, it being evaded by the court finding such defects in the information prepared by the State's attorney that it ought to be quashed.

"Soon after this, an attempt was made to set the house of Miss Crandall on fire, but without effect. The question of her duty to risk the lives of her pupils against this mode of attack was then considered, and upon consultation with friends it was concluded to hold on and bear a little longer, with the hope that this atrocity of attempting to fire the house, and thus expose the lives and property of her neighbors, would frighten the instigators of the persecution, and cause some restraint on the 'baser sort.' But a few nights afterward, about 12 o'clock, being the night of the 9th of September, her house was assaulted by a number of persons with heavy clubs and iron bars, and windows were dashed to pieces. Mr. May was summoned the next morning, and after consultation it was determined that the school should be abandoned."

Mr. May thus concluded his account of this event, and of the enterprise:

"The pupils were called together and I was requested to announce to them our decision. Never before had I felt so deeply sensible of the cruelty of the persecution which had been carried on for eighteen months in that New England village, against a family of defenseless females. Twenty harmless, well-behaved girls, whose only offense against the peace of the community was that they had come together there to obtain useful knowledge and moral culture, were to be told that they had better go away, because, forsooth, the house in which they dwelt would not be protected by the guardians of the town, the conservators of the peace, the officers of justice, the men of influence in the village where it was situated. The words almost blistered my lips. My bosom glowed with indignation. I felt ashamed of Canterbury, ashamed of Connecticut, ashamed of my country, ashamed of my color."¹

Thus ended the generous, disinterested, philanthropic Christian enterprise of Prudence Crandall, but the law under which her enterprise was defeated was repealed in 1838.

It is to be regretted that Connecticut earned such an unenviable place in history as this. It seems strange, indeed, that such an occurrence could take place in the nineteenth century in a free State in a republic in North America! But such is "the truth of history."

DELAWARE

never passed any law against the instruction of Negroes, but in 1833 passed an act taxing every person who sold a slave out of the State, or brought one into the State, five dollars, which went into a school fund for the education of *white children alone*. In 1852, the Revised Statutes provided for the taxation of all the property of the State for the support of the schools for *white children alone*. So, by implication, Delaware prohibited the education of Colored children.

In 1840, the Friends formed the African School Association in Wilmington; and under its management two excellent schools, for boys and girls, were established.

FLORIDA.

On the 28th of December, 1848, an act was passed providing "for the establishment of common schools." The right to vote at district meetings was conferred upon every person whose property was liable to taxation for school purposes; but only white children were allowed school privileges.

¹ Recollections of the Anti-Slavery Conflict, by Rev. Samuel J. May.

In the same year an act was passed providing that the school funds should consist of "the proceeds of the school lands," and of all estates, real or personal, escheating to the State, and "the proceeds of all property found on the coast or shores of the State." In 1850 the counties were authorized to provide, by taxation, not more than four dollars for each child within their limits of the proper school age. In the same year the amount received from the sale of any slave, under the act of 1829, was required to be added to the school fund. The common school law was revised in 1853, and the county commissioners were authorized to add from the county treasury any sum they thought proper for the support of common schools.¹

GEORGIA

passed a law in 1770 (copied from S. C. Statutes, passed in 1740), fixing a fine of £20 for teaching a slave to read or write. In 1829 the Legislature enacted the following law :

"If any slave; negro, or free person of color, or any white person, shall teach any other slave, negro, or free person of color to read or write either written or printed characters, the said free person of color or slave shall be punished by fine and whipping, or fine or whipping, at the discretion of the court ; and if a white person so offend, he, she, or they shall be punished with a fine not exceeding \$500, and imprisonment in the common jail at the discretion of the court."

In 1833 the above law was consolidated into a penal code. A penalty of \$100 was provided against persons who employed any slave or free person of Color to set type or perform any other labor about a printing-office requiring a knowledge of reading or writing. During the same year an ordinance was passed in the city of Savannah, "that if any person shall teach or cause to be taught any slave or free person of color to read or write within the city, or who shall keep a school for that purpose, he or she shall be fined in a sum not exceeding \$100 for each and every such offense; and if the offender be a slave or free person of color, he or she may also be whipped, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes."

In the summer of 1850 a series of articles by Mr. F. C. Adams appeared in one of the papers of Savannah, advocating the education of the Negroes as a means of increasing their value and

¹ Barnard, p. 337.

of attaching them to their masters. The subject was afterward taken up in the Agricultural Convention which met at Macon in September of the same year. The matter was again brought up in September, 1851, in the Agricultural Convention, and after being debated, a resolution was passed that a petition be presented to the Legislature for a law granting permission to educate the slaves. The petition was presented to the Legislature, and Mr. Harlston introduced a bill in the winter of 1852, which was discussed and passed in the lower House, to repeal the old law, and to grant to the masters the privilege of educating their slaves. The bill was lost in the senate by two or three votes.¹

ILLINOIS'

school laws contain the word "white" from beginning to end. There is no prohibition against the education of Colored persons; but there being no mention of them, is evidence that they were purposely omitted. Separate schools were established for Colored children before the war, and a few white schools opened their doors to them. The Free Mission Institute at Quincy was destroyed by a mob from Missouri in *ante-bellum* days, because Colored persons were admitted to the classes.

INDIANA

denied the right of suffrage to her Negro population in the constitution of 1851. No provision was made for the education of the Negro children. And the cruelty of the laws that drove the Negro from the State, and pursued him while in it, gave the poor people no hope of peaceful habitation, much less of education.

KENTUCKY

never put herself on record against the education of Negroes. By an act passed in 1830, all the inhabitants of each school district were taxed to support a common-school system. The property of Colored persons was included, but they could not vote or enjoy the privileges of the schools. And the slave laws were so numerous and cruel that there was no opportunity left the bondmen in this State to acquire any knowledge of books even secretly.

¹ Barnard, p. 339.

LOUISIANA

passed an act in 1830, forbidding free Negroes to enter the State. It provided also, that whoever should "write, print, publish, or distribute any thing having a tendency to produce discontent among the free colored population, or insubordination among the slaves," should, on conviction thereof, be imprisoned "*at hard labor for life, or suffer death*, at the discretion of the court." And whoever used language calculated to produce discontent among the free or slave population, or was "instrumental in bringing into the State any paper, book, or pamphlet having such tendency," was to "suffer imprisonment at hard labor, not less than three years nor more than twenty-one years, or death, at the discretion of the court." "All persons," continues the act, "who shall teach, or permit, or cause to be taught, any slave to read or write, shall be imprisoned not less than one month nor more than twelve months."

In 1847, a system of common schools for "the education of white youth was established." It was provided that "one mill on the dollar, upon the *ad valorem* amount of the general list of taxable property," should be levied for the support of the schools.

MAINE

gave the elective franchise and ample school privileges to all her citizens, without regard to race or color, by her constitution of 1820.

MARYLAND

always restricted the right of suffrage to her "white male inhabitants," and, therefore, always refused to make any provisions for the education of her Negro population. There is nothing upon her statute-books prohibiting the instruction of Negroes, but the law that designates her schools for "white children" is sufficient proof that Negro children were purposely omitted and excluded from the benefits of the schools.

St. Frances Academy for Colored girls was founded in connection with the Oblate Sisters of Providence Convent, in Baltimore, June 5, 1829, under the hearty approbation of the Most Rev. James Whitfield, D.D., the Archbishop of Baltimore at that time, and receiving the sanction of the Holy See, October 2, 1831. The convent originated with the French Fathers, who came to Baltimore from San Domingo as refugees, in the time of the

revolution in that island in the latter years of last century. There were many Colored Catholic refugees who came to Baltimore during that period, and the French Fathers soon opened schools there for the benefit of the refugees and other Colored people. The Colored women who formed the original society which founded the convent and seminary, were from San Domingo, though they had, some of them, certainly, been educated in France. The schools which preceded the organization of the convent were greatly favored by Most Rev. Ambrose Marechal, D.D., who was a French Father, and Archbishop of Baltimore from 1817 to 1828, Archbishop Whitfield being his successor. The Sisters of Providence is the name of a religious society of Colored women who renounced the world to consecrate themselves to the Christian education of Colored girls. The following extract from the announcement which, under the caption of "Prospectus of a School for Colored Girls under the Direction of the Sisters of Providence," appeared in the columns of the "Daily National Intelligencer," October 25, 1831, shows the spirit in which the school originated, and at the same time shadows forth the predominating ideas pertaining to the province of the race at that period.

The prospectus says :

"The object of this institute is one of great importance, greater, indeed, than might at first appear to those who would only glance at the advantages which it is calculated to directly impart to the leading portion of the human race, and through it to society at large. In fact, these girls will either become mothers of families or household servants. In the first case the solid virtues, the religious and moral principles which they may have acquired in this school will be carefully transferred as a legacy to their children. Instances of the happy influence which the example of virtuous parents has on the remotest lineage in this humble and naturally dutiful class of society are numerous. As to such as are to be employed as servants, they will be intrusted with domestic concerns and the care of young children. How important, then, it will be that these girls shall have imbibed religious principles, and have been trained up in habits of modesty, honesty, and integrity."

The Wells School, established by a Colored man by the name of Nelson Wells, in 1835, gave instruction to free children of

¹ Barnard, pp. 205, 206.

color. It was managed by a board of trustees who applied the income of \$7,000 (the amount left by Mr. Wells) to the support of the school. It accomplished much good.

MASSACHUSETTS.

A separate school for Colored children was established in Boston, in 1798, and was held in the house of a reputable Colored man named Primus Hall. The teacher was one Elisha Sylvester, whose salary was paid by the parents of the children whom he taught. In 1800 sixty-six Colored citizens presented a petition to the School Committee of Boston, praying that a school might be established for their benefit. A sub-committee, to whom the petition had been referred, reported in favor of granting the prayer, but it was voted down at the next town meeting. However, the school taught by Mr. Sylvester did not perish. Two young gentlemen from Harvard University, Messrs. Brown and Williams, continued the school until 1806. During this year the Colored Baptists built a church edifice in Belknap Street, and fitted up the lower room for a school for Colored children. From the house of Primus Hall the little school was moved to its new quarters in the Belknap Street church. Here it was continued until 1835, when a school-house for Colored children was erected and paid for out of a fund left for the purpose by Abiel Smith, and was subsequently called "Smith School-house." The authorities of Boston were induced to give \$200.00 as an annual appropriation, and the parents of the children in attendance paid 12½ cents per week. The school-house was dedicated with appropriate exercises, Hon. William Minot delivering the dedicatory address.

The African school in Belknap Street was under the control of the school committee from 1812 to 1821, and from 1821 was under the charge of a special sub-committee. Among the teachers was John B. Russworm, from 1821 to 1824, who entered Bowdoin College in the latter year, and afterward became governor of the colony of Cape Palmas in Southern Liberia.

The first primary school for Colored children in Boston was established in 1820, two or three of which were subsequently kept until 1855, when they were discontinued as separate schools, in accordance with the general law passed by the Legislature in

that year, which provided that, "in determining the qualifications of scholars to be admitted into any public school, or any district school in this commonwealth, no distinction shall be made on account of the race, color, or religious opinions of the applicant or scholar." "Any child, who, on account of his race, color, or religious opinions should be excluded from any public or district school, if otherwise qualified," might recover damages in an action of *tort*, brought in the name of the child in any court of competent jurisdiction, against the city or town in which the school was located.¹

MISSISSIPPI

passed an act in 1823 providing against the meeting together of slaves, free Negroes, or Mulattoes above the number of five. They were not allowed to meet at any public house in the night; or at any house, for teaching, reading, or writing, in the day or night. The penalty for the violation of this law was whipping, "not exceeding thirty-nine" lashes.

In 1831 an act was passed making it "unlawful for any slave, free negro, or mulatto to preach the Gospel," upon pain of receiving thirty-nine lashes upon the naked back of the presumptuous preacher. If a Negro received written permission from his master he might preach to the Negroes in his immediate neighborhood, providing six respectable white men, owners of slaves, were present.

In 1846, and again in 1848, school laws were enacted, but in both instances schools and education were prescribed for "white youth between the ages of six and twenty years."

MISSOURI

ordered all free persons of color to move out of the State in 1845. In 1847 an act was passed providing that "no person shall keep or teach any school for the instruction of negroes or mulattoes in reading or writing in this State."

NEW YORK

had the courage and patriotism, in 1777, to extend the right of suffrage to every male inhabitant of full age. But by the revised constitution, in 1821, this liberal provision was abridged so that

¹ Barnard, p. 357.

"no man of color, unless he shall have been for three years a citizen of this State, and for one year next preceding any election, shall be seized and possessed of a freehold estate of \$250 over and above all debts and encumbrances charged thereon, and shall have been actually rated and paid a tax thereon, shall be entitled to vote at any such election. And no person of color shall be subject to direct taxation unless he shall be seized and possessed of such real estate as aforesaid." In 1846, and again in 1850, a Constitutional amendment conferring equal privileges upon the Negroes, was voted down by large majorities.

A school for Negro slaves was opened in the city of New York in 1704 by Elias Neau, a native of France, and a catechist of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." After a long imprisonment for his public profession of faith as a Protestant, he founded an asylum in New York. His sympathies were awakened by the condition of the Negroes in slavery in that city, who numbered about 1,500 at that time. The difficulties of holding any intercourse with them seemed almost insurmountable. At first he could only visit them from house to house, after his day's toil was over; afterward he was permitted to gather them together in a room in his own house for a short time in the evening. As the result of his instructions at the end of four years, in 1708, the ordinary number under his instruction was 200. Many were judged worthy to receive the sacrament at the hands of Mr. Vesey, the rector of Trinity Church, some of whom became regular and devout communicants, remarkable for their orderly and blameless lives.

But soon after this time some Negroes of the Carmantee and Pappa tribes formed a plot for setting fire to the city and murdering the English on a certain night. The work was commenced but checked, and after a short struggle the English subdued the Negroes. Immediately a loud and angry clamor arose against Elias Neau, his accusers saying that his school was the cause of the murderous attempt. He denied the charge in vain; and so furious were the people that, for a time, his life was in danger. The evidence, however, at the trial proved that the Negroes most deeply engaged in this plot were those whose masters were most opposed to any means for their instruction. Yet the offence of a few was charged upon the race, and even the provincial government lent its authority to make the burden of Neau the heavier. The common council passed an order forbidding

Negroes "to appear in the streets after sunset, without lanthorns or candles"; and as they could not procure these, the result was to break up the labors of Neau. But at this juncture Governor Hunter interposed, and went to visit the school of Neau, accompanied by several officers of rank and by the society's missionaries, and he was so well pleased that he gave his full approval to the work, and in a public proclamation called upon the clergy of the province to exhort their congregations to extend their approva also. Vesey, the good rector of Trinity Church, had long watched the labors of Neau and witnessed the progress of his scholars, as well as assisted him in them; and finally the governor, the council, mayor, recorder, and two chief justices of New York joined in declaring that Neau "in a very eminent degree deserved the countenance, favor, and protection of the society." He therefore continued his labors until 1722, when, "amid the unaffected sorrow of his negro scholars and the friends who honored him for their sake, he was removed by death."

The work was then continued by "Huddlestone, then school-master in New York"; and he was succeeded by Rev. Mr. Wetmore, who removed in 1726 to Rye; whereupon the Rev. Mr. Colgan was appointed to assist the rector of Trinity Church, and to carry on the instruction of the Negroes. A few years afterward Thomas Noxon assisted Mr. Colgan, and their joint success was very satisfactory. Rev. R. Charlton, who had been engaged in similar labor at New Windsor, was called to New York in 1732, where he followed up the work successfully for fifteen years, and was succeeded by Rev. Samuel Auchmuty. Upon the death of Thomas Noxon, in 1741, Mr. Hildreth took his place, who, in 1764, wrote that "not a single black admitted by him to the holy communion had turned out badly, or in any way disgraced his profession." Both Auchmuty and Hildreth received valuable support from Mr. Barclay, who, upon the death of Mr. Vesey, in 1746, had been appointed to the rectory of Trinity Church.

The frequent kidnapping of free persons of color excited public alarm and resulted in the formation of "The New York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves, and Protecting such of them as have been or may be Liberated." These are the names of the gentlemen who organized the society, and became the board of trustees of the "*New York African Free School*":

Melancthon Smith, Jno. Bleeker, James Cogswell, Lawrence Embree, Thomas Burling, Willett Leaman, Jno. Lawrence, Jacob Leaman, White Mattock, Mathew Clarkson, Nathaniel Lawrence, Jno. Murray, Jr.

Their school, located in Cliff Street, between Beekman and Ferry, was opened in 1786, taught by Cornelius Davis, attended by about forty pupils of both sexes, and appears, from their book of minutes, to have been satisfactorily conducted. In the year 1791 a female teacher was added to instruct the girls in needle-work, the expected advantages of which measure were soon realized and highly gratifying to the society. In 1808 the society was incorporated, and in the preamble it is recorded that "a free school for the education of such persons as have been liberated from bondage, that they may hereafter become useful members of the community," has been established. It may be proper here to remark that the good cause in which the friends of this school were engaged, was far from being a popular one. The prejudices of a large portion of the community were against it; the means in the hands of the trustees were often very inadequate, and many seasons of discouragement were witnessed; but they were met by men who, trusting in the Divine support, were resolved neither to relax their exertions nor to retire from the field.

Through the space of about twenty years they struggled on; the number of scholars varying from forty to sixty, until the year 1809, when the Lancasterian, or monitorial, system of instruction was introduced (this being the second school in the United States to adopt the plan), under a new teacher, E. J. Cox, and a very favorable change was produced, the number of pupils, and the efficiency of their instruction being largely increased.

Soon after this, however, in January, 1814, their school-house was destroyed by fire, which checked the progress of the school for a time, as no room could be obtained large enough to accommodate the whole number of pupils. A small room in Doyer Street was temporarily hired, to keep the school together till further arrangements could be made, and an appeal was made to the liberality of the citizens and to the corporation of the city, which resulted in obtaining from the latter a grant of two lots of ground in William Street, on which to build a new school-house; and in January, 1815, a commodious brick building, to accommo-

date 200 pupils, was finished on this lot, and the school was resumed with fresh vigor and increasing interest. In a few months the room became so crowded that it was found necessary to engage a separate room, next to the school, to accommodate such of the pupils as were to be taught sewing. This branch had been for many years discontinued, but was now resumed under the direction of Miss Lucy Turpen, a young lady whose amiable disposition and faithful discharge of her duties rendered her greatly esteemed both by her pupils and the trustees. This young lady, after serving the board for several years, removed with her parents to Ohio, and her place was supplied by Miss Mary Lincrum, who was succeeded by Miss Eliza J. Cox, and the latter by Miss Mary Ann Cox, and she by Miss Carolina Roe, under each of whom the school continued to sustain a high character for order and usefulness.

The school in William Street increasing in numbers, another building was found necessary, and was built on a lot of ground 50 by 100 feet square, on Mulberry Street, between Grand and Hester streets, to accommodate five hundred pupils, and was completed and occupied, with C. C. Andrews for teacher, in May, 1820.

General Lafayette visited this school September 10, 1824, an abridged account of which is copied from the "Commercial Advertiser" of that date:

VISIT OF LAFAYETTE TO THE AFRICAN SCHOOL IN 1824.

"At 1 o'clock the general, with the company invited for the occasion, visited the African free school, on Mulberry Street. This school embraces about 500 scholars; about 450 were present on this occasion, and they are certainly the best disciplined and most interesting school of children we have ever witnessed. As the general was conducted to a seat, Mr. Ketchum adverted to the fact that as long ago as 1788 the general had been elected a member of the institution (Manumission Society) at the same time with Granville Sharp and Thomas Clarkson, of England. The general perfectly remembered the circumstances, and mentioned particularly the letter he had received on that occasion from the Hon. John Jay, then president of the society. One of the pupils, Master James M. Smith, aged eleven years, then stepped forward and gracefully delivered the following address:

"GENERAL LAFAYETTE: In behalf of myself and fellow-school-mates may I be permitted to express our sincere and respectful grati-

tude to you for the condescension you have manifested this day in visiting this institution, which is one of the noblest specimens of New York philanthropy. Here, sir, you behold hundreds of the poor children of Africa sharing with those of a lighter hue in the blessings of education ; and while it will be our pleasure to remember the great deeds you have done for America, it will be our delight also to cherish the memory of General Lafayette as a friend to African emancipation, and as a member of this institution.'

"To which the general replied, in his own characteristic style, 'I thank you, my dear child.'

"Several of the pupils underwent short examinations, and one of them explained the use of the globes and answered many questions in geography."

PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR COLORED CHILDREN.

These schools continued to flourish under the same management, and with an attendance varying from 600 in 1824 to 862 in 1832, in the latter part of which year the Manumission Society, whose schools were not in part supported by the public fund, applied to the Public School Society for a committee of conference to effect a union. It was felt by the trustees that on many accounts it was better that the two sets of schools should remain separate, but, fearing further diversion of the school fund, it was desirable that the number of societies participating should be as small as possible, and arrangements were accordingly made for a transfer of the schools and property of the elder society. After some delay, in consequence of legislative action being found necessary to give a title to their real estate, on the 2d of May, 1834, the transfer was effected, all their schools and school property passing into the hands of the New York Public School Society, at an appraised valuation of \$12,130.22.

The aggregate register of these schools at the time of the transfer was nearly 1,400, with an average attendance of about one half that number. They were placed in charge of a committee with powers similar to the committee on primary schools, but their administration was not satisfactory, and it was soon found that the schools had greatly diminished in numbers, efficiency, and usefulness. A committee of inquiry was appointed, and reported that, in consequence of the great anti-slavery riots and attacks on Colored people, many families had removed from the city, and of those that remained many kept their children at home ; they knew the Manumission Society as their special friends.

but knew nothing of the Public School Society; the reduction of all the schools but one to the grade of primary had given great offence; also the discharge of teachers long employed, and the discontinuance of rewards, and taking home of spelling books; strong prejudices had grown up against the Public School Society. The committee recommended a prompt assimilation of the Colored schools to the white; the establishment of two or more upper schools in a new building; a normal school for Colored monitors; and the appointment of a Colored man as school agent, at \$150 a year. The school on Mulberry Street at this time, 1835, was designated Colored Grammar School No. 1. A. Libolt was principal, and registered 317 pupils; there were also six primaries, located in different parts of the city, with an aggregate attendance of 925 pupils.

In 1836 a new school building was completed in Laurens Street, opened with 210 pupils, R. F. Wake (colored), principal, and was designated Colored Grammar School No. 2. Other means were taken to improve the schools, and to induce the Colored people to patronize them; the principal of No. 1, Mr. Libolt, was replaced by Mr. John Peterson, colored, a sufficient assurance of whose ability and success we have in the fact that he has been continued in the position ever since. A "Society for the Promotion of Education among Colored Children" was organized, and established two additional schools, one in Thomas Street, and one in Centre, and a marked improvement was manifest; but it required a long time to restore the confidence and interest felt before the transfer, and even up to 1848 the aggregate attendance in all the Colored schools was only 1,375 pupils.

In the winter of 1852 the first evening schools for Colored pupils were opened; one for males and one for females, and were attended by 379 pupils. In the year 1853 the Colored schools, with all the schools and school property of the Public School Society, were transferred to the "Board of Education of the City and County of New York," and still further improvements were made in them; a normal school for Colored teachers was established, with Mr. John Peterson, principal, and the schools were graded in the same manner as those for white children. Colored Grammar School No. 3, was opened at 78 West Fortieth Street, Miss Caroline W. Simpson, principal, and in the ensuing year three others were added; No. 4 in One Hundred and Twentieth Street (Harlem), Miss Nancy Thompson, principal;

No. 5, at 101 Hudson Street, P. W. Williams, principal; and No. 6, at 1,167 Broadway, Prince Leveridge, principal. Grammar Schools Nos. 2, 3, and 4, had primary departments attached, and there were also at this time three separate primary schools, and the aggregate attendance in all was 2,047. Since then the attendance in these schools has not varied much from these figures. The schools themselves have been altered and modified from time to time, as their necessity seemed to indicate; though under the general management of the Board of Education, they have been in the care of the school officers of the wards in which they are located, and while in some cases they received the proper attention, in others they were either wholly, or in part, neglected. A recent act has placed them directly in charge of the Board of Education, who have appointed a special committee to look after their interests, and measures are being taken by them which will give this class of schools every opportunity and convenience possessed by any other, and, it is hoped, will also improve the grade of its scholarship.¹

NORTH CAROLINA

suffered her free persons of color to maintain schools until 1835, when they were abolished by law. During the period referred to, the Colored schools were taught by white teachers, but after 1835 the few teachers who taught Colored children in private houses were Colored persons. The public-school system of North Carolina provided that no descendant from Negro ancestors, to the fourth generation inclusive, should enjoy the benefit thereof.

OHIO.

The first schools for Colored children in Ohio were established at Cincinnati in 1820, by Colored men. These schools were not kept up regularly. A white gentleman named Wing, who taught a night school near the corner of Vine and Sixth Streets, admitted Colored pupils into his school. Owen T. B. Nickens, a public-spirited and intelligent Colored man, did much to establish schools for the Colored people.

In 1835 a school for Colored children was opened in the Baptist Church on Western Row. It was taught at different periods by Messrs. Barbour, E. Fairchild, W. Robinson, and Augustus

¹ Barnard, pp. 364-366.

Wattles; and by the following-named ladies: Misses Bishop, Matthews, Lowe, and Mrs. Merrell. Although excellent teachers as well as upright ladies and gentlemen, they were subjected to great persecutions. They were unable to secure board, because the spirit of the whites would not countenance the teachers of Negro schools, and they spelled the word with two g's. And at times the teachers were compelled to close the school on account of the violence of the populace. The salaries of the teachers were paid partly by an educational society of white philanthropists, and partly by such Colored persons as had means. Of the latter class were John Woodson, John Liverpool, Baker Jones, Dinnis Hill, Joseph Fowler, and William O'Hara.

In 1844, the Rev. Hiram S. Gilmore, founded the "Cincinnati High School" for Colored youth. Mr. Gilmore was a man rich in sentiments of humanity, and endowed plenteously with executive ability and this world's goods. All these he consecrated to the elevation and education of the Colored people.

This school-house was located at the east end of Harrison Street, and was in every sense a model building, comprising five rooms, a chapel, a gymnasium, and spacious grounds. The pupils increased yearly, and the character of the school made many friends for the cause. The following persons taught in this school: Joseph H. Moore, Thomas L. Boucher, David P. Lowe, Dr. A. L. Childs, and W. F. Colburn. Dr. Childs became principal of the school in 1848.

In 1849, the Legislature passed an act establishing schools for Colored children, to be maintained at the public expense. In 1850, a board of Colored trustees was elected, teachers employed, and buildings hired. The schools were put in operation. The law of 1849 provided that so much of the funds belonging to the city of Cincinnati as would fall to the Colored youth, by a *per capita* division, should be held subject to the order of the Colored trustees. But their order was not honored by the city treasurer, upon the ground that under the constitution of the State only electors could hold office; that Colored men were not electors, and, therefore, could not hold office. After three months the Colored schools were closed, and the teachers went out without their salaries.

John I. Gaines, an intelligent and fearless Colored leader, made a statement of the case to a public meeting of the Colored people of Cincinnati, and urged the employment of counsel

to try the case in the courts. Money was raised, and Flamen Ball, Sr., was secured to make an application for *mandamus*. The case was finally carried to the Supreme Court and won by the Colored people.

In 1851, the schools were opened again ; but the rooms were small and wretchedly appointed, and the trustees unable to provide better ones. Without notice the Colored trustees were deposed. The management of the Colored schools was vested in a board of trustees and school visitors, who were also in charge of the schools for the white children. This board, under a new law, had authority to appoint six Colored men who were to manage the Colored schools with the exception of the school fund. This greatly angered the leading Colored men, and, therefore, they refused to endorse this new management.

The law was altered in 1856, giving the Colored people the right to elect, by ballot, their own trustees.

In 1858, Nicholas Longworth built the first school-house for the Colored people, and gave them the building on a lease of fourteen years, in which time they were to pay for it—\$14,000. In 1859, a large building was erected on Court Street.

Oberlin College opened its doors to Colored students from the moment of its existence in 1833, and they have never been closed at any time since. It was here that the incomparable Finney, with the fierceness of John Baptist, the gentleness of John the Evangelist, the logic of Paul, and the eloquence of Isaiah, pleaded the cause of the American slave, and gave instruction to all who sat at his feet regardless of color or race. George B. Vashon, William Howard Day, John Mercer Langston, and many other Colored men graduated from Oberlin College before any of the other leading colleges of the country had consented to give Colored men a classical education.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Anthony Benezet established, in 1750, the first school for Colored people in this State, and taught it himself without money and without price. He solicited funds for the erection of a school-house for the Colored children, and of their intellectual capacities said : " I can with truth and sincerity declare that I have found among the negroes as great variety of talents as among a like number of whites, and I am bold to assert that

the notion entertained by some, that the blacks are inferior in their capacity, is a vulgar prejudice, founded on the pride or ignorance of their lordly masters, who have kept their slaves at such a distance as to be unable to form a right judgment of them."

He died on the 3d of May, 1784, universally beloved and sincerely mourned, especially by the Negro population of Pennsylvania, for whose education he had done so much. The following clause in his will illustrates his character in respect to public instruction :

"I give my above said house and lot, or ground-rent proceeding from it, and the rest and residue of my estate which shall remain undisposed of after my wife's decease, both real and personal, to the public school of Philadelphia, founded by charter, and to their successors forever, in trust, that they shall sell my house and lot on perpetual ground-rent forever, if the same be not already sold by my executors, as before mentioned, and that as speedily as may be they receive and take as much of my personal estate as may be remaining, and therewith purchase a yearly ground-rent, or ground-rents, and with the income of such ground-rent proceeding from the sale of my real estate, hire and employ a religious-minded person, or persons, to teach a number of negro, mulatto, or Indian children to read, write, arithmetic, plain accounts, needle-work, etc. And it is my particular desire, founded on the experience I have had in that service, that in the choice of such tutors, special care may be had to prefer an industrious, careful person of true piety, who may be or become suitably qualified, who would undertake the service from a principle of charity, to one more highly learned, not equally disposed ; this I desire may be carefully attended to, sensible that from the number of pupils of all ages, the irregularity of attendance their situation subjects them to will not admit of that particular inspection in their improvement usual in other schools, but that the real well-doing of the scholars will very much depend upon the master making a special conscience of doing his duty ; and shall likewise defray such other necessary expense as may occur in that service ; and as the said remaining income of my estate, after my wife's decease, will not be sufficient to defray the whole expense necessary for the support of such a school, it is my request that the overseers of the said public school shall join in the care and expense of such school, or schools, for the education of negro, mulatto, or Indian children, with any committee which may be appointed by the monthly meetings of Friends in Philadelphia, or with any other body of benevolent persons who may join in raising money and employing it for the education and

care of such children ; my desire being that as such a school is now set up, it may be forever maintained in this city."

Just before his death he addressed the following note to the "overseers of the school for the instruction of the black people."

"My friend, Joseph Clark, having frequently observed to me his desire, in case of my inability of continuing the care of the negro school, of succeeding me in that service, notwithstanding he now has a more advantageous school, by the desire of doing good to the black people makes him overlook these pecuniary advantages, I much wish the overseers of the school would take his desires under their peculiar notice and give him such due encouragement as may be proper, it being a matter of the greatest consequence to that school that the master be a person who makes it a principle to do his duty."

The noble friends were early in the field as the champions of education for the Negroes. It was Anthony Benezet, who, on the 26th of January, 1770, secured the appointment of a committee by the monthly meeting of the Friends, "to consider on the instruction of negro and mulatto children in reading, writing, and other useful learning suitable to their capacity and circumstances." On the 30th of May, 1770, a special committee of Friends sought to employ an instructor "to teach, not more at one time than thirty children, in the first rudiments of school learning and in sewing and knitting." Moles Paterson was first employed at a salary of £80 a year, and an additional sum of £11 for one half of the rent of his dwelling-house. Instruction was free to the poor ; but those who were able to pay were required to do so "at the rate of 10s. a quarter for those who write, and 7s. 6d. for others."

In 1784, William Waring was placed in charge of the larger children, at a salary of £100; and Sarah Dougherty, of the younger children and girls, in teaching spelling, reading, sewing, etc., at a salary of £50. In 1787, aid was received from David Barclay, of London, in behalf of a committee for managing a donation for the relief of Friends in America; and the sum of £500 was thus obtained, which, with the fund derived from the estate of Benezet, and £300 from Thomas Shirley, a Colored man, was appropriated to the erection of a school-house. In 1819 a committee of "women Friends," to have exclusive charge of the

admission of girls and the general superintendence of the girls' school, was associated with the overseers in the charge of the school. In 1830, in order to relieve the day school of some of the male adults who had been in the habit of attending, an evening school for the purpose of instructing such persons gratuitously was opened, and has been continued to the present time. In 1844, a lot was secured on Locust Street, extending along Shield's Alley, now Aurora Street, on which a new house was erected in 1847, the expense of which was paid for in part from the proceeds of the sale of a lot bequeathed by John Pemberton. Additional accommodations were made to this building, from time to time, as room was demanded by new classes of pupils.

In 1849, a statistical return of the condition of the people of color in the city and districts of Philadelphia shows that there were then one grammar school, with 463 pupils; two public primary schools, with 339; and an infant school, under the charge of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, of 70 pupils, in Clifton Street; a ragged and a moral-reform school, with 81 pupils. In West Philadelphia there was also a public school, with 67 pupils; and, in all, there were about 20 private schools, with 300 pupils; making an aggregate of more than 1,300 children receiving an education.

In 1859, according to Bacon's "Statistics of the Colored People of Philadelphia," there were 1,031 Colored children in public schools, 748 in charity schools of various kinds, 211 in benevolent and reformatory schools, and 331 in private schools, making an aggregate of 2,321 pupils; besides four evening schools, one for adult males, one for females, and one for young apprentices. There were 19 Sunday-schools connected with the congregations of the Colored people, and conducted by their own teachers, containing 1,667 pupils, and four Sunday-schools gathered as mission schools by members of white congregations, with 215 pupils. There was also a "Public Library and Reading-room" connected with the "Institute for Colored Youth," established in 1853, having about 1,300 volumes; besides three other small libraries in different parts of the city. The same pamphlet shows that there were 1,700 of the Colored population engaged in different trades and occupations, representing every department of industry.¹

¹ Barnard, pp. 377, 378.

In 1794, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society established a school for children of the people of color, and in 1809 erected a school building at a cost of four thousand dollars, which they designated as "Clarkson Hall," in 1815. In 1813, a board of education was organized consisting of thirteen persons, with a visiting committee of three, whose duty it was to visit the schools once each week. In 1818, the school board, in their report, speak very kindly and encouragingly of the Clarkson Schools, which, they say, "furnish a decided refutation of the charge that the mental endowments of the descendants of Africa are inferior to those possessed by their white brethren. We can assert, without fear of contradiction, that the pupils of this seminary will sustain a fair comparison with those of any other institution in which the same elementary branches are taught."

In 1820, an effort was made to have the authorities of the white schools provide for the education of the Colored children as well as the whites, because the laws of the State required the education of all the youth. The comptrollers of the public schools confessed that the law provided for the education of "poor and indigent children," and that it extended to those of persons of color. Accordingly, in 1822, a school for the education of indigent persons of color of both sexes, was opened in Lombard Street, Philadelphia. In 1841, a primary school was opened in the same building. In 1833, the "Unclassified School" in Coates Street, and at frequent intervals after this several schools of the same grade, were started in West Philadelphia.

In 1837, by the will of Richard Humphreys, who died in 1832, an "Institute for Colored Youth" was started. The sum of ten thousand dollars was devised to certain trustees who were to pay it over to some society that might be disposed to establish a school for the education of the "descendants of the African race in school learning in the various branches of the mechanic arts and trade, and in agriculture." Thirty members of the society of Friends formed themselves into an association for the purpose of carrying out the wishes and plans of Mr. Humphreys. In the preamble of the constitution they adopted, their ideas and plans were thus set forth:

"We believe that the most successful method of elevating the moral and intellectual character of the descendants of Africa, as well as of improving their social condition, is to extend to them the benefits

of a good education, and to instruct them in the knowledge of some useful trade or business, whereby they may be enabled to obtain a comfortable livelihood by their own industry; and through these means to prepare them for fulfilling the various duties of domestic and social life with reputation and fidelity, as good citizens and pious men."

In order to carry out the feature of agricultural and mechanic arts, the association purchased a farm in Bristol township, Philadelphia County, in 1839, where boys of the Colored race were taught farming, shoemaking, and other useful trades. The incorporation of the institution was secured in 1842, and in 1844 another friend dying—Jonathan Zane—added a handsome sum to the treasury, which, with several small legacies, made \$18,000 for this enterprise. But in 1846 the work came to a standstill; the farm with its equipments was sold, and for six years very little was done, except through a night school.

In 1851, a lot for a school building was purchased on Lombard Street, and a building erected, and the school opened in the autumn of 1852, for boys, under the care of Charles L. Reason, an accomplished young Colored teacher from New York. A girls' school was opened the same year, and, under Mr. Reason's excellent instruction, many worthy and competent teachers and leaders of the Negro race came forth.

Avery College, at Allegheny City, was founded by the Rev. Charles Avery, a native of New York, but for the greater part of a long and useful life adorned by the noblest virtues, a resident of Pennsylvania. By will he left \$300,000 for the christianization of the African race; \$150,000 to be used in Africa, and \$150,000 in America. He left \$25,000 as an endowment fund for Avery College.

At a stated meeting during the session of the Presbytery at New Castle, Pa., October 5, 1853, it was resolved that "there shall be established within our bounds, and under our supervision, an institution, to be called the Ashum Institute, for the scientific, classical, and theological education of colored youth of the male sex."

Accordingly, J. M. Dickey, A. Hamilton, R. P. Dubois, ministers; and Samuel J. Dickey and John M. Kelton, ruling elders, were appointed a committee to perfect the idea. They were to solicit and receive funds, secure a charter from the State of Pennsylvania, and erect suitable buildings for the institute. On

the 14th of November, 1853, they purchased thirty acres of land at the cost of \$1,250. At the session of the Legislature in 1854, a charter was granted establishing "at or near a place called Hinsonville, in the county of Chester, an institution of learning for the scientific, classical, and theological education of colored youth of the male sex, by the name and style of Ashum Institute." The trustees were John M. Dickey, Alfred Hamilton, Robert P. Dubois, James Latta, John B. Spottswood, James M. Crowell, Samuel J. Dickey, John M. Kelton, and William Wilson.

By the provisions of the charter the trustees were empowered "to procure the endowment of the institute, not exceeding the sum of \$100,000; to confer such literary degrees and academic honors as are usually granted by colleges"; and it was required that "the institute shall be open to the admission of colored pupils of the male sex, of all religious denominations, who exhibit a fair moral character, and are willing to yield a ready obedience to the general regulations prescribed for the conduct of the pupils and the government of the institute."

The institute was formally dedicated on the 31st of December, 1856. It is now known as Lincoln University.

RHODE ISLAND

conferred the right of elective franchise upon her Colored citizens by her constitution in 1843, and ever since equal privileges have been afforded them. In 1828 the Colored people of Providence petitioned for a separate school, but it was finally abolished by an act of the Legislature.

SOUTH CAROLINA

took the lead in legislating against the instruction of the Colored race, as she subsequently took the lead in seceding from the Union. In 1740, while yet a British province, the Legislature passed the following law:

"Whereas the having of slaves taught to write, or suffering them to be employed in writing, may be attended with inconveniences, *Be it enacted*, That all and every person and persons whatsoever, who shall hereafter teach, or cause any slave or slaves to be taught, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe in any manner of writing whatever, hereafter taught to write, every such person or persons shall for every such offense forfeit the sum of £100 current money."

In 1800 the State Assembly passed an act, embracing free Colored people as well as slaves in its shameful provisions, enacting "that assemblies of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes, whether composed of all or any such description of persons, or of all or any of the same and a proportion of white persons, met together for the purpose of *mental* instruction in a confined or secret place, or with the gates or doors of such place barred, bolted, or locked, so as to prevent the free ingress to and from the same," are declared to be unlawful meetings; the officers dispersing such unlawful assemblages being authorized to "inflict such corporal punishment, not exceeding twenty lashes, upon such slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes, as they may judge necessary for deterring them from the like unlawful assemblage in future." Another section of the same act declares, "that it shall not be lawful for any number of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, or mestizoes, even in company with white persons, to meet together and assemble for the purpose of mental instruction or religious worship before the rising of the sun or after the going down of the same." This section was so oppressive, that in 1803, in answer to petitions from certain religious societies, an amending act was passed forbidding any person before 9 o'clock in the evening "to break into a place of meeting wherever shall be assembled the members of any religious society of the State, provided a majority of them shall be white persons, or other to disturb their devotions unless a warrant has been procured from a magistrate, if at the time of the meeting there should be a magistrate within three miles of the place; if not, the act of 1800 is to remain in full force."

On the 17th of December, 1834, definite action was taken against the education of free Colored persons as well as slaves. The first section is given :

"SECTION 1. If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or shall aid or assist in teaching any slave to read or write, or cause or procure any slave to be taught to read or write, such person, if a free white person, upon conviction thereof shall, for each and every offense against this act, be fined not exceeding \$100 and imprisonment not more than six months; or, if a free person of color, shall be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes, and fined not exceeding \$50, at the discretion of the court of magistrates and freeholders before which such free person of color is tried; and if a slave, to be whipped, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding

fifty lashes, the informer to be entitled to one-half the fine and to be a competent witness. And if any free person of color or slave shall keep any school or other place of instruction for teaching any slave or free person of color to read or write, such free person of color or slave shall be liable to the same fine, imprisonment, and corporal punishment as by this act are imposed and inflicted on free persons of color and slaves for teaching slaves to write."

The second section forbids, under pain of severe penalties, the employment of any Colored persons as "clerks or salesmen in or about any shop, store, or house used for trading."

TENNESSEE

passed a law in 1838 establishing a system of common schools by which the scholars were designated as "white children over the age of six years and under sixteen." In 1840 an act was passed in which no discrimination against color appeared. It simply provided that "all children between the ages of six and twenty-one years shall have the privilege of attending the public schools." And while there was never afterward any law prohibiting the education of Colored children, the schools were used exclusively by the whites.

TEXAS

never put any legislation on her statute-books withholding the blessings of the schools from the Negro, for the reason, doubtless, that she banished all free persons of color, and worked her slaves so hard that they had no hunger for books when night came.

VIRGINIA,

under Sir William Berkeley, was not a strong patron of education for the masses. For the slave there was little opportunity to learn, as he was only allowed part of Saturday to rest, and kept under the closest surveillance on the Sabbath day. The free persons of color were regarded with suspicion, and little chance was given them to cultivate their minds.

On the 2d of March, 1819, an act was passed prohibiting "all meetings or assemblages of slaves, or free negroes, or mulattoes, mixing and associating with such slaves, at any meeting-house or houses, or any other place or places, in the night, or at any school or schools for teaching them reading and writing

either in the day or night." But notwithstanding this law, schools for free persons of color were kept up until the Nat. Turner insurrection in 1831, when, on the 7th of April following, the subjoined act was passed:

"SEC. 4. *And be it enacted*, That all meetings of free negroes or mulattoes at any school-house, church, meeting-house, or other place, for teaching them reading or writing, either in the day or night, under whatsoever pretext, shall be deemed and considered an unlawful assembly; and any justice of the county or corporation wherein such assemblage shall be, either from his own knowledge, or on the information of others of such unlawful assemblage or meeting, shall issue his warrant directed to any sworn officer or officers, authorizing him or them to enter the house or houses where such unlawful assemblage or meeting may be, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such free negroes or mulattoes, and to inflict corporal punishment on the offender or offenders, at the discretion of any justice of the peace, not exceeding 20 lashes.

"SEC. 5. *And be it enacted*, That if any person or persons assemble with free negroes or mulattoes at any school-house, church, meeting-house, or other place, for the purpose of instructing such free negroes or mulattoes to read or write, such persons or persons shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in a sum not exceeding \$50, and, moreover, may be imprisoned, at the discretion of a jury, not exceeding two months.

"SEC. 6. *And be it enacted*, That if any white person, for pay or compensation, shall assemble with any slaves for the purpose of teaching, and shall teach any slave to read or write, such person, or any white person or persons contracting with such teacher so to act, who shall offend as aforesaid, shall, for each offense, be fined, at the discretion of a jury, in a sum not less than \$10, nor exceeding \$100, to be recovered on an information or indictment."

This law was rigidly enforced, and in 1851, Mrs. Margaret Douglass, a white lady from South Carolina, was cast into the Norfolk jail for violating its provisions.

West Virginia was not admitted into the Union until 1863. Wisconsin, Vermont, New Hampshire, and New Jersey did not prohibit the education of their Colored children.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

presents a more pleasing and instructive field for the examination of the curious student of history.

In 1807, the first school-house for the use of Colored pupils was erected in Washington, D. C., by three Colored men, named George Bell, Nicholas Franklin, and Moses Liverpool. Not one of this trio of Negro educators knew a letter of the alphabet; but having lived as slaves in Virginia, they had learned to appreciate the opinion that learning was of great price. They secured a white teacher, named Lowe, and put their school in operation.

At this time the entire population of free persons amounted to 494 souls. After a brief period the school subsided, but was reorganized again in 1818. The announcement of the opening of the school was printed in the "National Intelligencer" on the 29th of August, 1818.

"A School,

Founded by an association of free people of color, of the city of Washington, called the 'Resolute Beneficial Society,' situate near the Eastern Public School and the dwelling of Mrs. Fenwick, is now open for the reception of children of free people of color and others, that ladies or gentlemen may think proper to send to be instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, or other branches of education apposite to their capacities, by a steady, active, and experienced teacher, whose attention is wholly devoted to the purposes described. It is presumed that free colored families will embrace the advantages thus presented to them, either by subscribing to the funds of the society, or by sending their children to the school. An improvement of the intellect and morals of colored youth being the objects of this institution, the patronage of benevolent ladies and gentlemen, by donation or subscription, is humbly solicited in aid of the fund, the demands thereon being heavy and the means at present much too limited. For the satisfaction of the public, the constitution and articles of association are printed and published. And to avoid disagreeable occurrences, no writings are to be done by the teacher for a slave, neither directly nor indirectly, to serve the purpose of a slave on any account whatever. Further particulars may be known by applying to any of the undersigned officers.

" WILLIAM COSTIN, *President.*

" GEORGE HICKS, *Vice-President.*

" JAMES HARRIS, *Secretary.*


" GEORGE BELL, *Treasurer.*

" ARCHIBALD JOHNSON, *Marshal.*

" FRED. LEWIS, *Chairman of the Committee.*

" ISAAC JOHNSON, } *Committee.*
" SCIPIO BEENS, }

"N. B.—An evening school will commence on the premises on the first Monday of October, and continue throughout the season.

" The managers of Sunday-schools in the eastern district are thus most dutifully informed that on Sabbath-days the school-house belonging to this society, if required for the tuition of colored youth, will be uniformly at their service.

August 29, 31."

This school was first taught by a Mr. Pierpont, of Massachusetts, a relative of the poet, and after several years was succeeded by a Colored man named John Adams, the first teacher of his race in the District of Columbia. The average attendance of this school was about sixty-five or seventy.

MR. HENRY POTTER'S SCHOOL.


The third school for Colored children in Washington was established by Mr. Henry Potter, an Englishman, who opened his school about 1809, in a brick building which then stood on the southeast corner of F and Seventh streets, opposite the block where the post-office building now stands. He continued there for several years and had a large school, moving subsequently to what was then known as Clark's Row on Thirteenth Street, west, between G and H streets, north.

MRS. HALL'S SCHOOL.

During this period Mrs. Anne Maria Hall started a school on Capitol Hill, between the old Capitol and Carroll Row, on First Street, east. After continuing there with a full school for some ten years, she moved to a building which stood on what is now the vacant portion of the Casparis House lot on A Street, close to the Capitol. Some years later she went to the First Bethel Church, and after a year or two she moved to a house still standing on E Street, north, between Eleventh and Twelfth, west, and there taught many years. She was a Colored woman from Prince George's County, Maryland, and had a respectable education, which she obtained at schools with white children in Alexandria. Her husband died early, leaving her with children to support, and she betook herself to the work of a teacher, which she loved, and in which, for not less than twenty-five years, she met with uniform success. Her schools were all quite large, and the many who remember her as their teacher speak of her with great respect.

MRS. MARY BILLING'S SCHOOL.

Of the early teachers of Colored schools in this district there is no one whose name is mentioned with more gratitude and respect by the intelligent Colored residents than that of Mrs. Mary Billing, who established the first Colored school that was gathered in Georgetown. She was an English woman ; her husband, Joseph Billing, a cabinet-maker, coming from England in 1800, settled with his family that year in Washington, and dying in 1807, left his wife with three children. She was well educated, a capable and good woman, and immediately commenced teaching to support her family. At first, it is believed, she was connected with the Corporation School of Georgetown. It was while in a white school certainly that her attention was arrested by the wants of the Colored children, whom she was accustomed to receive into her schools, till the opposition became so marked that she decided to make her school exclusively Colored. She was a woman of strong religious convictions, and being English, with none of the ideas peculiar to slave society, when she saw the peculiar destitution of the Colored children in the community around her, she resolved to give her life to the class who seemed most to need her services. She established a Colored school about 1810, in a brick house still standing on Dunbarton Street, opposite the Methodist church, between Congress and High streets, remaining there till the winter of 1820-'21, when she came to Washington and opened a school in the house on H Street, near the Foundry Church, then owned by Daniel Jones, a Colored man, and still owned and occupied by a member of that family. She died in 1826, in the fiftieth year of her age. She continued her school till failing health, a year or so before her death, compelled its relinquishment. Her school was always large, it being patronized in Georgetown as well as afterward by the best Colored families of Washington, many of whom sent their children to her from Capitol Hill and the vicinity of the Navy Yard. Most of the better-educated Colored men and women now living, who were school children in her time, received the best portion of their education from her, and they all speak of her with a deep and tender sense of obligation. Henry Potter succeeded her in the Georgetown school, and after him Mr. Shay, an Englishman, who subsequently came to Washington and for many years had a large Colored school in a brick building known as the Round Tops, in the western part of the



city, near the Circle, and still later removing to the old Western Academy building, corner of I and Seventeenth streets. He was there till about 1830, when he was convicted of assisting a slave to his freedom, and sent a term to the penitentiary. Mrs. Billing had a night school in which she was greatly assisted by Mr. Monroe, a government clerk and a Presbyterian elder, whose devout and benevolent character is still remembered in the churches. Mrs. Billing had scholars from Bladensburg and the surrounding country, who came into Georgetown and boarded with her and with others. About the time when Mrs. Billing relinquished her school in 1822 or 1823, what may be properly called

THE SMOTHERS SCHOOL-HOUSE,

was built by Henry Smothers on the corner of Fourteenth and H streets, not far from the Treasury building. Smothers had a small dwelling-house on this corner, and built his school-house on the rear of the same lot. He had been long a pupil of Mrs. Billing, and had subsequently taught a school on Washington Street, opposite the Union Hotel in Georgetown. He opened his school in Washington in the old corporation school-house, built in 1806, but some years before this period abandoned as a public school-house. It was known as the Western Academy, and is still standing and used as a school-house on the corner of I and Nineteenth streets, west. When his school-house on Fourteenth and H streets was finished, his school went into the new quarters. This school was very large, numbering always more than a hundred and often as high as a hundred and fifty scholars. He taught here about two years, and was succeeded by John W. Prout about the year 1825. Prout was a man of ability. In 1831, May 4, there was a meeting, says the "National Intelligencer" of that date, of "the colored citizens, large and very respectable, in the African Methodist Episcopal Church," to consider the question of emigrating to Liberia. John W. Prout was chosen to preside over the assemblage, and the article in the "Intelligencer" represents him as making "a speech of decided force and well adapted to the occasion, in support of a set of resolutions which he had drafted, and which set forth views adverse to leaving the soil that had given them birth, their true and veritable home, *without the benefits of education.*" The school under Prout was governed by a board of trustees and was organized as

A FREE SCHOOL,

and so continued two or three years. The number of scholars was very large, averaging a hundred and fifty. Mrs. Anne Maria Hall was the assistant teacher. It relied mainly for support upon subscription, twelve and a half cents a month only being expected from each pupil, and this amount was not compulsory. The school was free to all Colored children, without money or price, and so continued two or three years, when failing of voluntary pecuniary support (it never wanted scholars), it became a regular tuition school. The school under Mr. Prout was called the "Columbian Institute," the name being suggested by John McLeod, the famous Irish school-master, who was a warm friend of this institution after visiting and commending the scholars and teachers, and who named his new building, in 1835, the Columbian Academy. The days of thick darkness to the Colored people were approaching. The Nat. Turner insurrection in Southampton County, Virginia, which occurred in August, 1831, spread terror everywhere in slave communities. In this district, immediately upon that terrible occurrence, the Colored children, who had in very large numbers been received into the Sabbath-schools in the white churches, were all turned out of those schools. This event, though seeming to be a fiery affliction, proved a blessing in disguise. It aroused the energies of the Colored people, taught them self-reliance, and they organized forthwith Sabbath-schools of their own. It was in the Smothers school-house that they formed their first Sunday-school, about the year 1832, and here they continued their very large school for several years, the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church ultimately springing from the school organization. It is important to state in this connection that

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL,

always an extremely important means of education for Colored people in the days of slavery, was emphatically so in the gloomy times now upon them. It was the Sabbath-school that taught the great mass of the free people of color about all the school knowledge that was allowed them in those days, and hence the consternation which came upon them when they found themselves excluded from the schools of the white churches. Lindsay Muse, who has been the messenger for eighteen Secretaries

of the Navy, successively, during fifty-four years, from 1828 to the present time, John Brown, Benjamin M. McCoy, Mr. Smallwood, Mrs. Charlotte Norris, afterward wife of Rev. Eli Nugent, and Siby McCoy, are the only survivors of the resolute little band of Colored men and women who gathered with and guided that Sunday-school. They had, in the successor of Mr. Prout, a man after their own heart,

JOHN F. COOK,

who came into charge of this school in August, 1834, about eight years after his aunt, Alethia Tanner, had purchased his freedom. He learned the shoemaker's trade in his boyhood, and worked diligently, after the purchase of his freedom, to make some return to his aunt for the purchase-money. About the time of his becoming of age, he dislocated his shoulder, which compelled him to seek other employment, and in 1831, the year of his majority, he obtained the place of assistant messenger in the Land Office. Hon. John Wilson, now Third Auditor of the Treasury, was the messenger, and was Cook's firm friend till the day of his death. Cook had been a short time at school under the instruction of Smothers and Prout, but when he entered the Land Office his education was at most only the ability to stumble along a little in a primary reading-book. He, however, now gave himself in all his leisure moments, early and late, to study. Mr. Wilson remembers his indefatigable application, and affirms that it was a matter of astonishment at the time, and that he has seen nothing in all his observations to surpass and scarcely to equal it. He was soon able to write a good hand, and was employed with his pen in clerical work by the sanction of the commissioner, Elisha Hayward, who was much attached to him. Cook was now beginning to look forward to the life of a teacher, which, with the ministry, was the only work not menial in its nature then open to an educated Colored man. At the end of three years he resigned his place in the Land Office, and entered upon the work which he laid down only with his life. It was then that he gave himself wholly to study and the business of education, working with all his might; his school numbering quite a hundred scholars in the winter and a hundred and fifty in the summer. He had been in his work one year when the storm which had been, for some years, under the discussion of the slavery question, gathering over the country at large, burst upon this district.

THE SNOW RIOT,

or "Snow storm," as it has been commonly called, which occurred in September, 1835, is an event that stands vividly in the memory of all Colored people who lived in this community at that time. Benjamin Snow, a smart Colored man, keeping a restaurant on the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Sixth Street, was reported to have made some remark of a bravado kind derogatory to the wives of white mechanics; whereupon this class, or those assuming to represent them, made a descent upon his establishment, destroying all his effects. Snow himself, who denied using the offensive language, with difficulty escaped unharmed, through the management of white friends, taking refuge in Canada, where he still resides. The military was promptly called to the rescue, at the head of which was General Walter Jones, the eminent lawyer, who characterized the rioters, greatly to their indignation, as "a set of ragamuffins," and his action was thoroughly sanctioned by the city authorities.

At the same time, also, there was a fierce excitement among the mechanics at the Navy Yard, growing out of the fact that a large quantity of copper bolts being missed from the yard and found to have been carried out in the dinner-pails by the hands, the commandant had forbid eating dinners in the yard. This order was interpreted as an insult to the white mechanics, and threats were made of an assault on the yard, which was put in a thorough state of defence by the commandant. The rioters swept through the city, ransacking the houses of the prominent Colored men and women, ostensibly in search of anti-slavery papers and documents, the most of the gang impelled undoubtedly by hostility to the Negro race and by motives of plunder. Nearly all the Colored school-houses were partially demolished and the furniture totally destroyed, and in several cases they were completely ruined. Some private houses were also torn down or burnt. The Colored schools were nearly all broken up, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the Colored churches were saved from destruction, as their Sabbath-schools were regarded, and correctly regarded, as the means through which the Colored people, at that time, procured much of their education.

The rioters sought, especially, for John F. Cook, who, however, had seasonably taken from the stable the horse of his friend, Mr. Hayward, the Commissioner of the Land Office, an anti-slavery man, and fled precipitately from the city. They

marched to his school-house, destroyed all the books and furniture, and partially destroyed the building. Mrs. Smothers, who owned both the school-house and the dwelling adjoining the lots, was sick in her house at the time, but an alderman, Mr. Edward Dyer, with great courage and nobleness of spirit, stood between the house and the mob for her protection, declaring that he would defend her house from molestation with all the means he could command. They left the house unharmed, and it is still standing on the premises. Mr. Cook went to Columbia, Pennsylvania, opened a school there, and did not venture back to his home till the autumn of 1836. At the time the riot broke out, General Jackson was absent in Virginia. He returned in the midst of the tumult, and immediately issuing orders in his bold, uncompromising manner to the authorities to see the laws respected at all events, the violence was promptly subdued. It was, nevertheless, a very dark time for the Colored people. The timid class did not for a year or two dare to send their children to school, and the whole mass of the Colored people dwelt in fear day and night. In August, 1836, Mr. Cook returned from Pennsylvania and reopened his school, which under him had, in 1834, received the name of

UNION SEMINARY.

During his year's absence he was in charge of a free Colored public school in Columbia, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, which he surrendered to the care of Benjamin M. McCoy when he came back to his home, Mr. McCoy going there to fill out his engagement.

He resumed his work with broad and elevated ideas of his business. This is clearly seen in the plan of his institution, embraced in the printed annual announcements and programmes of his annual exhibitions, copies of which have been preserved. The course of study embraced three years, and there was a male and a female department, Miss Catharine Costin at one period being in charge of the female department. Mr. Seaton, of the "National Intelligencer," among other leading and enlightened citizens and public men, used to visit his school from year to year, and watch its admirable working with deep and lively interest. Cook was at this period not only watching over his very large school, ranging from 100 to 150 or more pupils, but was active in the formation of the "First Colored Presbyterian

Church of Washington," which was organized in November, 1841, by Rev. John C. Smith, D.D., and worshipped in this school-house. He was now also giving deep study to the preparation for the ministry, upon which, in fact, as a licentiate of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, he had already in some degree entered. At a regular meeting of "The presbytery of the District of Columbia," held in Alexandria, May 3, 1842, this church, now commonly called the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, was formally received under the care of that presbytery, the first and still the only Colored Presbyterian church in the district. Mr. Cook was elected the first pastor July 13, 1843, and preached his trial sermon before ordination on the evening of that day in the Fourth Presbyterian Church (Dr. J. C. Smith's) in the city, in the presence of a large congregation. This sermon is remembered as a manly production, delivered with great dignity and force, and deeply imbued with the spirit of his work. He was ordained in the Fifteenth Street Church the next evening, and continued to serve the church with eminent success till his death in 1855. Rev. John C. Smith, D.D., who had preached his ordination sermon, and been his devoted friend and counsellor for nearly twenty years, preached his funeral sermon, selecting as his text, "There was a man sent from God whose name was John." There were present white as well as Colored clergymen of no less than five denominations, many of the oldest and most respectable citizens, and a vast concourse of all classes white and Colored. "The Fifteenth Street Church," in the words of Dr. Smith in relation to them and their first pastor, "is now a large and flourishing congregation of spiritually-minded people. They have been educated in the truth and the principles of our holy religion, and in the new, present state of things the men of this church are trusted, relied on as those who fear God and keep His commandments. The church is the monument to John F. Cook, the first pastor, who was faithful in all his house, a workman who labored night and day for years, and has entered into his reward. 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.' 'They rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.'"

In 1841, when he entered, in a preliminary and informal way, upon the pastorate of the Fifteenth Street Church, he seems to have attempted to turn his seminary into a high school, limited to twenty-five or thirty pupils, exclusively for the more advanced scholars of both sexes; and his plan of studies to that end, as

seen in his prospectus, evinces broad and elevated views—a desire to aid in lifting his race to higher things in education than they had yet attempted. His plans were not put into execution, in the matter of a high school, being frustrated by the circumstances that there were so few good schools in the city for the Colored people, at that period, that his old patrons would not allow him to shut off the multitude of primary scholars which were depending upon his school. His seminary, however, continued to maintain its high standard, and had an average attendance of quite 100 year after year, till he surrendered up his work in death.

He raised up a large family and educated them well. The oldest of the sons, John and George, were educated at Oberlin College. The other three, being young, were in school when the father died. John and George, it will be seen, succeeded their father as teachers, continuing in the business down to the present year. Of the two daughters, the elder was a teacher till married in 1866, and the other is now a teacher in the public schools of the city. One son served through the war as sergeant in the Fortieth Colored Regiment, and another served in the navy.

At the death of the father, March 21, 1855, the school fell into the hands of the son, John F. Cook, who continued it till May, 1857, when it passed to a younger son, George F. T. Cook, who moved it from its old home, the Smothers House, to the basement of the Presbyterian Church, in the spring of 1858, and maintained it till July, 1859. John F. Cook, jr., who had erected a new school-house on Sixteenth Street, in 1862, again gathered the school which the tempests of the war had dispersed, and continued it till June, 1867, when the new order of things had opened ample school facilities throughout the city, and the teacher was called to other duties. Thus ended the school which had been first gathered by Smothers nearly forty-five years before, and which, in that long period, had been continually maintained with seldom less than one hundred pupils, and for the most part with one hundred and fifty, the only suspensions being in the year of the Snow riot, and in the two years which ushered in the war.

The Smothers House, after the Cook school was removed in 1858, was occupied for two years by a *free Catholic school*, supported by "The St. Vincent de Paul Society," a benevolent

organization of Colored people. It was a very large school with two departments, the boys under David Brown, and the girls under Eliza Anne Cook, and averaging over one hundred and fifty scholars. When this school was transferred to another house, Rev. Chauncey Leonard, a Colored Baptist clergyman, now pastor of a church in Washington, and Nannie Waugh opened a school there, in 1861, that became as large as that which had preceded it in the same place. This school was broken up in 1862 by the destruction of the building at the hands of the incendiaries, who, even at that time, were inspired with all their accustomed vindictiveness toward the Colored people. But this was their last heathenish jubilee, and from the ashes of many burnings imperishable liberty has sprung forth.

About the time that Smothers built his school-house, in 1823,

LOUISA PARKE COSTIN'S SCHOOL

was established in her father's house on Capitol Hill, on A Street, south, under the shadow of the Capitol. This Costin family came from Mount Vernon immediately after the death of Martha Washington, in 1802. The father, William Costin, who died suddenly in his bed, May 31, 1842, was for twenty-four years messenger for the Bank of Washington in this city. His death was noticed at length in the columns of the "National Intelligencer" in more than one communication at the time. The obituary notice, written under the suggestions of the bank officers who had previously passed a resolution expressing their respect for his memory, and appropriating fifty dollars toward the funeral expenses, says: "It is due to the deceased to say that his colored skin covered a benevolent heart"; concluding with this language: "The deceased raised respectably a large family of children of his own, and, in the exercise of the purest benevolence, took into his family and supported four orphan children. The tears of the orphan will moisten his grave, and his memory will be dear to all those—a numerous class—who have experienced his kindness"; and adding these lines:

"Honor and shame from *no condition* rise;
Act well your part—there all the honor lies."

John Quincy Adams, also, a few days afterward, in a discussion of the wrongs of slavery, alluded to the deceased in these

words, "The late William Costin, though he was not white, was as much respected as any man in the district, and the large concourse of citizens that attended his remains to the grave, as well white as black, was an evidence of the manner in which he was estimated by the citizens of Washington." His portrait, taken by the direction of the bank authorities, still hangs in the directors' room, and it may also be seen in the houses of more than one of the old and prominent residents of the city.

William Costin's mother, Ann Dandridge, was the daughter of a half-breed (Indian and Colored), her grandfather being a Cherokee chief, and her reputed father was the father of Martha Dandridge, afterward Mrs. Custis, who, in 1759, was married to General Washington. These daughters, Ann and Martha, grew up together on the ancestral plantations. William Costin's reputed father was white, and belonged to a prominent family in Virginia, but the mother, after his birth, married one of the Mount Vernon slaves by the name of Costin, and the son took the name of William Costin. His mother, being of Indian descent, made him, under the laws of Virginia, a free-born man. In 1800 he married Philadelphia Judge (his cousin), one of Martha Washington's slaves, at Mount Vernon, where both were born in 1780. The wife was given by Martha Washington at her decease to her granddaughter, Eliza Parke Custis, who was the wife of Thomas Law, of Washington. Soon after William Costin and his wife came to Washington, the wife's freedom was secured on kind and easy terms, and the children were all born free. This is the account which William Costin and his wife and his mother, Ann Dandridge, always gave of their ancestry, and they were persons of great precision in all matters of family history, as well as of the most marked scrupulousness in their statements. Their seven children, five daughters and two sons, went to school with the white children on Capitol Hill, to Mrs. Maria Haley and other teachers. The two younger daughters, Martha and Frances, finished their education at the Colored convent in Baltimore. Louisa Parke and Ann had passed their school days before the convent was founded. Louisa Parke Costin opened her school at nineteen years of age, continuing it with much success till her sudden death in 1831, the year in which her mother also died. When Martha returned from the convent seminary, a year or so later, she reopened the school, continuing it till about 1839. This school, which was maintained some fifteen years, was

always very full. The three surviving sisters own and reside in the house which their father built about 1812. One of these sisters married Richard Henry Fisk, a Colored man of good education, who died in California, and she now has charge of the Senate ladies' reception-room. Ann Costin was for several years in the family of Major Lewis (at Woodlawn, Mount Vernon), the nephew of Washington. Mrs. Lewis (Eleanor Custis) was the granddaughter of Martha Washington. This school was not molested by the mob of 1835, and it was always under the care of a well-bred and well-educated teacher.

THE WESLEYAN SEMINARY.

While Martha Costin was teaching, James Enoch Ambush, a Colored man, had also a large school in the basement of the Israel Bethel Church, on Capitol Hill, for a while, commencing there in April, 1833, and continuing in various places till 1843, when he built a school-house on E Street, south, near Tenth, island, and established what was known as "The Wesleyan Seminary," and which was successfully maintained for thirty-two years, till the close of August, 1865. The school-house still stands, a comfortable one-story wooden structure, with the sign "Wesleyan Seminary" over the door, as it has been there for twenty-five years. This was the only Colored school on the island of any account for many years, and in its humble way it accomplished a great amount of good. For some years Mr. Ambush had given much study to botanic medicine, and since closing his school he has become a botanic physician. He is a man of fine sense, and without school advantages, has acquired a respectable education.

FIRST SEMINARY FOR COLORED GIRLS.

The first seminary in the District of Columbia for Colored girls was established in Georgetown, in 1827, under the special auspices of Father Vanlomen, a benevolent and devout Catholic priest, then pastor of the Holy Trinity Church, who not only gave this interesting enterprise his hand and his heart, but for several years himself taught a school of Colored boys three days in a week, near the Georgetown college gate, in a small frame house, which was afterward famous as the residence of the broken-hearted widow of Commodore Decatur. This female seminary was under the care of Maria Becraft, who was the most

remarkable Colored young woman of her time in the district, and, perhaps, of any time. Her father, William Becraft, born while his mother, a free woman, was the housekeeper of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, always had the kindest attentions of this great man, and there are now pictures, more than a century and a half old, and other valuable relics from the Carroll family in the possession of the Becraft family, in Georgetown, which Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, in his last days presented to William Becraft as family keepsakes. William Becraft lived in Georgetown sixty-four years, coming there when eighteen years of age. He was for many years chief steward of Union Hotel, and a remarkable man, respected and honored by everybody. When he died, the press of the district noticed, in a most prominent manner, his life and character. From one of the extended obituary notices, marked with heavy black lines, the following paragraph is copied :

“ He was among the last surviving representatives of the old school of well-bred, confidential, and intelligent domestics, and was widely known at home and abroad from his connection, in the capacity of steward for a long series of years, and probably from its origin, and until a recent date, with the Union Hotel, Georgetown, with whose guests, for successive generations, his benevolent and venerable aspect, dignified and obliging manners, and moral excellence, rendered him a general favorite.”

Maria Becraft was marked, from her childhood, for her uncommon intelligence and refinement, and for her extraordinary piety. She was born in 1805, and first went to school for a year to Henry Potter, in Washington, about 1812; afterward attending Mrs. Billing's school constantly till 1820. She then, at the age of fifteen, opened a school for girls in Dunbarton Street, in Georgetown, and gave herself to the work, which she loved, with the greatest assiduity, and with uniform success. In 1827, when she was twenty-two years of age, her remarkable beauty and elevation of character so much impressed Father Vanlomen, the good priest, that he took it in hand to give her a higher style of school in which to work for her sex and race, to the education of which she had now fully consecrated herself. Her school was accordingly transferred to a larger building, which still stands on Fayette Street, opposite the convent, and there she opened a boarding and day school for Colored girls, which she

continued with great success till August, 1831, when she surrendered her little seminary into the care of one of the girls that she had trained, and in October of that year joined the convent at Baltimore as a Sister of Providence, where she was the leading teacher till she died, in December, 1833, a great loss to that young institution, which was contemplating this noble young woman as its future Mother Superior. Her seminary in Georgetown averaged from thirty to thirty-five pupils, and there are those living who remember the troop of girls, dressed uniformly, which was wont to follow in procession their pious and refined teacher to devotions on the Sabbath at Holy Trinity Church. The school comprised girls from the best Colored families of Georgetown, Washington, Alexandria, and surrounding country. The sisters of the Georgetown convent were the admirers of Miss Becraft, gave her instruction, and extended to her most heartfelt aid and approbation in all her noble work, as they were in those days wont to do in behalf of the aspiring Colored girls who sought for education, withholding themselves from such work only when a depraved and degenerate public sentiment upon the subject of educating the Colored people had compelled them to a more rigid line of demarcation between the races. Ellen Simonds and others conducted the school a few years, but with the loss of its original teacher it began to fail, and finally became extinct. Maria Becraft is remembered, wherever she was known, as a woman of the rarest sweetness and exaltation of Christian life, graceful and attractive in person and manners, gifted, well-educated, and wholly devoted to doing good. Her name as a Sister of Providence was Sister Aloyons.

MISS MYRTILLA MINER'S SEMINARY

for Colored girls was initiated in Washington. This philanthropic woman was born in Brookfield, Madison County, New York, in 1815. Her parents were farmers, with small resources for the support of a large family. The children were obliged to work, and the small advantages of a common school were all the educational privileges furnished to them. Hop-raising was a feature in their farming, and this daughter was accustomed to work in the autumn, picking the hops. She was of a delicate physical organization, and suffered exceedingly all her life with spinal troubles. Being a girl of extraordinary intellectual activity, her place at home chafed her spirit. She was restless, dis-

satisfied with her lot, looked higher than her father, dissented from his ideas of woman's education, and, in her desperation, when about twenty-three years old, wrote to Mr. Seward, then recently elected Governor of her State, asking him if he could show her how it was possible for a woman in her circumstances to become a scholar; receiving from him the reply that he could not, but hoped a better day was coming, wherein woman might have a chance to be and to do to the extent of her abilities. Hearing at this time of a school at Clinton, Oneida County, New York, for young women, on the manual-labor system, she decided to go there; but her health being such as to make manual labor impossible at the time, she wrote to the principal of the Clover Street Seminary, Rochester, New York, who generously received her, taking her notes for the school bills, to be paid after completing her education. Grateful for this noble act, she afterward sent her younger sister there to be educated, for her own associate as a teacher; and the death of this talented sister, when about to graduate and come as her assistant in Washington, fell upon her with crushing force. In the Rochester school, with Myrtilla Miner, were two free Colored girls, and this association was the first circumstance to turn her thoughts to the work to which she gave her life. From Rochester she went to Mississippi, as a teacher of planters' daughters, and it was what she was compelled to see, in this situation, of the dreadful practices and conditions of slavery, that filled her soul with a pity for the Colored race, and a detestation of the system that bound them, which held possession of her to the last day of her life. She remained there several years, till her indignant utterances, which she would not withhold, compelled her employer, fearful of the results, to part reluctantly with a teacher whom he valued. She came home broken down with sickness, caused by the harassing sights and sounds that she had witnessed in plantation life, and while in this condition she made a solemn vow that whatever of life remained to her should be given to the work of ameliorating the condition of the Colored people. Here her great work begins. She made up her mind to do something for the education of free Colored girls, with the idea that through the influence of educated Colored women she could lay the solid foundations for the disenthralment of their race. She selected the district for the field of her efforts, because it was the common property of the nation, and because the laws of the district

gave her the right to educate *free* Colored children, and she attempted to teach none others. She opened her plan to many of the leading friends of freedom, in an extensive correspondence, but found especially, at this time, a wise and warm encourager and counsellor in her scheme, in William R. Smith, a Friend, of Farmington, near Rochester, New York, in whose family she was now a private teacher. Her correspondents generally gave her but little encouragement, but wished her God-speed in what she should dare in the good cause. One Friend wrote her from Philadelphia, entering warmly into her scheme, but advised her to wait till funds could be collected. "I do not want the wealth of Cræsus," was her reply; and the Friend sent her \$100, and with this capital, in the autumn of 1851, she came to Washington to establish a Normal School for the education of Colored girls, having associated with her Miss Anna Inman, an accomplished and benevolent lady of the Society of Friends, from Southfield, Rhode Island, who, however, after teaching a class of Colored girls in French, in the house of Jonathan Jones, on the island, through the winter, returned to New England. In the autumn of 1851 Miss Miner commenced her remarkable work here in a small room, about fourteen feet square, in the frame house then, as now, owned and occupied by Edward C. Younger, a Colored man, as his dwelling, on Eleventh Street, near New York Avenue. With but two or three girls to open the school, she soon had a roomful, and to secure larger accommodation, moved, after a couple of months, to a house on F Street, north, between Eighteenth and Nineteenth streets, west, near the houses then occupied by William T. Carroll and Charles H. Winder. This house furnished her a very comfortable room for her school, which was composed of well-behaved girls from the best Colored families of the district. The persecution of those neighbors, however, compelled her to leave, as the Colored family who occupied the house was threatened with conflagration, and after one month her little school found a more unmolested home in the dwelling-house of a German family on K Street, near the western market. After tarrying a few months here, she moved to L Street, into a room in the building known as "The Two Sisters," then occupied by a white family. She now saw that the success of her school demanded a school-house, and in reconnoitring the ground she found a spot suiting her ideas as to size and locality, with a

house on it, and in the market at a low price. She raised the money, secured the spot, and thither, in the summer of 1851, she moved her school, where for seven years she was destined to prosecute, with the most unparalleled energy and conspicuous success, her remarkable enterprise. This lot, comprising an entire square of three acres, between Nineteenth and Twentieth streets, west, N and O streets, north, and New Hampshire Avenue, selected under the guidance of Miss Miner, the contract being perfected through the agency of Sayles J. Bowen, Thomas Williamson, and Allen M. Gangewer, was originally conveyed in trust to Thomas Williamson and Samuel Rhodes, of the Society of Friends, in Philadelphia. It was purchased of the executors of the will of John Taylor, for \$4,000, the deed being executed June 8, 1853, the estimated value of the property now being not less than \$30,000. The money was mainly contributed by Friends, in Philadelphia, New York, and New England. Catharine Morris, a Friend, of Philadelphia, was a liberal benefactor of the enterprise, advancing Miss Miner \$2,000, with which to complete the purchase of the lot, the most, if not all, of which sum, it is believed, she ultimately gave to the institution; and Harriet Beecher Stowe was another generous friend, who gave her money and her heart to the support of the brave woman who had been willing to go forth alone at the call of duty. Mr. Rhodes, some years editor of the "Friends' Quarterly Review," died several years ago, near Philadelphia. Mr. Williamson, a conveyancer in that city, and father of Passmore Williamson, is still living, but some years ago declined the place of trustee. The board, at the date of the act of incorporation, consisted of Benjamin Tatham, a Friend, of New York City, Mrs. Nancy M. Johnson, of Washington, and Myrtilla Miner, and the transfer of the property to the incorporated body was made a few weeks prior to Miss Miner's death. This real estate, together with a fund of \$4,000 in government stocks, is now in the hands of a corporate body, under act of Congress approved March 3, 1863, and is styled "The Institution for the Education of Colored Youth in the District of Columbia." The officers of the corporation at this time are John C. Underwood, president; Francis G. Shaw, treasurer; George E. Baker, secretary; who, with Nancy M. Johnson, S. J. Bowen, Henry Addison, and Rachel Howland, constitute the executive committee. The purpose of the purchase of this property is declared, in a paper signed by Mr.

Williamson and Mr. Rhodes, dated Philadelphia, June 8, 1858, to have been "*specially for the education of colored girls.*"

This paper also declares that "the grounds were purchased at the special instance of Myrtilla Miner," and that "the contributions by which the original price of said lot, and also the cost of the subsequent improvements thereof, were procured chiefly by her instrumentality and labors." The idea of Miss Miner in planting a school here was to train up a class of Colored girls, in the midst of slave institutions, who should show forth in their culture and capabilities, to the country and to mankind, that the race was fit for something higher than the degradation which rested upon them. The amazing energy with which this frail woman prosecuted her work is well known to those who took knowledge of her career. She visited the Colored people of her district from house to house, and breathed a new life into them pertaining to the education of their daughters. Her correspondence with the philanthropic men and women of the North was immense. She importuned Congressmen, and the men who shaped public sentiment through the columns of the press, to come into her school and see her girls, and was ceaseless in her activities day and night, in every direction, to build up, in dignity and refinement, her seminary, and to force its merits upon public attention.

The buildings upon the lot when purchased—a small frame dwelling of two stories, not more than twenty-five by thirty-five feet in dimensions, with three small cabins on the other side of the premises—served for the seminary and the homes of the teacher and her assistant. The most aspiring and decently bred Colored girls of the district were gathered into the school; and the very best Colored teachers in the schools of the district at the present time, are among those who owe their education to this self-sacrificing teacher and her school. Mrs. Means, aunt of the wife of General Pierce, then President of the United States, attracted by the enthusiasm of this wonderful person, often visited her in the midst of her work, with the kindest feelings; and the fact that the carriage from the Presidential mansion was in this way frequently seen at the door of this humble institution, did much to protect it from the hatred with which it was surrounded.

Mr. Seward and his family were very often seen at the school, both Mrs. Seward and her daughter Fanny being constant visitors;

the latter, a young girl at the time, often spending a whole day there. Many other Congressmen of large and generous instincts, some of them of pro-slavery party relations, went out there, all confessing their admiration of the resolute woman and her school, and this kept evil men in abeyance.

The opposition to the school throughout the district was strong and very general, among the old as well as the young. Even Walter Lenox, who, as mayor, when the school was first started, gave the teacher assurances of favor in her work, came out in 1857, following the prevailing current of depraved public sentiment and feeding its tide, in an elaborate article in the "National Intelligencer," under his own signature; assailed the school in open and direct language, urging against it that it was raising the standard of education among the Colored population, and distinctly declaring that the white population of the district would not be just to themselves to permit the continuance of an institution which had the temerity to extend to the Colored people "a degree of instruction so far beyond their social and political condition, which condition must continue," the article goes on to say, "in this and every other slave-holding community." This article, though fraught with extreme ideas, and to the last degree proscriptive and inflammatory, neither stirred any open violence, nor deterred the courageous woman in the slightest degree from her work. When madmen went to her school-room threatening her with personal violence, she laughed them to shame; and when they threatened to burn her house, she told them that they could not stop her in that way, as another house, better than the old, would immediately rise from its ashes.

The house was set on fire in the spring of 1860, when Miss Miner was asleep in the second story, alone, in the night-time, but the smell of the smoke awakened her in time to save the building and herself from the flames, which were extinguished. The school-girls, also, were constantly at the mercy of coarse and insulting boys along the streets, who would often gather in gangs before the gate to pursue and terrify these inoffensive children, who were striving to gather wisdom and understanding in their little sanctuary. The police took no cognizance of such brutality in those days. But their dauntless teacher, uncompromising, conscientious, and self-possessed in her aggressive work, in no manner turned from her course by this persecution, was, on the other hand, stimulated thereby to higher vigilance and

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energy in her great undertaking. The course of instruction in the school was indeed of a higher order than had hitherto been opened to the Colored people of the district, as was denounced against the school by Walter Lenox, in his newspaper attack. Lectures upon scientific and literary subjects were given by professional and literary gentlemen, who were friends to the cause. The spacious grounds afforded to each pupil an ample space for a flower bed, which she was enjoined to cultivate with her own hands and to thoroughly study. And an excellent library, a collection of paintings and engravings, the leading magazines and choice newspapers, were gathered and secured for the humble home of learning, which was all the while filled with students, the most of whom were bright, ambitious girls, composing a female Colored school, which, in dignity and usefulness, has had no equal in the district since that day. It was her custom to gather in her vacations and journeys not only money, but every thing else that would be of use in her school, and in this way she not only collected books, but maps, globes, philosophical, and chemical, and mathematical apparatus, and a great variety of things to aid in her instruction in illustrating all branches of knowledge. This collection was stored in the school building during the war, and was damaged by neglect, plundered by soldiers, and what remains is not of much value. The elegant sofa-bedstead which she used during all her years in the seminary, and which would be an interesting possession for the seminary, was sold, with her other personal effects, to Dr. Carrie Brown (Mrs. Winslow), of Washington, one of her bosom friends, who stood at her pillow when she died.

Her plan embraced the erection of spacious structures, upon the site which had been most admirably chosen, complete in all their appointments for the full accommodation of a school of one hundred and fifty boarding scholars. The seminary was to be a female college, endowed with all the powers and professorships belonging to a first-class college for the other sex. She did not contemplate its springing up into such proportions, like a mushroom, in a single night, but it was her ambition that the institution should one day attain that rank. In the midst of her anxious, incessant labors, her physical system began so sensibly to fail, that in the summer of 1858, under the counsel of the friends of herself and her cause, she went North to seek health, and, as usual in all her journeys, to beg for her seminary, leaving her

girls in the care of Emily Howland, a noble young woman, who came down here for the love of the cause, without money and without price, from the vicinity of Auburn, New York. In the autumn, Miss Miner returned to her school; Miss Howland still continuing with her through the winter, a companion in her trials, aiding her in her duties, and consenting to take charge of the school again in the summer of 1859, while Miss Miner was on another journey for funds and health. In the autumn of that year, after returning from her journey, which was not very successful, she determined to suspend the school, and to go forth into the country with a most persistent appeal for money to erect a seminary building, as she had found it impossible to get a house of any character started with the means already in her hands. She could get no woman, whom she deemed fit to take her work, willing to continue her school, and in the spring of 1860, leasing the premises, she went North on her errand. In the ensuing year she traversed many States, but the shadow of the Rebellion was on her path, and she gathered neither much money nor much strength. The war came, and in October, 1862, hoping, but vainly, for health from a sea-voyage and from the Pacific climate, she sailed from New York to California. When about to return, in 1866, with vivacity of body and spirit, she was thrown from a carriage in a fearful manner; blighting all the high hopes of resuming her school under the glowing auspices she had anticipated, as she saw the Rebellion and the hated system tumbling to pieces. She arrived in New York, in August of that year, in a most shattered condition of body, though with the fullest confidence that she should speedily be well and at her work in Washington. In the first days of December she went to Washington in a dying condition, still resolute to resume her work; was carried to the residence of her tried friend, Mrs. Nancy M. Johnson; and on the tenth of that month, surrounded by the friends who had stood with her in other days, she put off her wasted and wearied body in the city which had witnessed her trials and her triumphs, and her remains slumber in Oak Hill Cemetery.

Her seminary engaged her thoughts to the last day of her life. She said in her last hours that she had come back here to resume her work, and could not leave it thus unfinished. No marble marks the resting-place of this truly wonderful woman, but her memory is certainly held precious in the hearts of her throngs of pupils, in the hearts of the Colored people of this district, and of

all who took knowledge of her life, and who revered the cause in which she offered herself a willing sacrifice. Her assistants in the school were Helen Moore, of Washington; Margaret Clapp, Amanda Weaver, and Anna H. Searing, of New York State, and two of her pupils, Matilda Jones, of Washington, and Emma Brown, of Georgetown, both of whom subsequently, through the influence of Miss Miner and Miss Howland, finished their education at Oberlin, and have since been most superior teachers in Washington. Most of the assistant teachers from the North were from families connected with the Society of Friends, and it has been seen that the bulk of the money came from that society. The sketch would be incomplete without a special tribute to Lydia B. Mann, sister of Horace Mann, who came here in the fall of 1856, from the Colored Female Orphan Asylum of Providence, R. I., of which she was then, as she continues to be, the admirable superintendent, and, as a pure labor of love, took care of the school in the most superior manner through the autumn and winter, while Miss Miner was North recruiting her strength and pleading for contributions. It was no holiday duty to go into that school, live in that building, and work alone with head and hands, as was done by all those refined and educated women who stood from time to time in that humble, persecuted seminary. Miss Mann is gratefully remembered by her pupils here and their friends.

Mention should also be made of Emily Howland, who stood by Miss Miner in her darkest days, and whose whole heart was with her in all her work. She is a woman of the largest and most self-sacrificing purposes, who has been and still is giving her best years, all her powers, talents, learning, refinement, wealth, and personal toil, to the education and elevation of the Colored race. While here she adopted, and subsequently educated in the best manner, one of Miss Miner's pupils, and assisted several others of her smart girls in completing their education at Oberlin. During the war she was teaching contrabands in the hospital and the camp, and is now engaged in planting a colony of Colored people in Virginia with homes and a school-house of their own.

A seminary, such as was embraced in the plan of Miss Miner, is exceedingly demanded by the interest of Colored female education in the District of Columbia and the country at large, and any scheme by which the foundations that she laid so

well may become the seat of such a school, would be heartily approved by all enlightened friends of the Colored race. The trustees of the Miner property, not insensible of their responsibilities, have been carefully watching for the moment when action on their part would seem to be justified. They have repeatedly met in regard to the matter, but, in their counsels, hitherto, have deemed it wise to wait further developments. They are now about to hold another meeting, it is understood, and it is to be devoutly hoped that some plan will be adopted by which a school of a high order may be, in due time, opened for Colored girls in this district, who exceedingly need the refining, womanly training of such a school.

The original corporators of Miss Miner's institution were Henry Addison, John C. Underwood, George C. Abbott, William H. Channing, Nancy M. Johnson, and Myrtilla Miner. The objects, as expressed in the charter, "are to educate and improve the moral and intellectual condition of such of the colored youth of the nation as may be placed under its care and influence."

MARY WORMLEY'S SCHOOL.

In 1830, William Wormley built a school-house for his sister Mary, near the corner of Vermont Avenue and I Street, where the restaurant establishment owned and occupied by his brother, James Wormley, now stands. He had educated his sister expressly for a teacher, at great expense, at the Colored Female Seminary in Philadelphia, then in charge of Miss Sarah Douglass, an accomplished Colored lady, who is still a teacher of note in the Philadelphia Colored High School. William Wormley was at that time a man of wealth. His livery-stable, which occupied the place where the Owen House now stands, was one of the largest and best in the city. Miss Wormley had just brought her school into full and successful operation when her health broke down, and she lived scarcely two years. Mr. Calvert, an English gentleman, still living in the first ward, taught a class of Colored scholars in this house for a time, and James Wormley was one of the class. In the autumn of 1834, William Thomas Lee opened a school in the same place, and it was in a flourishing condition in the fall of 1835, when the Snow mob dispersed it, sacking the school-house, and partially destroying it by fire. William Wormley was at that time one of the most enterprising and influential Colored men of Washington, and was the original

agent of the "Liberator" newspaper for this district. The mob being determined to lay hold of him and Lee, they fled from the city to save their lives, returning when General Jackson, coming back from Virginia a few days after the outbreak, gave notice that the fugitives should be protected. The persecution of William Wormley was so violent and persistent, that his health and spirits sank under its effects, his business was broken up, and he died a poor man, scarcely owning a shelter for his dying couch. The school-house was repaired after the riot, and occupied for a time by Margaret Thompson's school, and still stands in the rear of James Wormley's restaurant.

BENJAMIN M'COY'S, AND OTHER SCHOOLS.

About this time another school was opened in Georgetown, by Nancy Grant, a sister of Mrs. William Becraft, a well-educated Colored woman. She was teaching as early as 1828, and had a useful school for several years. Mr. Nuthall, an Englishman, was teaching in Georgetown during this period, and as late as 1833 he went to Alexandria and opened a school in that city. William Syphax, among others now resident in Washington, attended his school in Alexandria about 1833. He was a man of ability, well educated, and one of the best teachers of his time in the district. His school in Georgetown was at first in Dunbarton Street, and afterward on Montgomery.

The old maxim, that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church," seems to find its illustration in this history. There is no period in the annals of the country in which the fires of persecution against the education of the Colored race burned more fiercely in this district, and the country at large, than in the five years from 1831 to 1836, and it was during this period that a larger number of respectable Colored schools were established than in any other five years prior to the war. In 1833, the same year in which Ambush's school was started, Benjamin M. McCoy, a Colored man, opened a school in the northern part of the city, on L Street, between Third and Fourth streets, west. In 1834 he moved to Massachusetts Avenue, continuing his school there till he went to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in the autumn of 1836, to finish the engagement of Rev. John F. Cook, who came back to Washington at that time and re-opened his school. The school at Lancaster was a free public Colored school, and Mr. McCoy was solicited to continue another year; but declin-

ing, came back, and in 1837 opened a school in the basement of Asbury Church, which, in that room and in the house adjoining, he maintained with great success for the ensuing twelve years. Mr. McCoy was a pupil of Mrs. Billing and Henry Smothers; is a man of good sense, and his school gave a respectable rudimental education to multitudes, who remember him as a teacher with great respect. He is now a messenger in the Treasury Department. In 1833, a school was established by Fanny Hampton, in the western part of the city, on the northwest corner of K and Nineteenth streets. It was a large school, and was continued till about 1842, the teacher dying soon afterward. She was half-sister of Lindsay Muse. Margaret Thompson succeeded her, and had a flourishing school of some forty scholars on Twenty-sixth Street, near the avenue, for several years, about 1846. She subsequently became the wife of Charles H. Middleton, and assisted in his school for a brief time. About 1830, Robert Brown commenced a small school, and continued it at intervals for many years till his death. As early as 1833, there was a school opened in a private house in the rear of Franklin Row, near the location of the new Franklin School building. It was taught by a white man, Mr. Talbot, and continued a year or two. Mrs. George Ford, a white teacher, a native of Virginia, kept a Colored school in a brick house still standing on New Jersey Avenue, between K and L streets. She taught there many years, and as early, perhaps, as half a century ago.

DR. JOHN H. FLEET'S SCHOOL

was opened, in 1836, on New York Avenue, in a school-house which stood nearly on the spot now occupied by the Richards buildings at the corner of New York Avenue and Fourteenth Street. It had been previously used for a white school, taught by Mrs. McDaniel, and was subsequently again so used. Dr. Fleet was a native of Georgetown, and was greatly assisted in his education by the late Judge James Morsell, of that city, who was not only kind to this family, but was always regarded by the Colored people of the district as their firm friend and protector. John H. Fleet, with his brothers and sisters, went to the Georgetown Lancasterian School, with the white children, for a long period, in their earlier school days, and subsequently to other white schools. He was also for a time a pupil of Smothers and Prout. He was possessed of a brilliant and strong intellect, in-

herited from his father, who was a white man of distinguished abilities. He studied medicine in Washington, in the office of Dr. Thomas Henderson, who had resigned as assistant surgeon in the army, and was a practising physician of eminence in Washington. He also attended medical lectures at the old medical college, corner of Tenth and E streets. It was his intention at that time to go to Liberia, and his professional education was conducted under the auspices of the Colonization Society. This, with the influence of Judge Morsell, gave him privileges never extended here to any other Colored man. He decided, however, not to go to Liberia, and in 1836 opened his school. He was a refined and polished gentleman, and conceded to be the foremost Colored man in culture, in intellectual force, and general influence in this district at that time. His school-house on New York Avenue was burned by an incendiary about 1843, and his flourishing and excellent school was thus ended. For a time he subsequently taught music, in which he was very proficient; but about 1846 he opened a school on School-house Hill, in the Hobb Brook Military School building, near the corner of N Street, north, and Twenty-third Street, west, and had a large school there till about 1851, when he relinquished the business, giving his attention henceforth exclusively to music, and with eminent success. He died in 1861. His school was very large and of a superior character.

CHARLES H. MIDDLETON'S SCHOOL

was started in the same section of the city, in a school-house which then stood near the corner of Twenty-second Street, west, and I, north, and which had been used by Henry Hardy for a white school. Though both Fleet's and Johnson's schools were in full tide of success in that vicinity, he gathered a good school, and when his two competitors retired—as they both did about this time,—his school absorbed a large portion of their patronage, and was thronged. In 1852, he went temporarily with his school to Sixteenth Street, and thence to the basement of Union Bethel Church on M Street, near Sixteenth, in which, during the administration of President Pierce, he had an exceedingly large and excellent school, at the same period when Miss Miner was prosecuting her signal work. Mr. Middleton, now a messenger in the Navy Department, a native of Savannah, Ga., is free-born, and received his very good education in schools

in that city, sometimes with white and sometimes with Colored children. When he commenced his school he had just returned from the Mexican war, and his enterprise is especially worthy of being made prominent, not only because of his high style as a teacher, but also because it is associated with

THE FIRST MOVEMENT FOR A FREE COLORED PUBLIC SCHOOL.

This movement originated with a city officer, Jesse E. Dow, who, in 1848 and 1849, was a leading and influential member of the common council. He encouraged Mr. Middleton to start his school, by assuring him that he would give all his influence to the establishment of free schools for Colored as well as for white children, and that he had great confidence that the council would be brought to give at least some encouragement to the enterprise. In 1850 Mr. Dow was named among the candidates for the mayoralty; and when his views in this regard were assailed by his opponents, he did not hesitate to boldly avow his opinions, and to declare that he wished no support for any office which demanded of him any modification of these convictions. The workmen fail, but the work succeeds. The name of Jesse E. Dow merits conspicuous record in this history for this bold and magnanimous action. Mr. Middleton received great assistance in building up his school from Rev. Mr. Wayman, then pastor of the Bethel Church, and afterward promoted to the bishopric. The school was surrendered finally to Rev. J. V. B. Morgan, the succeeding pastor of the church, who conducted the school as a part of the means of his livelihood.

ALEXANDER CORNISH AND OTHERS.

In the eastern section of the city, about 1840, Alexander Cornish had a school several years in his own house on D Street, south, between Third and Fourth, east, with an average of forty scholars. He was succeeded, about 1846, by Richard Stokes, who was a native of Chester County, Pa. His school, averaging one hundred and fifty scholars, was kept in the Israel Bethel Church, near the Capitol, and was continued for about six years. In 1840, there was a school opened by Margaret Hill in Georgetown, near Miss English's seminary. She taught a very good school for several years.

ALEXANDER HAYS'S SCHOOL

was started on Ninth Street, west, near New York Avenue. Mr. Hays was born in 1802, and belonged originally to the Fowler

family in Maryland. When a boy he served for a time at the Washington Navy Yard, in the family of Captain Dove, of the navy, the father of Dr. Dove, of Washington, and it was in that family that he learned to read. Michael Tabbs had a school at that time at the Navy Yard, which he taught in the afternoons *under a large tree*, which stood near the old Masonic Hall. The Colored children used to meet him there in large numbers daily, and while attending this singular school, Hays was at the same time taught by Mrs. Dove, with her children. This was half a century ago. In 1826, Hays went to live in the family of R. S. Coxe, the eminent Washington lawyer, who soon purchased him, paying Fowler \$300 for him. Mr. Coxe did this at the express solicitation of Hays, and seventeen years after he gave him his freedom—in 1843. While living with Mr. Coxe he had married Matilda Davis, the daughter of John Davis, who served as steward many years in the family of Mr. Seaton, of the "National Intelligencer." The wedding was at Mr. Seaton's residence, and Mr. Coxe and family were present on the occasion. In 1836, he bought the house and lot which they still own and occupy, and in 1842, the year before he was free, Hays made his last payment, and the place was conveyed to his wife. She was a free woman, and had opened a school in the house in 1841. Hays had many privileges while with Mr. Coxe, and with the proceeds of his wife's school they paid the purchase-money (\$550) and interest in seven years. Mr. Hays was taught reading, writing, and arithmetic by Mr. Coxe, his wife, and daughters, while a slave in their family. When the Colored people were driven from the churches, in the years of the mobs, Mrs. Coxe organized a large Colored Sabbath-school in her own parlor, and maintained it for a long period, with the cooperation of Mr. Coxe and the daughters. Mr. Hays was a member of this school. He also attended day schools, when his work would allow of it. This was the education with which, in 1845, he ventured to take his wife's school in charge. He is a man of good-sense, and his school flourished. He put up an addition to his house, in order to make room for his increasing school, which was continued down to 1857—sixteen years from its opening. He had also a night school and taught music, and these two features of his school he has revived since the war. This school contained from thirty-five to forty-five pupils. Rev. Dr. Samson, Mr. Seaton, and Mr. Coxe often visited his school and

encouraged him in his excellent work. Thomas Tabbs used also to come into his school and give him aid and advice, as also did John McLeod.

MR. AND MRS. FLETCHER'S SCHOOL

was opened about 1854, in the building in which Middleton first taught, on I, near Twenty-second Street. Mr. Fletcher was an Englishman, a well-educated gentleman, and a thorough teacher. He was induced to open the school by the importunities of some aspiring Colored young men in that part of the city, who desired first-rate instruction. He soon became the object of persecution, though he was a man of courtesy and excellent character. His school-house was finally set on fire and consumed, with all its books and furniture; but the school took, as its asylum, the basement of the John Wesley Church. The churches which they had been forced to build in the days of the mobs, when they were driven from the white churches which they had aided in building, proved of immense service to them in their subsequent struggles. Mrs. Fletcher kept a variety store, which was destroyed about the time the school was opened. She then became an assistant in her husband's school, which numbered over one hundred and fifty pupils. In 1858, they were driven from the city, as persecution at that time was particularly violent against all white persons who instructed the Colored people. This school was conducted with great thoroughness, and had two departments, Mrs. Fletcher, who was an accomplished person, having charge of the girls in a separate room.

ELIZA ANNE COOK,

a niece of Rev. John F. Cook, and one of his pupils, who has been teaching for about fifteen years, should be mentioned. She attended Miss Miner's school for a time, and was afterward at the Baltimore convent two years. She opened a school in her mother's house, and subsequently built a small school-house on the same lot, Sixteenth Street, between K and L streets. With the exception of three years, during which she was teaching in the free Catholic school opened in the Smothers school-house in 1859, and one year in the female school in charge of the Colored sisters, she has maintained her own private school from 1854 down to the present time, her number at some periods being above sixty, but usually not more than twenty-five or thirty.

MISS WASHINGTON'S SCHOOL.

In 1857, Annie E. Washington opened a select primary school in her mother's house, on K Street, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth streets, west. The mother, a widow woman, was a laundress, and by her own labor has given her children good advantages, though she had no such advantages herself. This daughter was educated chiefly under Rev. John F. Cook and Miss Miner, with whom she was a favorite scholar. Her older sister was educated at the Baltimore convent. Annie E. Washington is a woman of native refinement, and has an excellent aptitude for teaching, as well as a good education. Her schools have always been conducted with system and superior judgment, giving universal satisfaction, the number of her pupils being limited only by the size of her room. In 1858, she moved to the basement of the Baptist Church, corner of Nineteenth and I streets, to secure larger accommodations, and there she had a school of more than sixty scholars for several years.

A FREE CATHOLIC COLORED SCHOOL.

A free school was established in 1858, and maintained by the St. Vincent de Paul Society, an association of Colored Catholics, in connection with St. Matthew's Church. It was organized under the direction of Father Walter, and kept in the Smothers school-house for two years, and was subsequently for one season maintained on a smaller scale in a house on L Street, between Twelfth and Thirteenth streets, west, till the association failed to give it the requisite pecuniary support after the war broke out. This school has already been mentioned.

OTHER SCHOOLS.

In 1843, Elizabeth Smith commenced a school for small children on the island in Washington, and subsequently taught on Capitol Hill. In 1860, she was the assistant of Rev. Wm. H. Hunter, who had a large school in Zion Wesley Church, Georgetown, of which he was the pastor. She afterward took the school into her own charge for a period, and taught among the contrabands in various places during the war.

About 1850, Isabella Briscoe opened a school on Montgomery Street, near Mount Zion Church, Georgetown. She was well educated, and one of the best Colored teachers in the district be-

fore the Rebellion. Her school was always well patronized, and she continued teaching in the district up to 1868.

Charlotte Beams had a large school for a number of years, as early as 1850, in a building next to Galbraith Chapel, I Street, north, between Fourth and Fifth, west. It was exclusively a girls' school in its later years. The teacher was a pupil of Enoch Ambush, who assisted her in establishing her school.

A year or two later, Rev. James Shorter had a large school in the Israel Bethel Church, and Miss Jackson taught another good school on Capitol Hill about the same time. The above-mentioned were all Colored teachers.

Among the excellent schools broken up at the opening of the war, was that of Mrs. Charlotte Gordon, Colored, on Eighth Street, in the northern section of the city. It was in successful operation several years, and the number in attendance sometimes reached one hundred and fifty. Mrs. Gordon was assisted by her daughter.

In 1841, David Brown commenced teaching on D Street, south, between First and Second streets, island, and continued in the business till 1858, at which period he was placed in charge of the large Catholic free school in the Smothers house, as has been stated.¹

Here is a picture that every Negro in the country may contemplate with satisfaction and pride. In the stronghold of slavery, under the shadow of the legalized institution of slavery, within earshot of the slave-auctioneer's hammer, amid distressing circumstances, poverty, and proscription, three unlettered ex-slaves, upon the threshold of the nineteenth century, sowed the seed of education for the Negro race in the District of Columbia, from which an abundant harvest has been gathered, and will be gathered till the end of time !

What the Negro has done to educate himself, the trials and hateful laws that have hampered him during the long period anterior to 1860, cannot fail to awaken feelings of regret and admiration among the people of both sections and two continents.

¹ Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1871.

CHAPTER XIII.

JOHN BROWN—HERO AND MARTYR.

JOHN BROWN'S APPEARANCE IN KANSAS. — HE DENOUNCES SLAVERY IN A POLITICAL MEETING AT OSAWATOMIE — MRS. STEARNS'S PERSONAL RECOLLECTION OF JOHN BROWN. — KANSAS INFESTED BY BORDER RUFFIANS. — THE BATTLE OF HARPER'S FERRY. — THE DEFEAT AND CAPTURE OF CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN — HIS LAST LETTER WRITTEN TO MRS. STEARNS. — HIS TRIAL AND EXECUTION. — HIS INFLUENCE UPON THE SLAVERY QUESTION AT THE NORTH. — HIS PLACE IN HISTORY.

ON the 9th of May, 1800, at Torrington, Connecticut, was born a man who lived for two generations, but accomplished the work of two centuries. That man was John Brown, who ranks among the world's greatest heroes. Greater than Peter the Hermit, who believed himself commissioned of God to redeem the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of infidels; greater than Joanna Southcote, who deemed herself big with the promised Shiloh; greater than Ignatius Loyola, who thought the Son of Man appeared to him, bearing His cross upon His shoulders, and bestowed upon him a Latin commission of wonderful significance; greater than Oliver Cromwell, the great Republican Protector; and greater than John Hampden,—he deserves to rank with William of Orange.

John Brown was nearly six feet high, slim, wiry, dark in complexion, sharp in feature, dark hair sprinkled with gray, eyes a dark gray and penetrating, with a countenance that betokened frankness, honesty, and firmness. His brow was prominent, the centre of the forehead flat, the upper part retreating, which, in conjunction with his slightly Roman nose, gave him an interesting appearance. The crown of his head was remarkably high, in the regions of the phrenological organs of firmness, conscientiousness, self-esteem, indicating a stern will, unswerving integrity, and marvellous self-possession. He walked rapidly with a firm and elastic tread. He was somewhat like John Baptist, taciturn in habits, usually wrapped in meditation. He was rather meteoric

in his movements, appearing suddenly and unexpectedly at this place, and then disappearing in the same mysterious manner.

When Kansas lay bleeding at the feet of border ruffians; when Congress gave the free-State settlers no protection, but was rather trying to drag the territory into the Union with a slave constitution,—without noise or bluster John Brown dropped down into Osage County. He was not a member of the Republican party; but rather hated its reticency. When it cried *Halt!* he gave the command *Forward, march!* He was not in sympathy with any of the parties, political or anti-slavery. All were too conservative to suit him. So, as a political orphan he went into Kansas, organized and led a new party that swore eternal death to slavery. The first time he appeared in a political meeting in Kansas, at Osawatomie, the politicians were trimming their speeches and shaping their resolutions to please each political faction. John Brown took the floor and made a speech that threw the convention into consternation. He denounced slavery as the curse of the ages; affirmed the manhood of the slave; dealt "middle men" terrible blows; and said he could "see no use in talking." "Talk," he continued, "is a national institution; but it does no good for the slave." He thought it an excuse very well adapted for weak men with tender consciences. Most men who were afraid to fight, and too honest to be silent, deceived themselves that they discharged their duties to the slave by denouncing in fiery words the oppressor. His ideas of duty were far different; the slaves, in his eyes, were prisoners of war; their tyrants, as he held, had taken up the sword, and must perish by it: This was his view of the great question of slavery.

The widow of the late Major George L. Stearns gives the following personal recollections of John Brown, in a bright and entertaining style. Mrs. Stearns's noble husband was very intimately related to the "old hero," and what Mrs. Stearns writes is of great value.

"The passage of the Fugitive-Slave Bill in 1850, followed by the virtual repeal of the Missouri Compromise, under the name of the Kansas Nebraska Act, in 1854, alarmed all sane people for the safety of republican institutions; and the excitement reached a white heat when, on the 22d of May, 1856, Charles Sumner was murderously assaulted in the Senate chamber by Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, for words spoken in debate: the celebrated speech of the 19th and 20th of May, known as 'The Crime Against Kansas.' That same week the town of Lawrence in the territory of Kansas was sacked and burned

in the interest of the slave power. The atrocities committed by the 'Border Ruffians' upon the free-State settlers sent a thrill of terror through all law-abiding communities. In Boston the citizens gathered in Faneuil Hall to consider what could be done, and a committee was chosen, with Dr. S. G. Howe as chairman, for the relief of Kansas, called the 'Kansas Relief Committee.' After some \$18,000 or \$20,000 had been collected, chiefly in Boston, and forwarded to Kansas, the interest flagged, and Mr. Stearns, who had been working with that committee, saw the need of more energetic action; so one day he went to Dr. Howe, and told him he was ready to give *all* his time, and much of his money, to push forward the work. Dr. Howe seeing that here was the man for the hour, immediately resigned, and Mr. Stearns was chosen unanimously chairman of the 'Massachusetts State Kansas Committee,' which took the place of the one first organized. In the light of subsequent history it is difficult to believe the apathy and blindness which failed to recognize the significance of this attack upon Kansas by the slave-holding power. Only faithful watchmen in their high towers could see that it was the first battle-ground between the two conflicting systems of freedom and slavery, which was finally to culminate in the war of the Rebellion. 'Working day and night without haste or rest,' failing in no effort to rouse and stimulate the community, still Mr. Stearns found that a vitalizing interest was wanting. When Gov. Reeder was driven in disguise from the territory, he wrote to him to come to Boston and address the people. He organized a mass-meeting for him in Tremont Temple, and for a few days the story he related stimulated to a livelier activity the more conservative people, who were inclined to think the reports of the free-State men much exaggerated. Soon, however, things settled back into the old sluggish way; so that for three consecutive committee meetings the chairman was the only person who presented himself at the appointed time and place. Nothing daunted, he turned to the country towns, and at the end of five months he had raised by his personal exertions, and through his agents, the sum of \$48,000. Women formed societies all over the State, for making and furnishing clothing, and various supplies, which resulted in an addition of some \$20,000 or \$30,000 more. In January, 1867, this species of work was stopped, by advices from Kansas that no more contributions were needed, except for *defense*. At this juncture Mr. Stearns wrote to John Brown, that if he would come to Boston and consult with the friends of freedom he would pay his expenses. They had never met, but 'Osawatimie Brown' had become a cherished household name during the anxious summer of 1856.¹ Arriving in Boston, they were introduced to each other in the

¹ This was in the last days of 1856.

street by a Kansas man, who chanced to be with Mr. Stearns on his way to the committee rooms in Niles's Block, School Street. Captain Brown made a profound impression on all who came within the sphere of his moral magnetism. Emerson called him 'the most ideal of men, for he wanted to put all his ideas into action.' His absolute superiority to all selfish aims and narrowing pride of opinion touched an answering chord in the self-devotion of Mr. Stearns. A little anecdote illustrates the modest estimate of the work he had in hand. After several efforts to bring together certain friends to meet Captain Brown at his home in Medford, he found that Sunday was the only day that would serve their several convenience, and being a little uncertain how it might strike his ideas of religious propriety, he prefaced his invitation with something like an apology. With characteristic promptness came the reply: 'Mr. Stearns, I have a little ewe-lamb that I want to pull out of the ditch, and the Sabbath will be as good a day as any to do it.'

"It was this occasion which furnished to literature one of the most charming bits of autobiography. Our oldest son, Harry, a lad of eleven years, was an observant listener, and drank eagerly every word that was said of the cruel wrongs in Kansas, and of slavery everywhere. When the gentlemen rose to go, he privately asked his father if he might be allowed to give all his spending money to John Brown. Leave being granted, he bounded away, and returning with his small treasure, said: 'Captain Brown, will you buy something with this money for those poor people in Kansas, and some time will you write to me and tell me *what sort of a little boy* you were?' 'Yes, my son, I will, and God bless you for your kind heart!' The autobiography has been printed many times, but never before with the key which unlocked it.

"It may not be out of place to describe the impression he made upon the writer on this first visit. When I entered the parlor, he was sitting near the hearth, where glowed a bright open fire. He rose to greet me, stepping forward with such an erect, military bearing; such fine courtesy of demeanor and grave earnestness, that he seemed to my instant thought some old Cromwellian hero suddenly dropped down before me; a suggestion which was presently strengthened by his saying [proceeding with the conversation my entrance had interrupted]: 'Gentlemen, I consider the Golden Rule and the Declaration of Independence one and inseparable; and it is better that a whole generation of men, women, and children should be swept away, than that this crime of slavery should exist one day longer.' These words were uttered like rifle balls; in such emphatic tones and manner that our little Carl, not three years old, remembered it in manhood as one of his earliest recollections. The child stood perfectly still, in the middle of the room, gazing with his beautiful eyes on this new sort of man, until his absorption arrested the attention of Captain Brown, who soon coaxed him

to his knee, tho' the look of awe and childlike wonder remained. His dress was of some dark brown stuff, quite coarse, but its exactness and neatness produced a singular air of refinement. At dinner, he declined all dainties, saying that he was unaccustomed to luxuries, even to partaking of butter.

"The 'friends of freedom' with whom Mr. Stearns had invited John Brown to consult, were profoundly impressed with his sagacity, integrity, and devotion; notably among these were R. W. Emerson, Theodore Parker, H. D. Thoreau, A. Bronson Alcott, F. B. Sanborn, Dr. S. G. Howe, Col. T. W. Higginson, Gov. Andrew, and others. In February (1857) he appeared before a committee of the State Legislature, to urge that Massachusetts should make an appropriation in money in aid of those persons who had settled in Kansas from her own soil. The speech is printed in Redpath's 'Life.' He obtained at this time, from the Massachusetts State Kansas Committee,¹ some two hundred Sharp's rifles, with which to arm one hundred mounted men for the defense of Kansas, who could also be of service to the peculiar property of Missouri. In those dark days of slave-holding supremacy, the friends of freedom felt justified in aiding the flight of its victims to free soil whenever and wherever opportunity offered. The Fugitive-Slave Law was powerless before the law written on the enlightened consciences of those devoted men and women. These rifles had been forwarded previously to the National Committee at Chicago, for the defense of Kansas, but for some unexplained reasons had never proceeded farther than Tabor, in the State of Iowa. Later on, Mr. Stearns, in his individual capacity, authorized Captain Brown to purchase two hundred revolvers from the Massachusetts Arms Company, and paid for them from his private funds, thirteen or fifteen hundred dollars. During the summer of 1857 he united with Mr. Amos A. Lawrence and others in paying off the mortgage held by Mr. Gerritt Smith on his house and farm at North Elba, N. Y., he paying two hundred and sixty dollars. It would be difficult to state the entire amount of money Mr. Stearns put into the hands of John Brown for Anti-Slavery purposes and his own subsistence. He kept no account of what he gave. In April or May, 1857, he gave him a check for no less a sum than seven thousand dollars. Early in 1858, Hon. Henry Wilson wrote to Dr. S. G. Howe that he had learned John Brown was suspected of the intention of using those arms in other ways than for the *defense* of Kansas; and by order of the committee, Mr. Stearns wrote (under date May 14, 1858) to Brown not to use them for any other purpose, and to hold them subject to his order, as chairman of said committee. When the operations of the Massachusetts State Kan-

¹ The committee also authorized him to draw on their treasurer, Patrick L. Jackson, for \$500.

sas Committee virtually ceased, in June or July, 1858, it happened that this committee were some four thousand dollars in debt to Mr. Stearns, for advances of money from time to time to keep the organization in existence; and it was voted to make over to the chairman these two hundred Sharp's rifles as part payment of the committee's indebtedness. They were of small account to Mr. Stearns. He knew them to be in good hands, and troubled himself no further about them, either the rifles or the revolvers; although keeping up from time to time a correspondence with his friend upon the all-engrossing subject.

"In February of 1859, John Brown was in Boston, and talked with some of his friends about the feasibility of entrenching himself, with a little band of men, in the mountains of Virginia, familiar to him from having surveyed them as engineer in earlier life. His plan was to open communication with the slaves of neighboring plantations, collect them together, and send them off in squads, as he had done in Missouri, 'without snapping a gun.' Mr. Stearns had so much more faith in John Brown's opposition to *Slavery*, than in any theories he advanced of the *modus operandi*, that they produced much less impression on his mind than upon some others gifted with more genius for details. *From first to last, he believed in John Brown.* His plans, or theories, might be feasible, or they might not. If the glorious old man wanted money to try his plans, he should have it. His plans might fail; probably would, but *he* could never be a failure. There he stood, unconquerable, in the panoply of divine Justice. Both of these men were of the martyr type. No thought or consideration for themselves, for *history*, or the estimation of others, ever entered into their calculations. It was the service of *Truth* and *Right* which brought them together, and in that service they were ready to die.

"In the words of an eminent writer¹: 'A common spirit made these two men recognize each other at first sight; and the power of both lay in that inability to weigh difficulties against duty, that instant step of thought to deed, which makes individuals fully possessed by the idea of the age, the turning-points of its destiny; hands in the right place for touching the match to the train it has laid, or for leading the public will to the heart of its moral need. They knew each other as minute-men on the same watch; as men to be found *in* the breach, before others knew where it was; they were one in pity, one in indignation, one in moral enthusiasm, burning beneath features set to patient self-control; one in simplicity, though of widely different culture; one in religious inspiration, though at the poles of religious thought. The old frontiersman came from his wilderness toils and agonies to find

¹Samuel Johnson, the accomplished Oriental scholar and devoted friend of the slave.

within the merchant's mansion of art and taste by the side of Bunker Hill, a perfect sympathy: the reverence of children, tender interest in his broken household, free access to a rich man's resources, and even a valor kindred with his own.'

"The attack upon Harper's Ferry was a 'side issue,' to quote the words of John Brown, Jr., and a departure from his father's original plan. It certainly took all his friends by surprise. In his letter of Nov. 15, 1859 (while in prison), to his old schoolmaster, the Rev. H. L. Vaill, are these words: 'I am not as yet, in the *main*, at all disappointed. I have been a good deal disappointed as it regards *myself* in not keeping up to my own plans; but I now feel entirely reconciled to that even: for God's plan was infinitely better, *no doubt*, or I should have kept my own. Had Samson kept to his determination of not telling Delilah wherein his great strength lay, he would probably have never overturned the house. *I did not tell Delilah*; but I was induced to act very *contrary to my better judgment*.'¹

* * * * *

"It is idle to endeavor to explain, by any methods of the *understanding*, any rules of worldly wisdom, or prudence, this influx of the Divine Will, which has made John Brown already an ideal character. 'The wind bloweth where it listeth, and we hear the sound thereof; but know not whence it cometh, or whither it goeth.' So is every one that is born of the Spirit. Man works in the midst of laws which execute themselves, more especially, if by virtue of obedience he has lost sight of all selfish aims, and perceives that Truth and Right alone can claim allegiance. Emerson says: 'Divine intelligence carries on its administration by good men; that great men are they who see that the spiritual are greater than any material forces; and that really there never was any thing great accomplished but under religious impulse.'

"The deadly *Atheism* of Slavery was rolling its car of Juggernaut all over the beautiful Republic, and one pure soul was inspired to confront it by a practical interpretation of the Golden Rule.

"That Virginia would hang John Brown was a foregone conclusion. The Moloch of Slavery would have nothing less. His friends exerted themselves to secure the best counsel which could be induced to undertake the *formality* of a defense, foremost among whom was Mr. Stearns. A well-organized plan was made to rescue him, conducted by a brave man from Kansas, Col. James Montgomery, but a message came from the prisoner, that he should not feel at liberty to walk out, if the doors were left open; a sense of honor to his jailer (Captain Acvis) forbidding any thing of the kind.

¹ The italics are his.

"Not a little anxiety was felt lest certain of his adherents might be summoned as witnesses, whose testimony would lessen the chances of acquittal, and possibly involve their own lives. John A. Andrew (afterward Gov. Andrew) gave it as his opinion, after an exhaustive search of the records, that Virginia would have no right to summon these persons from Massachusetts, but subsequently changed his opinion, and urged Mr. Stearns to take passage to Europe, sending him home one day to pack his valise. The advice was opposed to his instincts, but he considered that his wife should have a voice in the matter, who decided, 'midst many tears and prayers, that if slavery required another victim, he must be ready.

"With Dr. Howe it was quite different. He became possessed with a dread that threatened to overwhelm his reason. He was in delicate health, and constitutionally subject to violent attacks of nervous headache. One day he came to Medford and insisted that Mr. Stearns should accompany him to Canada, urging that if he remained here he should be insane, and that Mr. Stearns of all his friends was the only one who would be at all satisfactory to him. This request, or rather demand, Mr. Stearns promptly declined. How well I remember his agitation, walking up and down the room, and finally entreating Mr. Stearns for 'friendship's sake' to go and take care of him. I can recall no instance of such self-abnegation in my husband's self-denying career. He did not stoop to an *explanation*, even when Dr. Howe declared in his presence, some months later, "that he never did any thing in his life he so much wished to take back." I had hoped that Dr. Howe would himself have spared *me* from making this contribution to the truth of history.

"On the 2d of December, Mr. Stearns yearned for the solitude of his own soul, in communion of spirit, with the friend who, on that day, would 'make the gallows glorious like the Cross'; and he left Dr. Howe and took the train for Niagara Falls. There, sitting alone beside the mighty rush of water, he solemnly consecrated his remaining life, his fortune, and all that was most dear, to the *cause* in whose service John Brown had died.

"How well and faithfully he kept his vow, may partly be seen in his subsequent efforts in recruiting the colored troops at a vital moment in the terrible war of the Rebellion which so swiftly followed the sublime apotheosis of 'Old John Brown.'"¹

That John Brown intended to free the slaves, and nothing more, the record shows clearly. His move on Harper's Ferry

¹ The above account of Capt. Brown was prepared for us by the widow of the late Major Geo. L. Stearns. It is printed as written, and breathes a beautiful spirit of love and tender remembrance for the two heroes mentioned.

was well planned, and had all the parties interested done their part the work would have been done well. As to the rectitude of his intentions he gives the world this leaf of history :

"And now, gentlemen, let me press this one thing on your minds. You all know how dear life is to you, and how dear your lives are to your friends : and in remembering that, consider that the lives of others are as dear to them as yours are to you. Do not, therefore, take the life of any one if you can possibly avoid it ; but if it is necessary to take life in order to save your own, then make sure work of it."—John Brown, before the battle at Harper's Ferry.

"I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection. The design on my part was to free the slaves."—John Brown, after the battle at Harper's Ferry.

Distance lends enchantment to the view. What the world condemns to-day is applauded to-morrow.

We must have a "fair count" on the history of yesterday and last year. The events chronicled yesterday, when the imagination was wrought upon by exciting circumstances, need revision to-day.

The bitter words spoken this morning reproach at eventide the smarting conscience. And the judgments prematurely formed, and the conclusions rapidly reached, may be rectified and repaired in the light of departed years and enlarged knowledge.

John Brown is rapidly settling down to his proper place in history, and "the madman" has been transformed into a "saint." When Brown struck his first blow for freedom, at the head of his little band of liberators, it was almost the universal judgment of both Americans and foreigners that he was a "fanatic." It seemed the very soul of weakness and arrogance for John Brown to attempt to do so great a work with so small a force. Men reached a decision with the outer and surface facts. But many of the most important and historically trustworthy truths bearing upon the motive, object, and import of that "bold move," have been hidden from the public view, either by prejudice or fear.

Some people have thought John Brown—"The Hero of Harper's Ferry"—a hot-headed, blood-thirsty brigand ; they animadverted against the precipitancy of his measures, and the severity of his invectives ; said that he was lacking in courage and deficient in judgment ; that he retarded rather than accele-

rated the cause he championed. But this was the verdict of other times, not the judgment of to-day.

John Brown said to a personal friend during his stay in Kansas: "Young men must learn to wait. Patience is the hardest lesson to learn. I have waited for twenty years to accomplish my purpose." These are not the words of a mere visionary idealist, but the mature language of a practical and judicious leader, a leader than whom the world has never seen a greater. By greatness is meant deep convictions of duty, a sense of the Infinite, "a strong hold on truth," a "conscience void of offence toward God and man," to which the appeals of the innocent and helpless are more potential than the voices of angry thunder or destructive artillery. Such a man was John Brown. He was strong in his moral and mental nature, as well as in his physical nature. He was born to lead; and he led, and made himself the pro-martyr of a cause rapidly perfecting. All through his boyhood days he felt himself lifted and quickened by great ideas and sublime purposes. He had flowing in his veins the blood of his great ancestor, Peter Brown, who came over in the "Mayflower"; and the following inscription appears upon a marble monument in the graveyard at Canton Centre, New York: "In memory of Captain John Brown, who died in the Revolutionary army, at New York, September 3, 1776. He was of the fourth generation, in regular descent, from Peter Brown, one of the Pilgrim Fathers, who landed from the 'Mayflower,' at Plymouth, Massachusetts, December 22, 1620." This is the best commentary on his inherent love of absolute liberty, his marvellous courage and transcendent military genius. For years he elaborated and perfected his plans, working upon the public sentiment of his day by the most praiseworthy means. He bent and bowed the most obdurate conservatism of his day, and rallied to his standards the most eminent men, the strongest intellects in the North. His ethics and religion were as broad as the universe, and beneficent in their wide ramification. And it was upon his "religion of humanity," that embraced our entire species, that he proceeded with his herculean task of striking off the chains of the enslaved. Few, very few of his most intimate friends knew his plans—the plan of freeing the slaves. Many knew his great faith, his exalted sentiments, his ideas of liberty, in their crudity; but to a faithful few only did he reveal his stupendous plans in their entirety.

Hon. Frederick Douglass and Colonel Richard J. Hinton, knew more of Brown's real purposes than any other persons, with the exception of J. H. Kagi, Osborn Anderson, Owen Brown, Richard Realf, and George B. Gill.

"Of men born of woman," there is not a greater than John Brown. He was the forerunner of Lincoln, the great apostle of freedom.

One year before he went to Harper's Ferry, a friend met Brown in Kansas [in June, 1858], and learned that during the previous month he had brought almost all of his plans to perfection; and that the day and hour were fixed to strike the blow. One year before, a convention had met, on the 8th of May, 1858, at Chatham, Canada. At this convention a provisional constitution and ordinances were drafted and adopted, with the following officers: Commander-in-Chief, John Brown; Secretary of War, J. H. Kagi; Members of Congress, Alfred M. Ellsworth, Osborn Anderson; Treasurer, Owen Brown; Secretary of the Treasury, Geo. B. Gill; Secretary of State, Richard Realf.

John Brown made his appearance in Ohio and Canada in the spring of 1859. He wrote letters, made speeches, collected funds for his little army, and made final arrangements with his Northern allies, etc. He purchased a small farm, about six miles from Harper's Ferry, on the Maryland side, and made it his ordnance depot. He had 102 Sharp's rifles, 68 pistols, 55 bayonets, 12 artillery swords, 483 pikes, 150 broken handles of pikes, 16 picks, 40 shovels, besides quite a number of other appurtenances of war. This was in July. He intended to make all of his arrangements during the summer of 1859, and meet his men in the Alleghanies in the fall of the same year.

The apparent rashness of the John Brown movement may be mitigated somewhat by the fact that he failed to carry out his original plan. During the summer of 1859 he instructed his Northern soldiers and sympathizers to be ready for the attack on the night of the 24th of October, 1859. But while at Baltimore, in September, he got the impression that there was conspiracy in his camp, and in order to preclude its consummation, suddenly, without sending the news to his friends at the North, determined to strike the first blow on the night of the 17th of October. The news of his battle and his bold stand against the united forces of Virginia and Maryland swept across the country as the wild storm comes down the mountain side. Friend and foe were

alike astonished and alarmed. The enemies of the cause he represented, when they recovered from their surprise, laughed their little laugh of scorn, and eased their feelings by referring to him as the "madman." Friends faltered, and, while they did not question his earnestness, doubted his judgment. "Why," they asked, "should he act with such palpable rashness, and thereby render more difficult and impossible the emancipation of the slaves?" They claimed that the blow he struck, instead of severing, only the more tightly riveted, the chains upon the helpless and hapless Blacks. But in the face of subsequent history we think his surviving friends will change their views. There is no proof that his fears were not well grounded; that a conspiracy was in progress. And who can tell whether a larger force would have been more effective, or the night of the 24th more opportune? May it not be believed that the good old man was right, and that Harper's Ferry was just the place, and the 17th of October just the time to strike for freedom, and make the rock-ribbed mountains of Virginia to tremble at the presence of a "master!"—the king of freedom?

He was made a prisoner on the 19th of October, 1859, and remained until the 7th of November without a change of clothing or medical aid. Forty-two days from the time of his imprisonment he expiated his crime upon the scaffold—a crime against slave-holding, timorous Virginia, for bringing liberty to the oppressed. He was a man, and there was nothing that interested man which was foreign to his nature. He had gone into Virginia to save life, not to destroy it. The sighs and groans of the oppressed had entered into his soul.

He had heard the Macedonian cry to come over and help them. He went, and it cost him his life, but he gave it freely.

Captain Aclvis, the jailer, said: "He was the gamest man I ever saw." And Mr. Valandingham, at that time a member of Congress from Ohio, and who examined him in court, said in a speech afterward.

"It is in vain to underrate either the man or the conspiracy. Captain John Brown is as brave and resolute a man as ever headed an insurrection, and, in a good cause, and with a sufficient force, would have been a consummate partisan commander. He has coolness, daring, persistency, stoic faith and patience, and a firmness of will and purpose unconquerable! He is the farthest possible remove from the ordinary ruffian, fanatic, or madman."

No friend, howsoever ardent in his love, could have woven a chaplet more worthy than the one placed upon the brow of the old hero by his most embittered foe. A truer estimate of John Brown cannot be had.

South Carolina, Missouri, and Kentucky sent a rope to hang him, but, the first two lacking strength, Kentucky had the everlasting disgrace of furnishing the rope to strangle the noblest man that ever lived in any age.

The last letter he ever wrote was written to Mrs. Geo. L. Stearns, and she shall give its history :

This letter requires the history which attaches to it, and illustrates the consideration which the brave martyr had for those in any way connected with him. It was written on a half sheet of paper, the exact size of the pages of a book into which he carefully inserted it, and tied up in a handkerchief with other books and papers, which he asked his jailer (Mr. Avis) to be allowed to go with his body to North Elba, and which Mrs. Brown took with her from the Charlestown prison. Her statement to me about it is this : She had been at home some two weeks, had looked over the contents of the handkerchief many times, when one day in turning the leaves of that particular book, she came upon this letter, on which she said she found two or three blistered spots, the only *tear drops* she had seen among his papers. They are now yellow with time. On the back of the half sheet was written : "Please mail this to her," which she did, and so it reached my hand ; seeming as if from the world to which his spirit had fled. It quite overwhelmed my husband. Presently he said : "See, dear, how careful the old man has been, he would not even direct it with your name to go from Virginia to Boston through the post-offices ; and altho' it contains no message to me, one of those '*farewells* !' is intended for me, and also the '*Love to All* who love their neighbors.' "

" CHARLESTOWN, JEFFERSON CO VA. 29th Nov. 1859.

" MRS. GEORGE L. STEARNS

" Boston, Mass.

" My Dear Friend :—No letter I have received since my imprisonment here, has given me more satisfaction, or comfort, than yours of the 8th inst. I am quite cheerful : and never more happy. Have only time to write you a word. May God forever reward you *and all yours*.

" *My love to ALL* who love their neighbors. I have asked to be *spared* from having any *mock, or hypocritical prayers made over me* when I am publicly *murdered* ; and that my only *religious attendants* be

poor little, dirty, ragged, bareheaded and barefooted, Slave Boys ; and Girls, led by some old gray-headed slave Mother.

"Farewell. Farewell.

"Your Friend,

"JOHN BROWN."¹

The man who hung him, Governor Wise, lived to see the plans of Brown completed and his most cherished hopes fulfilled. He heard the warning shot fired at Sumter, saw Richmond fall, the war end in victory to the party of John Brown; saw the slave-pen converted into the school-house, and the four millions Brown fought and died for, elevated to the honors of citizenship. And at last he has entered the grave, where his memory will perish with his body, while the soul and fame of John Brown go marching down the centuries!

Galileo, Copernicus, Newton, and John Brown have to wait the calmer judgments of future generations. These men believed that God sent them to do a certain work—to reveal a hidden truth; to pour light into the minds of benighted and superstitious men. They completed their work; they did nobly and well, then bowed to rest—

"With patriarchs of the infant world—with kings,
The powerful of the earth,"

while generation after generation studies their handwriting on the wall of time and interprets their thoughts. Despised, persecuted, and unappreciated while in the flesh, they are honored after death, and enrolled among earth's good and great, her wise and brave. The shock Brown gave the walls of the slave institution was felt from its centre to its utmost limits. It was the entering wedge; it laid bare the accursed institution, and taught good men everywhere to hate it with a perfect hatred. Slavery received its death wound at the hands of a "lonely old man." When he smote Virginia, the non-resistants, the anti-slavery men, learned a lesson. They saw what was necessary to the accomplishment of their work, and were now ready for the "worst." He rebuked the conservatism of the North, and gave an example of adherence to duty, devotion to truth, and fealty to God and man that make the mere "professor" to tremble with shame. "John Brown's body lies mouldering in the clay," but his immortal name will be pronounced with blessings in all lands and by all people till the end of time.

¹ This letter is printed for the first time, with Mrs. Stearns's consent.

Part 7.

THE NEGRO IN THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

CHAPTER XIV.

DEFINITION OF THE WAR ISSUE.

INCREASE OF SLAVE POPULATION IN SLAVE-HOLDING STATES FROM 1850-1860.—PRODUCTS OF SLAVE LABOR.—BASIS OF SOUTHERN REPRESENTATION.—SIX SECEDING STATES ORGANIZE A NEW GOVERNMENT.—CONSTITUTION OF THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT.—SPEECH BY ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.—MR. LINCOLN IN FAVOR OF GRADUAL EMANCIPATION.—HE IS ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.—THE ISSUE OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES.

IN 1860 there were, in the fifteen slave-holding States, 12,240,000 souls, of whom 8,039,000 were whites, 251,000 free persons of color, and 3,950,000 were slaves. The gain of the entire population of the slave-holding States, from 1850-1860, was 2,627,000, equal to 27.33 per cent. The slave population had increased 749,931, or 23.44 per cent., not including the slaves in the District of Columbia, where they had lost 502 slaves during the decade. The nineteen non-slave-holding States and the seven territories, including the District of Columbia, contained 19,203,008 souls, of whom 18,920,771 were whites, 237,283 free persons of color, and 41,725 civilized Indians. The actual increase of this population was 5,624,101, or 41.24 per cent. During the same period—1850-1860—the total population of free persons of color in the United States increased from 434,449 to 487,970, or at the rate of 12.33 per cent., annual increase of above 1 per cent. In 1850 the Mulattoes were 11.15 per cent., regarding the United States as one aggregate, and in 1860 were 13.25 per cent., of the entire Colored population.

TOTAL COLORED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Colored.	Numbers.		Proportions.	
	1850.	1860.	1850.	1860.
Blacks	3,233,057	3,853,478	88.85	86.75
Mulattoes	405,751	588,352	11.15	13.25
Total Colored . .	3,638,808	4,441,830	100.00	100.00

So, in ten years, from 1850-1860, the increase of blacks above the current deaths was 620,421, or more than one half of a million, while the corresponding increase of Mulattoes was 182,601. Estimating the deaths to have been 22.4 per cent. during the same period, or one in 40 annually, the total births of Blacks in ten years was about 1,345,000, and the total births of Mulattoes about 273,000. Thus it appears, in the prevailing order, that of every 100 births of Colored, about 17 were Mulattoes, and 83 Blacks, indicating a ratio of nearly 1 to 5.

There were:

Deaf and dumb slaves	531
Blind	1,387
Insane	327
Idiotic	1,182
Total	3,427

There were 400,000 slaves in the towns and cities of the South, and 2,804,313 in the country. The products of slave labor in 1850 were as follows:

SLAVE LABOR PRODUCTS IN 1850.

Cotton	\$98,603,720
Tobacco	13,982,686
Cane sugar	12,378,850
Hemp	5,000,000
Rice	4,000,000
Molasses	2,540,179
	<u>\$136,505,435</u>

There were 347,525 slave-holders against 5,873,893 non-slave-holders in the slave States. The representation in Congress was as follows:

Northern representatives based on white population . . .	142
Northern representatives based on Colored population . . .	2
Southern representatives based on white population . . .	68
Southern representatives based on free Colored population . . .	2
Southern representatives based on slave population . . .	20
Ratio of representation for 1853 . . .	93,420

The South owned 16,652 churches, valued at \$22,142,085; the North owned 21,357 churches, valued at \$65,167,586. The South printed annually 92,165,919 copies of papers and periodicals; the North printed annually 334,146,081 copies of papers and periodicals. The South owned, other than private, 722 libraries, containing 742,794 volumes; the North owned, other than private, 14,902 libraries, containing 3,882,217 volumes.

In sentiment, motive, and civilization the two "Sections" were as far apart as the poles. New England, Puritan, Round-head civilization could not fellowship the Cavaliers of the South. There were not only two sections and two political parties in the United States;—there were two antagonistic governmental ideas. John C. Calhoun and Alexander H. Stephens, of the South, represented the idea of the separate and individual sovereignty of each of the States; while William H. Seward and Abraham Lincoln, of the North, represented the idea of the centralization of governmental authority, so far as it was necessary to secure uniformity of the laws, and the supremacy of the Federal Constitution. On the 25th of October, 1858, in a speech delivered in Rochester, N. Y., William H. Seward said:

"Our country is a theatre which exhibits, in full operation, two radically different political systems: the one resting on the basis of servile or slave labor; the other on the basis of voluntary labor of freemen.

"The two systems are at once perceived to be incongruous. They never have permanently existed together in one country, and they never can.

"These antagonistic systems are continually coming in closer contact, and collision ensues.

"Shall I tell you what this collision means? It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the

United States must, and will, sooner or later, become entirely a slave-holding nation, or entirely a free labor nation. Either the cotton and rice fields of South Carolina, and the sugar plantations of Louisiana, will ultimately be tilled by free-labor, and Charleston and New Orleans become marts for legitimate merchandise alone, or else the rye fields and wheat fields of Massachusetts and New York must again be surrendered by their farmers to the slave culture and to the production of slaves, and Boston and New York become once more markets for trade in the bodies and souls of men."

Upon the eve of the great Rebellion, Mr. Seward said in the United States Senate:

"A free Republican government like this, notwithstanding all its constitutional checks, cannot long resist and counteract the progress of society.

"Free labor has at last apprehended its rights and its destiny, and is organizing itself to assume the government of the Republic. It will henceforth meet you boldly and resolutely here (Washington); it will meet you everywhere, in the territories and out of them, wherever you may go to extend slavery. It has driven you back in California and in Kansas; it will invade you soon in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Missouri, and Texas. It will meet you in Arizona, in Central America, and even in Cuba.

"You may, indeed, get a start under or near the tropics, and seem safe for a time, but it will be only a short time. Even there you will find States only for free labor, or to maintain and occupy. The interest of the whole race demands the ultimate emancipation of all men. Whether that consummation shall be allowed to take effect, with needful and wise precautions against sudden change and disaster, or be hurried on by violence, is all that remains for you to decide. The white man needs this continent to labor upon. His head is clear, his arm is strong, and his necessities are fixed.

"It is for yourselves, and not for us, to decide how long and through what further mortifications and disasters the contest shall be protracted before Freedom shall enjoy her already assured triumph.

"You may refuse to yield it now, and for a short period, but your refusal will only animate the friends of freedom with the courage and the resolution, and produce the union among them, which alone is necessary on their part to attain the position itself, simultaneously with the impending overthrow of the existing Federal Administration and the constitution of a new and more independent Congress."

Mr. Lincoln said during a discussion of the impending crisis :

"I believe this government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved ; I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

"I have always hated slavery as much as any Abolitionist. I have always been an old-line Whig. I have always hated it, and I always believed it in a course of ultimate extinction. If I were in Congress, and a vote should come up on a question whether slavery should be prohibited in a new territory, in spite of the Dred Scott decision I would vote that it should."

Notwithstanding the confident tone of Mr. Lincoln's statement that he did "not expect the house to fall," it *did* fall, and great was the fall thereof !

On Saturday, 9th of February, 1861, six seceding States met at Montgomery, Alabama, and organized an independent government. The ordinances of secession were passed by the States as follows :

STATE.	DATE.	YEAS.	NAYS.
South Carolina . . .	Dec. 20, 1860 . . .	169	—
Mississippi . . .	Jan. 9, 1861 . . .	84	15
Alabama . . .	Jan. 11, 1861 . . .	61	39
Florida . . .	Jan. 11 1861 . . .	62	7
Georgia . . .	Jan. 19, 1861 . . .	228	89
Louisiana . . .	Jan. 25, 1861 . . .	113	17

The following delegates presented their credentials and were admitted and represented their respective States :

ALABAMA.—R. W. Walker, R. H. Smith, J. L. M. Curry, W. P. Chilton, S. F. Hale Colon, J. McRae, John Gill Shorter, David P. Lewis, Thomas Fearn.

FLORIDA.—James B. Owens, J. Patten Anderson, Jackson Morton (not present).

GEORGIA.—Robert Toombs, Howell Cobb, F. S. Bartow, M. J. Crawford, E. A. Nisbet, B. H. Hill, A. R. Wright, Thomas R. Cobb, A. H. Kenan, A. H. Stephens.

LOUISIANA.—John Perkins, Jr., A. Declonet, Charles M. Conrad, D. F. Kenner, G. E. Sparrow, Henry Marshall.

MISSISSIPPI.—W. P. Harris, Walter Brooke, N. S. Wilson, A. M. Clayton, W. S. Barry, J. T. Harrison.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—R. B. Rhett, R. W. Barnwell, L. M. Keitt, James Chestnut, Jr., C. G. Memminger, W. Porcher Miles, Thomas J. Withers, W. W. Boyce.

A president and vice-president were chosen by unanimous vote. President—Honorable Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi. Vice-President—Honorable Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia. The following gentlemen composed the Cabinet :

Secretary of State, Robert Toombs ; Secretary of Treasury, C. G. Memminger ; Secretary of Interior (Vacancy) ; Secretary of War, L. P. Walker ; Secretary of Navy, John Perkins, Jr. ; Postmaster-General, H. T. Ebett ; Attorney-General, J. P. Benjamin.

The Constitution of the Confederate Government did not differ so very radically from the Federal Constitution. The following were the chief points :

“ 1. The importation of African negroes from any foreign country other than the slave-holding States of the Confederate States is hereby forbidden, and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same.

“ 2. Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of this Confederacy.

“ The Congress shall have power :

“ 1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, for revenue necessary to pay the debts and carry on the government of the Confederacy, and all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the Confederacy.

“ A slave in one State escaping to another shall be delivered, upon the claim of the party to whom said slave may belong, by the Executive authority of the State in which such slave may be found ; and in any case of abduction or forcible rescue, full compensation, including the value of slave, and all costs and expense, shall be made to the party by the State in which such abduction or rescue shall take place.

“ 2. The government hereby instituted shall take immediate steps for the settlement of all matters between the States forming it and their late confederates of the United States in relation to the public property and public debt at the time of their withdrawal from them ; these States hereby declaring it to be their wish and earnest desire to adjust everything pertaining to the common property, common liabilities, and com-

mon obligations of that Union, upon principles of right, justice, equity, and good faith."

At first blush it would appear that the new government had not been erected upon the slave question; that it had gone as far as the Federal Government to suppress the foreign slave-trade; and that nobler and sublimer ideas and motives had inspired and animated the Southern people in their movement for a new government. But the men who wrote the Confederate platform knew what they were about. They knew that to avoid the charge that would certainly be made against them, of having seceded in order to make slavery a national institution, they must be careful not to exhibit such intentions in their Constitution. But that the South seceded on account of the slavery question, there can be no historical doubt whatever. Jefferson Davis, President, so-called, of the Confederate Government, said in his Message, April 29, 1861 :

"When the several States delegated certain powers to the United States Congress, a large portion of the laboring population consisted of African slaves, imported into the colonies by the mother-country. In twelve out of the thirteen States, negro slavery existed; and the right of property in slaves was protected by law. This property was recognized in the Constitution; and provision was made against its loss by the escape of the slave.

"The increase in the number of slaves by further importation from Africa was also secured by a clause forbidding Congress to prohibit the slave-trade anterior to a certain date; and in no clause can there be found any delegation of power to the Congress, authorizing it in any manner to legislate to the prejudice, detriment, or discouragement of the owners of that species of property, or excluding it from the protection of the Government.

"The climate and soil of the Northern States soon proved unpropitious to the continuance of slave labor; whilst the converse was the case at the South. Under the unrestricted free intercourse between the two sections, the Northern States consulted their own interest, by selling their slaves to the South, and prohibiting slavery within their limits. The South were willing purchasers of a property suitable to their wants, and paid the price of the acquisition without harboring a suspicion that their quiet possession was to be disturbed by those who were inhibited not only by want of constitutional authority, but by good faith as vendors, from disquieting a title emanating from themselves.

"As soon, however, as the Northern States that prohibited African

slavery within their limits had reached a number sufficient to give their representation a controlling voice in the Congress, a persistent and organized system of hostile measures against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States was inaugurated, and gradually extended. A continuous series of measures was devised and prosecuted for the purpose of rendering insecure the tenure of property in slaves.

"With interests of such overwhelming magnitude imperilled, the people of the Southern States were driven by the conduct of the North to the adoption of some course of action to avoid the danger with which they were openly menaced. With this view, the Legislatures of the several States invited the people to select delegates to conventions to be held for the purpose of determining for themselves what measures were best adapted to meet so alarming a crisis in their history."¹

Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President, as he was called, said, in a speech delivered at Savannah, Georgia, 21st of March, 1861 :

"The new Constitution has put at rest *forever* all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution,—African slavery as it exists amongst us, the proper *status* of the negro in our form of civilization. *This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution.* JEFFERSON, in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the 'rock upon which the old Union would split.' He was right. What was conjecture with him is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that great rock *stood* and *stands*, may be doubted. *The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution, were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature ; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically.* It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with ; but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that, somehow or other in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent, and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at the time. The Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last ; and hence no argument can be justly used against the constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. *Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error.* It was a sandy foundation ; and the idea of a government built upon it,—when the 'storm came and the wind blew, it fell.'

¹ National Intelligencer, Tuesday, May 7, 1861.

"Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas. Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man ; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. It has been so even amongst us. Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well that this truth was not generally admitted, even within their day."¹

Now, then, what was the real issue between the Confederate States and the United States? Why, it was extension of slavery by the former, and the restriction of slavery by the latter. To put the issue as it was understood by Northern men—in poetic language, it was "*The Union as it is.*" While the South, at length, through its leaders, acknowledged that slavery was their issue, the North, standing upon the last analysis of the Free-Soil idea of resistance to the further inoculation of free territory with the virus of slavery, refused to recognize slavery as an issue. But what did the battle cry of the loyal North, "*The Union as it is,*" mean? A Union half free and half slave; a dual government, if not in fact, certainly in the brains and hearts of the people; two civilizations at eternal and inevitable war with each other; a Union with the canker-worm of slavery in it, impairing its strength every year and threatening its life; a Union in which two hostile ideas of political economy were at work, and where unpaid slave labor was inimical to the interests of the free workingmen. And it should not be forgotten that the Republican party acknowledged the right of Southerners to hunt slaves in the free States, and to return such slaves, under the fugitive-slave law, to their masters. Mr. Lincoln was not an Abolitionist, as many people think. His position on the question was clearly stated in the answers he gave to a number of questions put to him by Judge Douglass in the latter part of the summer of 1858. Mr. Lincoln said:

"Having said this much, I will take up the judge's interrogatories as I find them printed in the Chicago '*Times*,' and answer them *seriatim*. In order that there may be no mistake about it, I have copied

¹ National Intelligencer, Tuesday, April, 2, 1861.

the interrogatories in writing, and also my answers to them. The first one of these interrogatories is in these words :

"Question 1. 'I desire to know whether Lincoln to-day stands, as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive-Slave Law?'

"Answer. I do not now, nor ever did, stand in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive-Slave Law.

"Q. 2. 'I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to-day, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more slave States into the Union, even if the people want them?'

"A. I do not now, nor ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more slave States into the Union.

"Q. 3. 'I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make.'

"Q. 4. 'I want to know whether he stands to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?'

"A. I do not stand to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

"Q. 5. 'I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States?'

"A. I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States.

"Q. 6. 'I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the territories of the United States, north as well as south of the Missouri Compromise line?'

"A. I am impliedly, if not expressly, pledged to a belief in the *right* and *duty* of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States territories. [Great applause.]

"Q. 7. 'I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein?'

"A. I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory ; and, in any given case, I would or would not oppose such acquisition, accordingly as I might think such acquisition would or would not agitate the slavery question among ourselves.

"Now, my friends, it will be perceived upon an examination of these questions and answers, that so far I have only answered that I was not *pledged* to this, that, or the other. The judge has not framed his interrogatories to ask me any thing more than this, and I have answered in strict accordance with the interrogatories, and have answered truly that I am not *pledged* at all upon any of the points to which I have answered. But I am not disposed to hang upon the exact form of his interrogatories. I am rather disposed to take up at least some of these questions, and state what I really think upon them.

"As to the first one, in regard to the Fugitive-Slave Law, I have never hesitated to say, and I do not now hesitate to say, that I think, under the Constitution of the United States, the people of the Southern States are entitled to a congressional slave law. Having said that, I have had nothing to say in regard to the existing Fugitive-Slave Law, further than that I think it should have been framed so as to be free from some of the objections that pertain to it, without lessening its efficiency. And inasmuch as we are not now in an agitation in regard to an alteration or modification of that law, I would not be the man to introduce it as a new subject of agitation upon the general question of slavery.

"In regard to the other question, of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more slave States into the Union, I state to you very frankly that I would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another slave State admitted into the Union; but I must add, that if slavery shall be kept out of the territories during the territorial existence of any one given territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field, when they come to adopt the constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union. [Applause.]

"The third interrogatory is answered by the answer to the second, it being, as I conceive, the same as the second.

"The fourth one is in regard to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In relation to that I have my mind very distinctly made up. I should be exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. I believe that Congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish it. Yet, as a member of Congress, I should not, with my present views, be in favor of *endeavoring* to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless it would be upon these conditions: *First*, that the abolition should be gradual; *second*, that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the district; and, *third*, that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. With these three conditions I confess I would be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in the language of Henry Clay, 'sweep from our capital that foul blot upon our nation.'

"In regard to the fifth interrogatory, I must say here that, as to the question of the abolition of the slave-trade between the different States, I can truly answer, as I have, that I am *pledged* to nothing about it. It is a subject to which I have not given that mature consideration that would make me feel authorized to state a position so as to hold myself entirely bound by it. In other words, that question has never been

prominently enough before me to induce me to investigate whether we really have the constitutional power to do it. I could investigate it, if I had sufficient time, to bring myself to a conclusion upon that subject; but I have not done so, and I say so frankly to you here, and to Judge Douglass. I must say, however, that if I should be of opinion that Congress does possess the constitutional power to abolish slave-trading among the different States, I should still not be in favor of the exercise of that power unless upon some conservative principle as I conceive it, akin to what I have said in relation to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

"My answer as to whether I desire that slavery should be prohibited in all territories of the United States, is full and explicit within itself, and cannot be made clearer by any comments of mine. So, I suppose, in regard to the question whether I am opposed to the acquisition of any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein, my answer is such that I could add nothing by way of illustration, or making myself better understood, than the answer which I have placed in writing.

"Now, in all this the judge has me, and he has me on the record. I suppose he had flattered himself that I was really entertaining one set of opinions for one place, and another set for another place—that I was afraid to say at one place what I uttered at another. What I am saying here I suppose I say to a vast audience as strongly tending to abolitionism as any audience in the State of Illinois, and I believe I am saying that which, if it would be offensive to any persons and render them enemies to myself, would be offensive to persons in this audience."¹

Here, then, is the position of Mr. Lincoln set forth with deliberation and care. He was opposed to any coercive measures in settling the slavery question; he was for gradual emancipation; and for admitting States into the Union with a slave constitution. Within twenty-four months, without a change of views, he was nominated for and elected to the Presidency of the United States.

With no disposition to interfere with the institution of slavery, Mr. Lincoln found himself chief magistrate of a great *nation* in the midst of a great rebellion. And in his inaugural address on the 4th of March, 1861, he referred to the question of slavery again in a manner too clear to admit of misconception, affirming his previous views:

¹ Barrett, pp. 177-180.

"There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions :

" 'No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.'

"It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves ; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law.

"All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as well as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause 'shall be delivered up,' their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath ?

"There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by National or by State authority ; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done ; and should any one, in any case, be content that this oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept ?"

So the issues were joined in war. The South aggressively, offensively sought the extension and perpetuation of slavery. The North passively, defensively stood ready to protect her free territory, but not to interfere with slavery. And there was no day during the first two years of the war when the North would not have cheerfully granted the slave institution an indefinite lease of *legal* existence upon the condition that the war should cease.

CHAPTER XV.

"A WHITE MAN'S WAR."

THE FIRST CALL FOR TROOPS.—RENDITION OF FUGITIVE SLAVES BY THE ARMY.—COL. TYLER'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA.—GENERAL ISAAC R. SHERWOOD'S ACCOUNT OF AN ATTEMPT TO SECURE A FUGITIVE SLAVE IN HIS CHARGE.—COL. STEEDMAN REFUSES TO HAVE HIS CAMP SEARCHED FOR FUGITIVE SLAVES, BY ORDER FROM GEN. FRY.—LETTER FROM GEN. BUELL IN DEFENCE OF THE REBELS IN THE SOUTH.—ORDERS ISSUED BY GENERALS HOOKER, WILLIAMS, AND OTHERS, IN REGARD TO HARBORING FUGITIVE SLAVES IN UNION CAMPS.—OBSERVATION CONCERNING SLAVERY FROM THE "ARMY OF THE POTOMAC."—GEN. BUTLER'S LETTER TO GEN. WINFIELD SCOTT.—IT IS ANSWERED BY THE SECRETARY OF WAR.—HORACE GREELEY'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT.—PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S REPLY.—GEN. JOHN C. FREMONT, COMMANDER OF THE UNION ARMY IN MISSOURI, ISSUES A PROCLAMATION EMANCIPATING SLAVES IN HIS DISTRICT.—IT IS DISAPPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT.—EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION BY GEN. HUNTER.—IT IS RESCINDED BY THE PRESIDENT.—SLAVERY AND UNION JOINED IN A DESPERATE STRUGGLE.

WHEN the war clouds broke over the country and hostilities began, the North counted the Negro on the outside of the issue. The Federal Government planted itself upon the policy of the "defence of the free States,"—pursued a defensive rather than an offensive policy. And, whenever the Negro was mentioned, the leaders of the political parties and the Union army declared that it was "*a white man's war*."

The first call for three months' troops indicated that the authorities at Washington felt confident that the "trouble" would not last long. The call was issued on the 15th of April, 1861, and provided for the raising of 75,000 troops. It was charged by the President that certain States had been guilty of forming "combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings," and then he proceeded to state:

"The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the State authorities through the War Department. I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our National Union, and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured. I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces hereby called forth, will probably be to repossess the forts, places,

and property which have been seized from the Union ; and in every event the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of, or interference with, property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens of any part of the country ; and I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days from this date."¹

There was scarcely a city in the North, from New York to San Francisco, whose Colored residents did not speedily offer their services to the States to aid in suppressing the Rebellion. But everywhere as promptly were their services declined. The Colored people of the Northern States were patriotic and enthusiastic ; but their interest was declared insolence. And being often rebuked for their loyalty, they subsided into silence to bide a change of public sentiment.

The almost unanimous voice of the press and pulpit was against a recognition of the Negro as the cause of the war. Like a man in the last stages of consumption who insists that he has only a bad cold, so the entire North urged that slavery was not the cause of the war : it was a little local misunderstanding. But the death of the gallant Col. Elmer E. Elsworth palsied the tongues of mere talkers ; and in the tragic silence that followed, great, brave, and true men began to think.

Not a pulpit in all the land had spoken a word for the slave. The clergy stood dumb before the dreadful issue. But one man was found, like David of old, who, gathering his smooth pebble of fact from the brook of God's eternal truth, boldly met the boastful and erroneous public sentiment of the hour. That man was the Rev. Justin D. Fulton, a Baptist minister of Albany, New York. He was chosen to preach the funeral sermon of Col. Elsworth, and performed that duty on Sunday, May 26, 1861. Speaking of slavery, the reverend gentleman said :

" Shall this magazine of danger be permitted to remain ? *We must answer this question. If we say no, it is no !* Slavery is a curse to the North. It impoverishes the South, and demoralizes both. It is the parent of treason, the seedling of tyranny, and the fountain-source of all the ills that have infected our life as a people, being the central cause of all our conflicts of the past and the war of to-day. What

¹ Rebellion Recs., vol. i. Doc., p. 63.

reason have we for permitting it to remain? God does not want it, for His truth gives freedom. The South does not need it, for it is the chain fastened to her limb that fetters her progress. Morality, patriotism, and humanity alike protest against it.

"The South fights for slavery, for the despotism which it represents, for the ignoring the rights of labor, and for reducing to slavery or to serfdom all whose hands are hardened by toil.

"Why not make the issue at once, which shall inspire every man that shoulders his musket with a noble purpose? Our soldiers need to be reminded that this government was consecrated to freedom by those who first built here the altars of worship, and planted on the shore of the Western Continent the tree of liberty, whose fruit to-day fills the garner of national hope. . . . I would not forget that I am a messenger of the Prince of Peace. My motives for throwing out these suggestions are three-fold: 1. Because I believe God wants us to be actuated by motives not one whit less philanthropic than the giving of freedom to four million of people. 2. I confess to a sympathy for and faith in the slave, and cherish the belief that if freed, the war would become comparatively bloodless, and that as a people we should enter on the discharge of higher duties and a more enlarged prosperity. 3. The war would hasten to a close, and the end secured would then form a brilliant dawn to a career of prosperity unsurpassed in the annals of mankind."¹

Brave, prophetic words! But a thousand vituperative editors sprang at Mr. Fulton's utterances, and as snapping curs, growled at and shook every sentence. He stood his ground. He took no step backward. When notice was kindly sent him that a committee would wait on him to treat him to a coat of tar and feathers, against the entreaties of anxious friends, he sent word that he would give them a warm reception. When the best citizens of Albany said the draft could not be enforced without bloody resistance, the Rev. Mr. Fulton exclaimed: "If the flood-gates of blood are to be opened, we will not shoot down the poor and ignorant, but the swaggering and insolent men whose hearts are not in this war!"

The "Atlas and Argus," in an editorial on *Ill-Timed Pulpit Abolitionism*, denounced Rev. Mr. Fulton in bitterest terms; while the "Evening Standard" and "Journal" both declared that the views of the preacher were as a fire-brand thrown into the magazine of public sentiment.

¹ Albany Atlas and Argus, May 27, 1861.

Everywhere throughout the North the Negro was counted as on the outside. Everywhere it was merely "a war for the Union," which was half free and half slave.

When the Union army got into the field at the South it was confronted by a difficult question. What should be done with the Negroes who sought the Union lines for protection from their masters? The sentiment of the press, Congress, and the people of the North generally, was against interference with the slave, either by the civil or military authorities. And during the first years of the war the army became a band of slave-catchers. Slave-holders and sheriffs from the Southern States were permitted to hunt fugitive slaves under the Union flag and within the lines of Federal camps. On the 22d of June, 1861, the following paragraph appeared in the "Baltimore American":

"Two free negroes, belonging to Frederick, Md., who concealed themselves in the cars which conveyed the Rhode Island regiment to Washington from this city, were returned that morning by command of Colonel Burnside, who *supposed them to be slaves*. The negroes were accompanied by a sergeant of the regiment, who lodged them in jail."

On the 4th of July, 1861, Col. Tyler, of the 7th Ohio regiment, delivered an address to the people of Virginia; a portion of which is sufficient to show the feeling that prevailed among army officers on the slavery question:

"To you, fellow-citizens of West Virginia—many of whom I have so long and favorably known,—I come to aid and protect. [The grammar is defective.]

"I have no selfish ambition to gratify, no personal motives to actuate. I am here to protect you in person and property—to aid you in the execution of the law, in the maintenance of peace and order, in the defence of the Constitution and the Union, and in the extermination of our common foe. As our enemies have belied our mission, and represented us as a band of Abolitionists, I desire to assure you that the relation of master and servant as recognized in your State shall be respected. Your authority over that species of property shall not in the least be interfered with. To this end I assure you that those under my command have peremptory orders to take up and hold any negroes found running about the camp without passes from their masters."

When a few copies had been struck off, a lieutenant in Captain G. W. Shurtleff's company handed him one. He waited upon

the colonel, and told him, that it was not true that the troops had been ordered to arrest fugitive slaves. The colonel threatened to place Captain Shurtleff in arrest, when he exclaimed: "I'll never be a slave-catcher, so help me God!" There were few men in the army at this time who sympathized with such a noble declaration, and, therefore, Captain Shurtleff found himself in a very small minority.

The following account of an attempt to secure a fugitive slave from General Isaac R. Sherwood has its historical value. General Sherwood was as noble a *man* as he was a brave and intelligent soldier. He obeyed the still small voice in his soul and won a victory for humanity:

"In the February and March of 1863, I was a major in command of 111th O. V. I. regiment. I had a servant, as indicated by army regulations, in charge of my private horse. He was from Frankfort, Ky., the property of a Baptist clergyman. When the troops passed through Frankfort, in the fall of 1862, he left his master, and followed the army. He came to me at Bowling Green, and I hired him to take care of my horse. He was a lad about fifteen years old, named *Alfred Jackson*.

"At this time, Brig.-Gen. Boyle, or Boyd (I think Boyle), was in command of the District of Kentucky, and had issued his general order, that fugitive slaves should be delivered up. Brig.-Gen. H. M. Judah was in command of Post of Bowling Green, also of our brigade, there stationed.

"The owner of Alfred Jackson found out his whereabouts, and sent a U. S. marshal to Bowling Green to get him. Said marshal came to my headquarters under a pretence to see my very fine saddle-horse, but really to identify Alfred Jackson. The horse was brought out by Alfred Jackson. The marshal went to Brig.-Gen. Judah's headquarters and got a written order addressed to me, describing the lad and ordering me to deliver the boy. This order was delivered to me by Col. Sterling, of Gen. Judah's staff, in person. I refused to obey it. I sent word to Gen. Judah that he could have my sword, but while I commanded that regiment no fugitive slave should ever be delivered to his master. The officer made my compliments to Gen. Judah as aforesaid, and I was placed under arrest for disobedience to orders, and my sword taken from me.

"In a few days the command was ordered to move to Glasgow, Ky., and Gen. Judah, not desiring to trust the regiment in command of a captain, I was temporarily restored to command, pending the meeting of a court-martial to try my case. When the command moved I

took Alfred Jackson along. After we reached Glasgow, Ky., Gen. Judah sent for me, and said if I would then deliver up Alfred Jackson he would restore me to command. The United States marshal was present. This I again refused to do.

"The same day, I sent an ambulance out of the lines, with Alfred Jackson tucked under the seat, in charge of a man going North, and I gave him money to get to Hillsdale, Michigan, where he went, and where he resided and grew up to be a good man and a citizen. I called the attention of Hon. James M. Ashley (then Member of Congress) to the matter, and under instructions from Secretary Stanton, Gen. Boyle's order was revoked, and I never delivered a fugitive, nor was I ever tried."

In Mississippi, in 1862, Col. James B. Steedman (afterward major-general) refused to honor an order of Gen. Fry, delivered by the man who wanted the slave in Steedman's camp. Col. Steedman read the order and told the bearer that he was a rebel; that he could not search *his* camp; and that he would give him just ten minutes to get out of the camp, or he would riddle him with bullets. When Gen. Fry asked for an explanation of his refusal to allow his camp to be searched, Col. Steedman said he would never consent to have his camp searched by a *rebel*; that he would use every bayonet in his regiment to protect the Negro slave who had come to him for protection; and that he was sustained by the Articles of War, which had been amended about that time.

Again, in the late summer of 1863, at Tuscumbia, Tennessee, Gen. Fry rode into Col. Steedman's camp to secure the return of the slaves of an old lady whom he had known before the war. Col. Steedman said he did not know that any slaves were in his camp; and that if they were there they should not be taken except they were willing to go. Gen. Fry was a Christian gentleman of a high Southern type, and combined with his loyalty to the Union an abiding faith in "the sacredness of slave property." Whether he ever recovered from the malady, history saith not.

The great majority of regular army officers were in sympathy with the idea of protecting slave property. Gen. T. W. Sherman, occupying the defences of Port Royal, in October, 1861, issued the following proclamation to the people of South Carolina:

"In obedience to the orders of the President of these United States of America, I have landed on your shores with a small force of

National troops. The dictates of a duty which, under the Constitution, I owe to a great sovereign State, and to a proud and hospitable people, among whom I have passed some of the pleasantest days of my life, prompt me to proclaim that we have come among you with no feelings of personal animosity ; no desire to harm your citizens, destroy your property, or interfere with any of your lawful rights, or your social and local institutions, beyond what the causes herein briefly alluded to may render unavoidable."¹

This proclamation sounds as if the general were a firm believer in State sovereignty ; and that he was possessed with a feeling that he had landed in some strange land, among a people of different civilization and peculiar institutions.

On the 13th of November, 1861, Major-Gen. John A. Dix, upon taking possession of the counties of Accomac and Northampton, Va., issued the following proclamation :

"The military forces of the United States are about to enter your counties as a part of the Union. They will go among you as friends, and with the earnest hope that they may not, by your own acts, be compelled to become your enemies. They will invade no right of person or property. On the contrary, your laws, your institutions, your usages, will be scrupulously respected. There need be no fear that the quietude of any fireside will be disturbed, unless the disturbance is caused by yourselves.

"Special directions have been given not to interfere with the condition of any person held to domestic servitude ; and, in order that there may be no ground for mistake or pretext for misrepresentation, commanders of regiments or corps have been instructed not to permit such persons to come within their lines."²

Gen. Halleck, while in command of the Union forces in Missouri, issued his "Order No. 3." as follows :

"It has been represented that important information, respecting the number and condition of our forces, is conveyed to the enemy by means of fugitive slaves who are admitted within our lines. In order to remedy this evil, it is directed that no such person be hereafter permitted to enter the lines of any camp, or of any forces on the march, and that any now within such lines be immediately excluded therefrom."

¹ Greeley, vol. ii. p. 240.

² Rebellion Records, vol. iii. Doc. p. 376.

On the 23d of February, 1862, in "Order No. 13," he referred to the slave question as follows :

"It does not belong to the military to decide upon the relation of master and slave. Such questions must be settled by the civil courts. No fugitive slaves will, therefore, be admitted within our lines or camps, except when specially ordered by the general commanding."

On the 18th of February, 1862, Major-Gen. A. E. Burnside issued a proclamation in which he said to the people :

"The Government asks only that its authority may be recognized ; and we repeat, in no manner or way does it desire to interfere with your laws, constitutionally established, your institutions of any kind whatever, your property of any sort, or your usages in any respect."

The following letter from Gen. Buell shows how deeply attached he was to the "constitutional guaranties" accorded to the rebels of the South :

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO, }
"NASHVILLE, March 6, 1862. }

"*Dear Sir :* I have the honor to receive your communication of the 1st instant, on the subject of fugitive slaves in the camps of the army.

"It has come to my knowledge that slaves sometimes make their way improperly into our lines ; and in some instances they may be enticed there ; but I think the number has been magnified by report. Several applications have been made to me by persons whose servants have been found in our camps ; and in every instance that I know of the master has recovered his servant and taken him away.

"I need hardly remind you that there will always be found some lawless and mischievous person in every army ; but I assure you that the mass of this army is law-abiding, and that it is neither its disposition nor its policy to violate law or the rights of individuals in any particular. With great respect, your obedient servant,

"D. C. BUELL,

"*Brig.-Gen. Commanding Department.*

"Hon. J. R. UNDERWOOD, *Chairman Military Committee,*

"Frankfort, Ky."

So "in every instance" the master had recovered his slave when found in Gen. Buell's camp !

On the 26th of March, 1862, Gen. Joseph Hooker, commanding the "Upper Potomac," issued the following order :

"To Brigade and Regimental Commanders of this Division :

"Messrs. Nally, Gray, Dunnington, Dent, Adams, Speake, Price, Posey, and Cobey, citizens of Maryland, have negroes supposed to be with some of the regiments of this division. The brigadier-general commanding directs that they be permitted to visit all the camps of his command, in search of their property ; and if found, that they be allowed to take possession of the same, without any interference whatever. Should any obstacle be thrown in their way by any officer or soldier in the division, he will be at once reported by the regimental commander to these headquarters."

In the spring of 1862, Gen. Thos. Williams, in the Department of the Gulf, issued the following order¹ :

"In consequence of the demoralizing and disorganizing tendencies to the troops of harboring runaway negroes, it is hereby ordered that the respective commanders of the camps and garrisons of the several regiments, 2d brigade, turn all such fugitives in their camps or garrisons out beyond the limits of their respective guards and sentinels.

"By order of

"Brig.-Gen. T. WILLIAMS."²

In a letter dated "Headquarters Army of the Potomac, July 7, 1862," Major-Gen. Geo. B. McClellan made the following observations concerning slavery :

"This Rebellion has assumed the character of a war ; as such it should be regarded ; and it should be conducted upon the highest principles known to Christian civilization. It should not be a war looking to the subjugation of the people of any State, in any event. It should not be at all a war upon populations, but against armed forces and political organizations. Neither confiscation of property, political executions of persons, territorial organization of States, nor forcible abolition of slavery should be contemplated for a moment."

But the drift of the sentiment of the army was in the direction of compromise with the slavery question. Nearly every statesman at Washington—in the White House and in the Congress—and nearly every officer in the army regarded the Negro question as purely political and not military. That it was a problem hard of solution no one could doubt. Hundreds of loyal

¹ I have quite a large number of such orders, but the above will suffice.

² Greeley, vol. ii. p. 246.

Negroes, upon the orders of general officers, were turned away from the Union lines, while those who had gotten on the inside were driven forth to the cruel vengeance of rebel masters. Who could solve the problem? Major-Gen. Benjamin F. Butler banished the politician, and became the loyal, patriotic *soldier*! In the month of May, 1861, during the time Gen. Butler commanded the Union forces at Fortress Monroe, three slaves made good their escape into his lines. They stated that they were owned by Col. Mallory, of the Confederate forces in the front; that he was about to send them to the North Carolina seaboard to work on rebel fortifications; and that the fortifications were intended to bar that coast against the Union arms. Having heard this statement, Gen. Butler, viewing the matter from a purely military stand-point, exclaimed: "These men are *contraband* of war; set them at work." Here was a solution of the entire problem; here was a blow delivered at the backbone of the Rebellion. He claimed no right to act as a politician, but acting as a loyal-hearted, clear-headed *soldier*, he coined a word and hurled a shaft at the enemy that struck him in a part as vulnerable as the heel of Achilles. In his letter to the Lieut.-Gen. of the Army, Winfield Scott, 27th of May, 1861, he said:

"Since I wrote my last, the question in regard to slave property is becoming one of very serious magnitude. The inhabitants of Virginia are using their negroes in the batteries, and are preparing to send their women and children South. The escapes from them are very numerous, and a squad has come in this morning, and my pickets are bringing in their women and children. Of course these can not be dealt with upon the theory on which I designed to treat the services of able-bodied men and women who might come within my lines, and of which I gave you a detailed account in my last dispatch.

"I am in the utmost doubt what to do with this species of property. Up to this time I have had come within my lines men and women, with their children,—entire families,—each family belonging to the same owner. I have therefore determined to employ—as I can do very profitably—the able-bodied persons in the party, issuing proper food for the support of all; charging against their services the expense of care and sustenance of the non-laborers; keeping a strict and accurate account, as well of the services as of the expenditures; having the worth of the services and the cost of the expenditures determined by a board of survey hereafter to be detailed. I know of no other manner in which to dispose of this subject and the questions connected therewith. As a matter of property, to the insurgents it will be of very great

moment—the number that I now have amounting, as I am informed, to what in good times would be of the value of \$60,000.

"Twelve of these negroes, I am informed, have escaped from the erection of the batteries on Sewell's Point, which fired upon my expedition as it passed by out of range. As a means of offense, therefore, in the enemy's hands, these negroes, when able-bodied, are of great importance. Without them the batteries could not have been erected ; at least, for many weeks. As a military question it would seem to be a measure of necessity, and deprives their masters of their services.

"How can this be done ? As a political question, and a question of humanity, can I receive the services of a father and a mother and not take the children ? Of the humanitarian aspect, I have no doubt ; of the political one, I have no right to judge. I therefore submit all this to your better judgment, and, as these questions have a political aspect, I have ventured—and I trust I am not wrong in so doing—to duplicate the parts of my dispatch relating to this subject, and forward them to the Secretary of War.

"Your obedient servant,

"Lt.-General SCOTT." ¹

"BENJ. F. BUTLER.

The letter of Gen. Butler was laid before the Secretary of War, who answered it as follows :

"SIR : Your action in respect to the negroes who came within your lines, from the service of the rebels, is approved. The Department is sensible of the embarrassments which must surround officers conducting military operations in a State, by the laws of which slavery is sanctioned. The Government can not recognize the rejection by any State of its Federal obligations, resting upon itself. Among these Federal obligations, however, no one can be more important than that of suppressing and dispersing any combination of the former for the purpose of overthrowing its whole constitutional authority. While, therefore, you will permit no interference, by persons under your command, with the relations of persons held to service under the laws of any State, you will, on the other hand, so long as any State within which your military operations are conducted remains under the control of such armed combinations, refrain from surrendering to alleged masters any persons who come within your lines. You will employ such persons in the services to which they will be best adapted ; keeping an account of the labor by them performed, of the value of it, and the expenses of their maintenance. The question of their final disposition will be reserved for future determination.

"SIMON CAMERON, *Secretary of War.*

"To Maj.-Gen. BUTLER.

¹ Greeley, vol. ii. p. 238.

In an account of the life and services of Capt. Grier Talmadge, the "Times" correspondent says:

"To the deceased, who was conservative in his views and actions, belongs the credit of first enunciating the 'contraband' idea as subsequently applied in the practical treatment of the slaves of rebels. Early in the spring of 1861, Flag-Officer Pendergrast, in command of the frigate 'Cumberland,' then the vessel blockading the Roads, restored to their owners certain slaves that had escaped from Norfolk. Shortly after, the Flag-Officer, Gen. Butler, Capt. Talmadge, and the writer chanced to meet in the ramparts of the fortress, when Capt. T. took occasion, warmly, but respectfully, to dissent from the policy of the act, and proceeded to advance some arguments in support of his views. Turning to Gen. Butler, who had just assumed command of this department, he said: 'General, it is a question you will have to decide, and that, too, very soon; for in less than twenty-four hours deserting slaves will commence swarming to your lines. The rebels are employing their slaves in thousands in constructing batteries all around us. And, in my judgment, in view of this fact, not only slaves who take refuge within our lines are contrabands, but I hold it as much our duty to seize and capture those employed, or intended to be employed, in constructing batteries, as it is to destroy the arsenals or any other war-making element of the rebels, or to capture and destroy the batteries themselves.' Within two days after this conversation, Gen. Butler has the question practically presented to him, as predicted, and he solved it by applying the views advanced by the deceased."¹

The conservative policy of Congress, the cringing attitude of the Government at Washington, the reverses on the Potomac, the disaster of Bull Run, the apologetic tone of the Northern press, the expulsion of slaves from the Union lines, and the conduct of "Copperheads" in the North—who crawled upon their stomachs, snapping and biting at the heels of Union men and Union measures,—bred a spirit of unrest and mob violence. It was not enough that the service of free Negroes was declined; they were now hunted out and persecuted by mobs and other agents of the disloyal element at the North. Like a man sick unto death the Government insisted that it only had a slight cold, and that it would be better soon. The President was no better informed as to the nature of the war than other conservative Republicans. On the 19th of August, 1862, Horace Greeley

¹ New York Times.

addressed an open letter to the President, known as "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," of which the following are specimen passages :

"On the face of this wide earth, Mr. President, there is not one disinterested, determined, intelligent champion of the Union cause who does not feel that all attempts to put down the Rebellion, and at the same time uphold its inciting cause, are preposterous and futile—that the Rebellion, if crushed out to-morrow, would be renewed within a year if slavery were left in full vigor—that army officers, who remain to this day devoted to slavery, can at best be but half-way loyal to the Union—and that every hour of deference to slavery is an hour of added and deepened peril to the Union. I appeal to the testimony of your Embassadors in Europe. It is freely at your service, not mine. Ask them to tell you candidly whether the seeming subserviency of your policy to the slave-holding, slavery-upholding interest, is not the perplexity, the despair, of statesmen of all parties ; and be admonished by the general answer !

"I close, as I began, with the statement that what an immense majority of the loyal millions of your countrymen require of you is a frank, declared, unqualified, ungrudging execution of the laws of the land, more especially of the Confiscation Act. That Act gives freedom to the slaves of rebels coming within our lines, or whom those lines may at any time inclose,—we ask you to render it due obedience by publicly requiring all your subordinates to recognize and obey it." The rebels are everywhere using the late anti-negro riots in the North—as they have long used your officers' treatment of negroes in the South—to convince the slaves that they have nothing to hope from a Union success—that we mean in that case to sell them into a bitter bondage to defray the cost of the war. Let them impress this as a truth on the great mass of their ignorant and credulous bondmen, and the Union will never be restored—never. We can not conquer ten millions of people united in solid phalanx against us, powerfully aided by Northern sympathizers and European allies. We must have scouts, guides, spies, cooks, teamsters, diggers, and choppers, from the blacks of the South—whether we allow them to fight for us or not—or we shall be baffled and repelled. As one of the millions who would gladly have avoided this struggle at any sacrifice but that of principle and honor, but who now feel that the triumph of the Union is indispensable not only to the existence of our country, but to the well-being of mankind, I entreat you to render a hearty and unequivocal obedience to the law of the land.

"Yours,

"HORACE GREELEY."¹

¹Greeley, vol. ii. pp. 249, 250.

It was an open letter. Mr. Greeley had evidently lost sight of his economic theories as applied to slavery in the abstract, and now, as a practical philosopher, caught hold of the question by the handle. Mr. Lincoln replied within a few days, but was still joined to his abstract theories of constitutional law. He loved the Union, and all he should do for the slave should be done to help the Union, not the slave. He was not desirous of saving or destroying slavery. But certainly he had spoken more wisely than he knew when he had asserted, a few years before, that "a nation half free and half slave, could not long exist." That was an indestructible truth. Had he adhered to that doctrine the way would have been easier. In every thing he consulted the Constitution. His letter is interesting reading.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, }
"August 22, 1862.

"HON. HORACE GREELEY :

"*Dear Sir* : I have just read yours of the 19th instant, addressed to myself through the New York Tribune.

"If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not now and here controvert them.

"If there be any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here argue against them.

"If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

"As to the policy 'I seem to be pursuing,' as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt. I would save the Union. I would save it in the shortest way under the Constitution.

"The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be the Union as it was.

"If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them.

"If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them.

"*My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery.*

"If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it ; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it ; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

"What I do about slavery and the Colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union ; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.

"I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause; and I shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause.

"I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

"I have here stated my purpose according to my views of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

"Yours,

"A. LINCOLN."¹

But there were few men among the general officers of the army who either reached the conclusion by their own judgment, or were aided by the action of General Butler, that it was their duty to confiscate *all the property* of the enemy. Acting upon the plainest principle of military law, Major-General John C. Fremont, commanding the Department of the Missouri, or the Union forces in that State, issued the following proclamation:

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE WESTERN DEP'T, }
"ST. LOUIS, August 31st.

"Circumstances, in my judgment, of sufficient urgency, render it necessary that the Commanding General of this Department should assume the administrative power of the State. Its disorganized condition, the helplessness of the civil authority, the total insecurity of life, and the devastation of property by bands of murderers and marauders, who infest nearly every county in the State, and avail themselves of the public misfortunes and the vicinity of a hostile force to gratify private and neighborhood vengeance, and who find an enemy wherever they find plunder, finally demand the severest measures to repress the daily increasing crimes and outrages which are driving off the inhabitants and ruining the State. In this condition, the public safety and the success of our arms require unity of purpose, without let or hindrance to the prompt administration of affairs.

"In order, therefore, to suppress disorders, to maintain, as far as now practicable, the public peace, and to give security and protection to the persons and property of loyal citizens, I do hereby extend and declare established martial law throughout the State of Missouri. The lines of the army of occupation in this State are, for the present, declared to extend from Leavenworth, by way of the posts of Jefferson City, Rolla, and Ironton, to Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi River.

¹ Greeley, vol. ii. p. 250.

All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands, within these lines, shall be tried by Court Martial, and, if found guilty, will be shot. The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or shall be directly proven to have taken active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use ; and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men.

" All persons who shall be proven to have destroyed, after the publication of this order, railroad tracks, bridges, or telegraphs, shall suffer the extreme penalty of the law.

" All persons engaged in treasonable correspondence, in giving or procuring aid to the enemies of the United States, in disturbing the public tranquillity by creating and circulating false reports or incendiary documents, are in their own interest warned that they are exposing themselves.

" All persons who have been led away from their allegiance are required to return to their homes forthwith ; any such absence, without sufficient cause, will be held to be presumptive evidence against them.

" The object of this declaration is to place in the hands of the military authorities the power to give instantaneous effect to existing laws, and to supply such deficiencies as the conditions of war demand. But it is not intended to suspend the ordinary tribunals of the country, where the law will be administered by the civil officers in the usual manner and with their customary authority, while the same can be peaceably exercised.

" The Commanding General will labor vigilantly for the public welfare, and, in his efforts for their safety, hopes to obtain not only the acquiescence, but the active support, of the people of the country.

" J. C. FREMONT, *Major-Gen. Com.*"¹

This magnificent order thrilled the loyal hearts of the North with joy ; but the President, still halting and hesitating, requested a modification of the order so far as it related to the liberation of slaves. This Gen. Fremont declined to do unless ordered to do so by his superior. Accordingly the President wrote him as follows :

" WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 11, 1861.

" Major-Gen. JOHN C. FREMONT :

" *Sir*.—Yours of the 8th, in answer to mine of the 2d inst., is just received. Assured that you, upon the ground, could better judge of the necessities of your position than I could at this distance, on seeing

¹ Greeley, vol. i. p. 585.

your proclamation of August 30th, I perceived no general objection to it; the particular clause, however, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves, appeared to me to be objectionable in its non-conformity to the Act of Congress, passed the 6th of last August, upon the same subjects; and hence I wrote you, expressing my wish that that clause should be modified accordingly. Your answer, just received, expresses the preference on your part that I should make an open order for the modification, which I very cheerfully do. It is, therefore, ordered that the said clause of said proclamation be so modified, held, and construed, as to conform with, and not to transcend, the provisions on the same subject contained in the Act of Congress entitled 'An Act to Confiscate Property Used for Insurrectionary Purposes,' approved August 6, 1861; and that the said act be published at length with this order.

"Your obedient servant,

"A. LINCOLN."¹

Gen. Fremont's removal followed speedily. He was in advance of the slow coach at Washington, and was sent where he could do no harm to the enemy of the country, by emancipating Negroes. It seems as if there were nothing else left for Gen. Fremont to do but to free the slaves in his military district. They were the bone and sinew of Confederate resistance. It was to weaken the enemy that the general struck down this peculiar species of property, upon which the enemy of the country relied so entirely.

Major-Gen. David Hunter assumed command at Hilton Head, South Carolina, on the 31st of March, 1862. On the 9th of May he issued the following "General Order:"

"HEADQUARTERS DEP'T OF THE SOUTH, }
"HILTON HEAD, S. C., May 9, 1862. }

"General Order, No. 11.

"The three States of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, comprising the Military Department of the South, having deliberately declared themselves no longer under the United States of America, and having taken up arms against the United States, it becomes a military necessity to declare them under martial law.

"This was accordingly done on the 25th day of April, 1862. Slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible. The persons in these States—Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina—heretofore held as slaves, are therefore declared forever free."²

¹ Greeley, vol. ii. pp. 239, 240.

² Greeley, vol. ii. p. 246.

But the President, in ten days after its publication, rescinded the order of General Hunter, in the following Proclamation :

“ *And whereas*, The same [Hunter's proclamation] is producing some excitement and misunderstanding, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, proclaim and declare that the Government of the United States had no knowledge or belief of an intention on the part of Gen. Hunter to issue such a proclamation, nor has it yet any authentic information that the document is genuine : and, further, that neither Gen. Hunter nor any other commander or person have been authorized by the Government of the United States to make proclamation declaring the slaves of any State free ; and that the supposed proclamation now in question, whether genuine or false, is altogether void, so far as respects such declaration. I further make known that, whether it be competent for me, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to declare the slaves of any State or States free ; and whether at any time, or in any case, it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the Government to exercise such supposed power, are questions which, under my responsibility, I reserve to myself, and which I cannot feel justified in leaving to the decision of commanders in the field.

“ Those are totally different questions from those of police regulations in armies or in camps.

“ On the sixth day of March last, by a special Message, I recommended to Congress the adoption of a joint resolution, to be substantially as follows :

“ ‘ *Resolved*, That the United States ought to coöperate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.’

“ The resolution, in the language above quoted, was adopted by large majorities in both branches of Congress, and now stands an authentic, definite, and solemn proposal of the nation to the States and people most interested in the subject-matter. To the people of these States now I mostly appeal. I do not argue—I beseech you to make the arguments for yourselves. You cannot, if you would, be blind to the signs of the times.

“ I beg of you a calm and enlarged consideration of them, ranging, if it may be, far above partisan and personal politics.

“ This proposal makes common cause for a common object, casting no reproaches upon any. It acts not the Pharisee. The change it contemplates would come gently as the dews of Heaven, not rending or wrecking any thing. Will you not embrace it ? So much good has not been done by one effort in all past time, as, in the Providence of God,

it is now your high privilege to do. May the vast future not have to lament that you have neglected it!

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington this 19th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1862, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-sixth.

"(Signed)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President :

"W. H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State*."

The conservative policy of the President greatly discouraged the friends of the Union, who felt that a vigorous prosecution of the war was the only hope of the nation. Slavery and the Union had joined in a terrible struggle for the supremacy. Both could not exist. Our treasury was empty; our bonds depreciated; our credit poor; our industries languishing; and the channels of commerce were choked. European governments were growing impatient at the dilatory policy of our nation; and every day we were losing sympathy and friends. Our armies were being repulsed and routed; and Columbia's war eagles were wearily flapping their pinions in the blood-dampened dust of a nerveless nation. But the Negro was still on the outside,—it was "a white man's war."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE NEGRO ON FATIGUE DUTY.

NEGROES EMPLOYED AS TEAMSTERS AND IN THE QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT. — GENERAL MERCER'S ORDER TO THE SLAVE-HOLDERS ISSUED FROM SAVANNAH. — HE RECEIVES ORDERS FROM THE SECRETARY OF WAR TO IMPRESS A NUMBER OF NEGROES TO BUILD FORTIFICATIONS. — THE NEGRO PROVES HIMSELF INDUSTRIOUS AND EARNS PROMOTION.

THE light began to break through the dark cloud of prejudice in the minds of the friends of the Union. If a Negro were useful in building rebel fortifications, why not in casting up defences for the Union army? Succeeding Gen. Butler in command at Fortress Monroe, on the 14th of October, 1861, Major-Gen. Wool issued an order, directing that "all colored persons called contrabands," employed by officers or others within his command, must be furnished with subsistence by their employers, and paid, if males, not less than four dollars per month, and that "all able-bodied colored persons, not employed as aforesaid," will be immediately put to work in the Engineer's or the Quartermaster's Department. On the 1st of November, Gen. Wool directed that the compensation of "contrabands" working for the government should be five to ten dollars per month, with soldier's rations. These Negroes rendered valuable service in the sphere they were called upon to fill.

In the Western army, Gen. James B. Steedman was the first man to suggest the idea of employing Negroes as teamsters. He saw that every Negro who drove a team of mules gave to the army one more white soldier with a musket in his hands; and so with the sympathy and approval of the gallant Gen. Geo. H. Thomas, Gen. Steedman put eighty Negroes into uniforms, and turned them over to an experienced white "wagon-master." The Negroes made excellent teamsters, and the plan was adopted quite generally.

In September, 1862, an order from Washington directed the employment of fifty thousand Negro laborers in the Quartermaster's Department, under Generals Hunter and Saxton! This showed that the authorities at Washington had begun to get

their eyes open on this question. "And while speaking of the negroes," wrote a "Times" correspondent, in 1862, from Hilton Head, "let me present a few statistics obtained from an official source, respecting the success which has crowned the experiment of employing them as free paid laborers upon the plantations. The population of the Division (including Port Royal, St. Helena and Ladies' islands, with the smaller ones thereto adjacent, but excluding Hilton Head and its surroundings) is as follows:

"Effective	3,817
"Non-effective	3,110
"Total	6,927

"The number of acres under cultivation on the same islands, is:

"Of Corn	6,444
"Of Cotton	3,384
"Of Potatoes	1,407

"A little calculation will show that the negroes have raised enough corn and potatoes to support themselves, besides a crop of cotton (now ripe) somewhat smaller than in former years, but still of very considerable value to the Government."¹

Gen. Mercer issued the following order at Savannah, Georgia, which shows that the rebels did not despise the fatigue services of Negroes:

"C. S. ENGINEER'S OFFICE, }
"SAVANNAH, GA., Aug. 1, 1863. }

"The Brigadier-General Commanding desires to inform the slaveholders of Georgia that he has received authority from the Secretary of War to impress a number of negroes sufficient to construct such additional fortifications as are necessary for the defence of Savannah.

"He desires, if possible, to avoid the necessity of impressment, and therefore urges the owners of slave property to volunteer the services of their negroes. He believes that, while the planters of South Carolina are sending their slaves by thousands to aid the defence of Charleston, the slaveholders of Georgia will not be backward in contributing in the same patriotic manner to the defence of their own seaport, which has so far resisted successfully all the attacks of the enemy at Fort McAllister and other points.

"Remember, citizens of Georgia, that on the successful defence of Georgia depends the security of the interior of your State, where so

¹ Times, Sept. 4, 1862.

much of value both to yourselves and to the Confederacy at large is concentrated. It is best to meet the enemy at the threshold, and to hurl back the first wave of invasion. Once the breach is made, all the horrors of war must desolate your now peaceful and quiet homes. Let no man deceive himself. If Savannah falls the fault will be yours, and your own neglect will have brought the sword to your hearth-stones.

"The Brigadier-General Commanding, therefore, calls on all the slave-holders of Eastern, Southern, and Southwestern Georgia, but especially those in the neighborhood of Savannah, to send him immediately one fifth of their able-bodied male slaves, for whom transportation will be furnished and wages paid at the rate of twenty-five dollars per month, the Government to be responsible for the value of such Negroes as may be killed by the enemy, or may in any manner fall into his hands. By order of

"Brig.-Gen. MERCER, *Commanding*.

"JOHN MCCRADY,

*"Captain and Chief Engineer, State of Georgia."*¹

Negroes built most of the fortifications and earth-works for Gen. Grant in front of Vicksburg. The works in and about Nashville were cast up by the strong arm and willing hand of the loyal Blacks. Dutch Gap was dug by Negroes, and miles of earth-works, fortifications, and corduroy-roads were made by Negroes. They did fatigue duty in every department of the Union army. Wherever a Negro appeared with a shovel in his hand, a white soldier took his gun and returned to the ranks. There were 200,000 Negroes in the camps and employ of the Union armies, as servants, teamsters, cooks, and laborers. What a mighty host! Suppose the sentiment that early met the Negro on the picket lines and turned him back to the enemy had continued, 50,000 white soldiers would have been required in the Engineer's and Quartermaster's Department; while 25,000 white men would have been required for various other purposes, outside of the ranks of the army.

A narrow prejudice among some of the white troops, upon whose pedigree it would not be pleasant to dwell, met the Negro teamster, with a blue coat and buttons with eagles on them, with a growl. They disliked to see the Negro wearing a Union uniform;—it looked too much like equality.

But in his lowly station as a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, the Negro proved himself industrious, trustworthy, efficient, and cheerful. He earned promotion, and in due time secured it.

¹ Rebellion Recs., vol. vii. Doc. p. 479.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATIONS.

CONGRESS PASSES AN ACT TO CONFISCATE PROPERTY USED FOR INSURRECTIONARY PURPOSES — A FRUITLESS APPEAL TO THE PRESIDENT TO ISSUE AN EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. — HE THINKS THE TIME NOT YET COME FOR SUCH AN ACTION, BUT WITHIN A FEW WEEKS CHANGES HIS OPINION AND ISSUES AN EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. — THE REBELS SHOW NO DISPOSITION TO ACCEPT THE MILD TERMS OF THE PROCLAMATION. — MR. DAVIS GIVES ATTENTION TO THE PROCLAMATION IN HIS THIRD ANNUAL MESSAGE. — SECOND EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN JANUARY 1, 1863. — THE PROCLAMATION IMPARTS NEW HOPE TO THE NEGRO.

THE position taken by General Butler on the question of receiving into the Federal lines the slaves of persons who were in rebellion against the National Government, and who were liable to be used in service against the government by their owners, had its due influence in Washington. But all the general officers did not share in the views of General Butler. As many as twenty Union generals still had it in their minds that it was the duty of the army "to catch run-away slaves"; and they afforded rebels every facility to search their camps. They arrested fugitive Negroes and held them subject to the order of their masters. Congress was not long in seeing the suicidal tendency of such a policy, and on the 6th of August, 1861, passed "An Act to Confiscate Property Used for Insurrectionary Purposes." Notwithstanding this act, General McClellan and other officers still clung to the obsolete doctrine of "the sacredness of slave property." His conduct finally called forth the following letter from the Secretary of State:

"CONTRABANDS IN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
"WASHINGTON CITY, December 4, 1861. }

"To Major-General George B. McClellan, Washington:

"GENERAL: I am directed by the President to call your attention to the following subject:

"Persons claimed to be held to service or labor under the laws of the State of Virginia, and actually employed in hostile service against the Government of the United States, frequently escape from the lines of the enemy's forces and are received within the lines of the Army of the Potomac. This Department understands that such persons, afterward coming into the city of Washington, are liable to be arrested by the city police, upon presumption, arising from color, that they are fugitives from service or labor.

"By the fourth section of the act of Congress, approved August 6, 1861, entitled 'An Act to Confiscate Property Used for Insurrectionary Purposes,' such hostile employment is made a full and sufficient answer to any further claim to service or labor. Persons thus employed and escaping are received into the military protection of the United States, and their arrest as fugitives from service or labor should be immediately followed by the military arrest of the parties making the seizure.

"Copies of this communication will be sent to the Mayor of the City of Washington and to the Marshal of the District of Columbia, that any collision between the civil and military authorities may be avoided.

"I am, General, your very obedient,

"WM. H. SEWARD."

It was now 1862. The dark war clouds were growing thicker. The Union army had won but few victories; our troops had to fight a tropical climate, the forces of nature, and an arrogant, jubilant, and victorious enemy. Autumn had come but nothing had been accomplished. The friends of the Union who favored a speedy and vigorous prosecution of the war, besieged the President with letters, memorials, and addresses to "*do something.*" But intrenched behind his "constitutional views" of how the war should be managed he heard all, but would not yield. On the 13th of September, 1862, a deputation of gentlemen, representing the various Protestant denominations of Chicago, called upon the President and urged him to adopt a vigorous policy of emancipation as the only way to save the Union; but he denied the request. He said:

"The subject is difficult, and good men do not agree. For instance: the other day, four gentlemen of standing and intelligence from New York called as a delegation on business connected with the war; but before leaving two of them earnestly besought me to proclaim general Emancipation; upon which the other two at once attacked them. You know also that the last session of Congress had a decided majority of anti-slavery men, yet they could not unite on this policy. And the

same is true of the religious people. Why, the Rebel soldiers are praying with a great deal more earnestness, I fear, than our own troops, and expecting God to favor their side: for one of our soldiers, who had been taken prisoner, told Senator Wilson a few days since that he met nothing so discouraging as the evident sincerity of those he was among in their prayers. But we will talk over the merits of the case.

"What good would a proclamation of Emancipation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet. Would my word free the slaves, when I cannot even enforce the Constitution in the Rebel States? Is there a single court, or magistrate, or individual, that would be influenced by it there? And what reason is there to think it would have any greater effect upon the slaves than the late law of Congress, which I approved, and which offers protection and freedom to the slaves of rebel masters who come within our lines? Yet I cannot learn that that law has caused a single slave to come over to us. And, suppose they could be induced by a proclamation of freedom from me to throw themselves upon us, what should we do with them? How can we feed and care for such a multitude? Gen. Butler wrote me a few days since that he was issuing more rations to the slaves who have rushed to him than to all the White troops under his command. They eat, and that is all; though it is true Gen. Butler is feeding the Whites also by the thousand; for it nearly amounts to a famine there. If, now, the pressure of the war should call off our forces from New Orleans to defend some other point, what is to prevent the masters from reducing the Blacks to Slavery again; for I am told that whenever the rebels take any Black prisoners, free or slave, they immediately auction them off! They did so with those they took from a boat that was aground in the Tennessee river a few days ago. And then I am very ungenerously attacked for it! For instance, when, after the late battles at and near Bull Run, an expedition went out from Washington, under a flag of truce, to bury the dead and bring in the wounded, and the Rebels seized the Blacks who went along to help, and sent them into Slavery, Horace Greeley said in his paper that the Government would probably do nothing about it. What *could* I do?

"Now, then, tell me, if you please, what possible result of good would follow the issuing of such a proclamation as you desire? Understand: I raise no objection against it on legal or constitutional grounds; for, as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy in time of war, I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy; nor do I urge objections of a moral nature, in view of possible consequences of insurrection and massacre at the South. I view this matter as a practical war measure, to be decided on according to the

advantages or disadvantages it may offer to the suppression of the Rebellion."

Not discouraged, the deputation urged in answer to his conservative views, that a policy of emancipation would strengthen the cause of the Union in Europe, and place the government upon high humane grounds, where it could boldly and confidently appeal to Almighty God in an honest attempt to save His poor children from the degrading curse of American slavery. But the President replied :

"I admit that Slavery is at the root of the Rebellion, or at least its *sine quâ non*. The ambition of politicians may have instigated them to act ; they would have been impotent without Slavery as their instrument. I will also concede that Emancipation would help us in Europe, and convince them that we are incited by something more than ambition. I grant, further, that it would help somewhat at the North, though not so much, I fear, as you and those you represent imagine. Still, some additional strength would be added in that way to the war ; and then, unquestionably, it would weaken the Rebels by drawing off their laborers, which is of great importance ; but I am not so sure we could do much with the Blacks. If we were to arm them, I fear that in a few weeks the arms would be in the hands of the Rebels ; and, indeed, thus far, we have not had arms enough to equip our White troops. I will mention another thing, though it meet only your scorn and contempt. There are fifty thousand bayonets in the Union army from the Border Slave States. It would be a serious matter if, in consequence of a proclamation such as you desire, they should go over to the Rebels. I do not think they all would—not so many, indeed, as a year ago, or as six months ago—not so many to-day as yesterday. Every day increases their Union feeling. They are also getting their pride enlisted, and want to beat the Rebels. Let me say one thing more : I think you should admit that we already have an important principle to rally and unite the people, in the fact that constitutional government is at stake. This is a fundamental idea, going down about as deep as anything."¹

But there were millions of prayers ascending to the God of Battles daily that the President might have the courage and disposition to pursue a course required by the lamentable condition of the Union. And just nine days from the time he thought a proclamation not warranted and impracticable, he issued the following :

¹ Greeley, vol. ii. pp. 251, 252.

"I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States, and the people thereof, in which States that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed.

"That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all Slave States, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate or gradual abolishment of Slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will be continued.

That, on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of the State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.

"That attention is hereby called to an act of Congress entitled 'An Act to make an additional Article of War,' approved March 13th, 1862; and which act is in the words and figures following:

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter the following shall be promulgated as an additional article of war for the government of the Army of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such:*

" 'SECTION 1. All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due ; and any officer who shall be found guilty of a court-martial of violating this article shall be dismissed from the service.

" 'SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That this act shall take effect from and after its passage.'

" Also, to the ninth and tenth sections of an act entitled 'An Act to Suppress Insurrection, to Punish Treason and Rebellion, to Seize and Confiscate Property of Rebels, and for other Purposes,' approved July 16, 1862 ; and which sections are in the words and figures following :

" 'SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army ; and all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them and coming under the control of the Government of the United States ; and all slaves of such persons found *on* [or] being within any place occupied by Rebel forces and afterward occupied by forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

" 'SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any other State, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime, or some offense against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due is his lawful owner, and has not borne arms against the United States in the present Rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto ; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretense whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.'

" And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe, obey, and enforce, within their respective spheres of service, the act and sections above recited.

• " And the Executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States, who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the Rebellion, shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation be-

tween the United States and their respective States and people, if that relation shall have been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington, this twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President :

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State*."

But why this change in the views of the President? History, thus far, is left to conjecture. It was hinted that our ambassadors in Western Europe had apprised the State Department at Washington that an early recognition of the Southern Confederacy was possible, even, probable. It was also stated that he was waiting for the issue at the battle of Antietam, which was fought on the 17th—five days before the proclamation was issued. But neither explanation stands in the light of the positive and explicit language of the President on the 13th of September. However, he issued the proclamation,—the Diving Being may have opened his eyes to see the angel that was to turn him aside from the destruction that awaited the Union that he sought to save with slavery preserved!

The sentiment of the people upon the wisdom of the proclamation was expressed in the October elections. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois went democratic; while the supporters of the Administration fell off in Michigan and other Western States. In the Congress of 1860 there were 78 Republicans and 37 Democrats; in 1862 there were 57 Administration representatives, and 67 in the Opposition.

The army did not take kindly to the proclamation. It was charged that "the war for the Union was changed into a war for the Negro." Some officers resigned, while many others said that if they *thought* they were fighting to free the "niggers" they would resign. This sentiment was contagious. It found its way into the rank and file of the troops, and did no little harm. The following telegram shows that the rebels were angered not a little at the President:

" CHARLESTON, S. C., Oct. 13, 1862.

" Hon. WM. P. MILES, Richmond, Va. :

" Has the bill for the execution of Abolition prisoners, after January next, been passed? Do it; and England will be stirred into action. It is high time to proclaim the black flag after that period. Let the execution be with the garrote.

" (Signed) G. T. BEAUREGARD."

But the proclamation was a harmless measure. *First*, it declared that the object of the war was to restore "the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States." After nearly two years of disastrous war Mr. Lincoln declares the object of the war. Certainly no loyal man had ever entertained any other idea than the one expressed in the proclamation. It was not a war on the part of the United States to destroy her children, nor to disturb her own constitutional, comprehensive unity. It must have been understood, then, from the commencement, that the war begun by the seceding States was waged on the part of the United States to preserve the *Union of the States*, and restore them to their "constitutional relation."

Second, the proclamation implored the slave States to accept (certainly in the spirit of compromise) a proposition from the United States to emancipate their slaves for a *pecuniary consideration*, and, by their gracious consent, assist in *colonising* loyal Negroes in this country or in Africa!

Third, the measure proposed to free slaves of persons and States in rebellion against the lawful authority of the United States Government on the first day of January, 1863. Nothing more difficult could have been undertaken than to free *only* the slaves of persons and States in *actual* rebellion against the Government of the United States. Persons in *actual* rebellion would be *most* likely to have immediate oversight of this species of their property; and the owners of slaves in the States in *actual* rebellion against the United States Government would doubtless be as thoroughly prepared to take care of slave property as the muskets in their rebellious hands.

Fourth, this emancipation proclamation (?) proposed to pay out of the United States Treasury,—for all slaves of loyal masters lost in a rebellion begun by slave-holders and carried on by slave-holders!

Under the condition of affairs no emancipation proclamation was necessary. Treason against the United States is "levying war against them," or "adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." The rebel States were guilty of treason; and from the moment Sumter was fired upon, every slave in the Confederate States was *ipso facto* free!

But it was an occasion for rejoicing. The President had taken a step in the right direction, and, thank God! he never retraced it.

A severe winter had set in. The rebels had shown the kind-hearted President no disposition to accept the mild terms of his proclamation. On the contrary, it was received with gnashing of teeth and bitter imprecations. On the 12th of January, 1863, the titular President of the Confederate States, in his third Annual Message, gave attention to the proclamation of the President of the United States. Mr. Davis said:

"It has established a state of things which can lead to but one of three possible consequences—the extermination of the slaves, the exile of the whole white population of the Confederacy, or absolute and total separation of these States from the United States. This proclamation is also an authentic statement by the Government of the United States of its inability to subjugate the South by force of arms, and, as such, must be accepted by neutral nations, which can no longer find any justification in withholding our just claims to formal recognition. It is also, in effect, an intimation to the people of the North that they must prepare to submit to a separation now become inevitable; for that people are too acute not to understand that a restitution of the Union has been rendered forever impossible by the adoption of a measure which, from its very nature, neither admits of retraction nor can coexist with union.

"We will leave it to the instincts of that common humanity which a beneficent Creator has implanted in the breasts of our fellow-men of all countries to pass judgment on a measure by which several millions of human beings of an inferior race—peaceful and contented laborers in their sphere—are doomed to extermination, while at the same time they are encouraged to a general assassination of their masters by the insidious recommendation to abstain from violence unless in necessary self-defense. Our own detestation of those who have attempted the most execrable measures recorded in the history of guilty man is tempered by profound contempt for the impotent rage which it

discloses. 'So far as regards the action of this Government on such criminals as may attempt its execution, I confine myself to informing you that I shall—unless in your wisdom you deem some other course more expedient—deliver to the several State authorities all commissioned officers of the United States that may hereafter be captured by our forces in any of the States embraced in the proclamation, that they may be dealt with in accordance with the laws of those States providing for the punishment of criminals engaged in exciting servile insurrection. The enlisted soldiers I shall continue to treat as unwilling instruments in the commission of these crimes, and shall direct their discharge and return to their homes on the proper and usual parole."

And although the President and his supporters had not reaped the blessings their hopes had sown, they were, nevertheless, not without hope. For when the sober second thought of the nation took the place of prejudice and undue excitement, the proclamation had more friends. And so, in keeping with his promise, the President issued the following proclamation on the first of January, 1863.

" *Whereas*, on the 22d day of September, in the year of our Lord 1862, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit :

" 'That on the 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free ; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

" 'That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States ; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.'

" Now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of

the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and Government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit :

"Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemine, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

"And, by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States, are and henceforward shall be free ; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

"And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense ; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

"And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

"And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my name and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington, this 1st day of January, in the [L. s.] year of our Lord 1863, and of the independence of the United States the 87th.

"By the President :

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State*."

Even this proclamation—not a measure of humanity—to save the Union, not the slave—left slaves in many counties and States at the South. It was a war measure, pure and simple. It was a blow aimed at the most vulnerable part of the Confederacy. It was destroying its corner-stone, and the ponderous fabric was doomed to a speedy and complete destruction. It discovered that the strength of this Sampson of rebellion lay in its vast slave population. To the slave the proclamation came as the song of the rejoicing angels to the shepherds upon the plains of Bethlehem. It was like music at night, mellowed by the distance, that rouses slumbering hopes, gives wings to fancy, and peoples the brain with blissful thoughts. The notes of freedom came careering to them across the red, billowy waves of battle and thrilled their souls with ecstatic peace. Old men who, like Samuel the prophet, believing the ark of God in the hands of the Philistines, and were ready to give up the ghost, felt that it was just the time to begin to live. Husbands were transported with the thought of gathering to their bosoms the wife that had been sold to the “nigger traders”; mothers swooned under the tender touch of the thought of holding in loving embrace the children who pined for their care; and young men and maidens could only “think thanksgiving and weep gladness.”

The slave-holder saw in this proclamation the handwriting upon the walls of the institution of slavery. The brightness and revelry of his banqueting halls were to be succeeded by gloom and sorrow. His riches, consisting in human beings, were to disappear under the magic touch of the instrument of freedom. The chattel was to be transformed into a person, the person into a soldier, the soldier into a citizen—and thus the Negro slave, like the crawling caterpillar, was to leave his grovelling situation, and in new form, wing himself to the sublime heights of free American citizenship!

The Negroes had a marvellous facility of communicating news to each other. The proclamation, in spite of the precautions of the rebel authorities, took to itself wings. It came to the plantation of weary slaves as the glorious light of a new-born day. It flooded the hovels of slaves with its golden light and rich promise of “*forever free*.” Like St. Paul the poor slaves could exclaim:

“In stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labors, in watchings, in fastings; by pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness,

by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, by honor and dishonor, by evil report and good report ; as deceivers, and yet true ; as unknown, and yet well known ; as dying, and, behold, we live ; as chastened, and not killed ; as sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing ; as poor, yet making many rich ; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things."

And the significant name of Abraham—"father of the faithful"—was pronounced by the Negroes with blessings, and mingled in their songs of praise.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES AS SOLDIERS.

THE QUESTION OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES.—THE REBELS TAKE THE FIRST STEP TOWARD THE MILITARY EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES.—GRAND REVIEW OF THE REBEL TROOPS AT NEW ORLEANS.—GENERAL HUNTER ARMS THE FIRST REGIMENT OF LOYAL NEGROES AT THE SOUTH.—OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF WAR AND GENERAL HUNTER RESPECTING THE ENLISTMENT OF THE BLACK REGIMENT.—THE ENLISTMENT OF FIVE NEGRO REGIMENTS AUTHORIZED BY THE PRESIDENT.—THE POLICY OF GENERAL PHELPS IN REGARD TO THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES AS SOLDIERS IN LOUISIANA.—A SECOND CALL FOR TROOPS BY THE PRESIDENT.—AN ATTEMPT TO AMEND THE ARMY APPROPRIATION BILL SO AS TO PROHIBIT THE FURTHER EMPLOYMENT OF COLORED TROOPS.—GOVERNOR JOHN A. ANDREW, OF MASSACHUSETTS, AUTHORIZED BY SECRETARY OF WAR TO ORGANIZE TWO REGIMENTS OF COLORED TROOPS.—GENERAL LORENZO THOMAS IS DESPATCHED TO THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY TO SUPERINTEND THE ENLISTMENT OF NEGRO SOLDIERS IN THE SPRING OF 1863.—AN ORDER ISSUED BY THE WAR DEPARTMENT IN THE FALL OF 1863 FOR THE ENLISTMENT OF COLORED TROOPS.—THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF NEW YORK CITY.—RECRUITING OF COLORED TROOPS IN PENNSYLVANIA.—GEORGE L. STEARNS ASSIGNED CHARGE OF THE RECRUITING OF COLORED TROOPS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE CUMBERLAND.—FREE MILITARY SCHOOL ESTABLISHED AT PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA.—ENDORSEMENT OF THE SCHOOL BY SECRETARY STANTON.—THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SCHOOL.—OFFICIAL TABLE GIVING NUMBER OF COLORED TROOPS IN THE ARMY.—THE CHARACTER OF NEGRO TROOPS.—MR. GREELEY'S EDITORIAL ON "NEGRO TROOPS."—LETTER FROM JUDGE ADVOCATE HOLT TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR ON THE "ENLISTMENT OF SLAVES"—THE NEGRO LEGALLY AND CONSTITUTIONALLY A SOLDIER.—HISTORY RECORDS HIS DEEDS OF PATRIOTISM.

AT no time during the first two years of the war was the President or the Congress willing to entertain the idea of employing negroes as soldiers. It has been shown that the admission of loyal negroes into the Union lines, and into the service of the Engineer's and Quartermaster's Department, had been resisted with great stubbornness by the men in the "chief places." There were, however, a few men, both in and out of the army, who secretly believed that the negro was needed in the army, and that he possessed all the elements necessary to make an excellent soldier. Public sentiment was so strong against the employment of negroes in the armed service that few men had the courage of conviction; few had the temerity to express their views publicly. In the summer of 1860,—before the election of Abraham Lincoln,—General J. Watts De Peyster, of New York, wrote an article for a Hudson paper, in which he

advocated the arming of Negroes as soldiers, should the Southern States declare war against the Government of the United States. The article was reproduced in many other papers, pronounced a fire-brand, and General De Peyster severely denounced for his advice. But he stood his ground, and when the war did come he gave to his country's service three gallant sons; and from the first to the last was an efficient and enthusiastic supporter of the war for the Union.

The rebels took the first step in the direction of the military employment of Negroes as soldiers. Two weeks after the firing upon Sumter took place, the following note appeared in the "Charleston Mercury":

Several companies of the Third and Fourth Regiments of Georgia passed through Augusta for the expected scene of warfare—Virginia. Sixteen well-drilled companies of volunteers and one negro company, from Nashville, Tennessee, offered their services to the Confederate States."¹

In the "Memphis Avalanche" and "Memphis Appeal" of the 9th, 10th, and 11th of May, 1861, appeared the following notice:

"ATTENTION, VOLUNTEERS: Resolved by the Committee of Safety, that C. Deloach, D. R. Cook, and William B. Greenlaw be authorized to organize a volunteer company composed of our patriotic free men of color, of the city of Memphis, for the service of our common defence. All who have not enrolled their names will call at the office of W. B. Greenlaw & Co. "F. TITUS, *President*.

"F. W. FORSYTHE, *Secretary*."

On the 9th of February, 1862, the rebel troops had a grand review, and the "Picayune," of New Orleans, contained the following paragraph:

"We must also pay a deserved compliment to the companies of free colored men, all very well drilled, and comfortably uniformed. Most of these companies, quite unaided by the administration, have supplied themselves with arms without regard to cost or trouble. One of these companies, commanded by the well-known veteran, Captain Jordan, was presented, a little before the parade, with a fine war-flag of the new style. This interesting ceremony took place at Mr. Cushing's store, on

¹ Charleston Mercury, April 30, 1861.

Camp, near Common Street. The presentation was made by Mr. Bigney, and Jordan made, on this occasion, one of his most felicitous speeches."

And on the 4th of February, 1862, the "Baltimore Traveller" contained the following paragraph :

"ARMING OF NEGROES AT RICHMOND.—Contrabands who have recently come within the Federal lines at Williamsport, report that all the able-bodied colored men in that vicinity are being taken to Richmond, formed into regiments, and armed for the defence of that city."

The following telegram was sent out :

"NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 23, 1861.

"Over twenty-eight thousand troops were reviewed to-day by Governor Moore, Major-General Lovell, and Brig.-General Ruggles. The line was over seven miles long. One regiment comprised fourteen hundred free colored men."

These are sufficient to show that from the earliest dawn of the war the rebel authorities did not frown upon the action of local authorities in placing arms into the hands of free Negroes.

The President of the United States was still opposing any attempt on the part of the supporters of the war to constrain him to approve of the introduction of Negroes into the army. But the Secretary of War, the Hon. Simon Cameron, had sent an order to Brig.-Gen. T. W. Sherman, directing him to accept the services of all loyal persons who desired to aid in the suppression of the Rebellion in and about Port Royal. When Gen. David Hunter relieved Gen. Sherman, the latter turned over to him the instructions of the Secretary of War. There was no mention of color, nor was any class of persons mentioned save "loyal persons." Gen. Hunter was a gentleman of broad, liberal, and humane views, and seeing an opportunity open to employ Negroes as soldiers, in the spring of 1862 directed the organization of a regiment of blacks. He secured the best white officers for the regiment, and it soon obtained a fine condition of discipline. The news of a Union Negro regiment in South Carolina completely surprised the people at Washington. On the 9th of June, 1862, Mr. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, introduced in the National House of Representatives a resolution of inquiry, calling upon Gen. Hunter to explain to Congress his unprecedented conduct in arming Negroes

to fight the battles of the Union. Mr. Stanton was now at the head of the War Department, and the following correspondence took place :

"GENERAL HUNTER'S NEGRO REGIMENT.

" OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

" WAR DEPARTMENT, JUNE 14, 1862.

" *Hon. G. A. Grow, Speaker of the House of Representatives :*

" SIR : A resolution of the House of Representatives has been received, which passed the ninth instant, to the following effect :

" '*Resolved*, That the Secretary of War be directed to inform this House if Gen. Hunter, of the Department of South Carolina, has organized a regiment of South Carolina volunteers for the defence of the Union, composed of black men (fugitive slaves), and appointed a Colonel and officers to command them.

" '2d. Was he authorized by the Department to organize and muster into the army of the United States, as soldiers, the fugitive or captive slaves ?

" '3d. Has he been furnished with clothing, uniforms, etc., for such force ?

" '4th. Has he been furnished, by order of the Department of War, with arms to be placed in the hands of the slaves ?

" '5th. To report any orders given said Hunter, and correspondence between him and the Department.' "

" In answer to the foregoing resolution, I have the honor to inform the House :

" 1st. That this Department has no official information whether Gen. Hunter, of the Department of South Carolina, has or has not organized a regiment of South Carolina volunteers for the defence of the Union, composed of black men, fugitive slaves, and appointed the Colonel and other officers to command them. In order to ascertain whether he has done so or not, a copy of the House resolution has been transmitted to Gen. Hunter, with instructions to make immediate report thereon.

" 2d. Gen. Hunter was not authorized by the Department to organize and muster into the army of the United States the fugitive or captive slaves.

" 3d. Gen. Hunter, upon his requisition as Commander of the South, has been furnished with clothing and arms for the force under his command, without instructions as to how they should be used.

" 4th. He has not been furnished by order of the Department of War with arms to be placed within the 'hands of 'those slaves.'

"5th. In respect to so much of said resolution as directs the Secretary 'to report to the House my orders given said Hunter, and correspondence between him and the Department,' the President instructs me to answer that the report, at this time, of the orders given to and correspondence between Gen. Hunter and this Department would, in his opinion, be incompatible with the public welfare.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"EDWIN M. STANTON,

"*Secretary of War.*"

"WAR DEPARTMENT, }
"WASHINGTON, July 2, 1862. }

"SIR: On reference to the answer of this Department of the fourteenth ultimo to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the ninth of last month, calling for information respecting the organization by Gen. Hunter, of the Department of South Carolina, of a regiment of volunteers for the defence of the Union, composed of black men, fugitive slaves, etc., it will be seen that the resolution had been referred to that officer with instructions to make an immediate report thereon. I have now the honor to transmit herewith the copy of a communication just received from Gen. Hunter, furnishing information as to his action touching the various matters indicated in the resolution.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"EDWIN M. STANTON,

"*Secretary of War.*

"Hon. G. A. GROW,

"*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*"

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH, }
"PORT ROYAL, S. C., June 23, 1862. }

"Hon. EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War*, Washington.

"SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from the Adjutant-General of the army, dated June thirteenth, 1862, requesting me to furnish you with the information necessary to answer certain resolutions introduced in the House of Representatives, June ninth, 1862, on motion of the Hon. Mr. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, their substance being to inquire:

"First. Whether I had organized or was organizing a regiment of 'fugitive slaves' in this department?

"Second. Whether any authority had been given to me from the War Department for such organization? and

"Third. Whether I had been furnished, by order of the War Department, with clothing, uniforms, arms, equipments, etc., for such a force?

"Only having received the letter covering these inquiries at a late hour on Saturday night, I urge forward my answer in time for the steamer sailing to-day (Monday)—this haste preventing me from entering as minutely as I could wish upon many points of detail, such as the paramount importance of the subject calls for. But, in view of the near termination of the present session of Congress, and the widespread interest which must have been awakened by Mr. Wickliffe's resolutions, I prefer sending even this imperfect answer to waiting the period necessary for the collection of fuller and more comprehensive data.

"To the first question, therefore, I reply that no regiment of 'fugitive slaves' has been or is being organized in this department. There is, however, a fine regiment of persons whose late masters are 'fugitive rebels,'—men who everywhere fly before the appearance of the national flag, leaving their servants behind them to shift as best they can for themselves. So far, indeed, are the loyal persons composing this regiment from seeking to avoid the presence of their late owners, that they are now, one and all, working with remarkable industry to place themselves in a position to go in full and effective pursuit of their fugacious and traitorous proprietors.

"To the second question I have the honor to answer that the instructions given to Brig-Gen. T. W. Sherman, by the Hon. Simon Cameron, late Secretary of War, and turned over to me by succession for my guidance, do distinctly authorize me to employ all loyal persons offering their services in defence of the Union and for the suppression of this rebellion in any manner I might see fit, or that the circumstances might call for. There is no restriction as to the character or color of the persons to be employed, or the nature of the employment, whether civil or military, in which their services should be used. I conclude, therefore, that I have been authorized to enlist 'fugitive slaves' as soldiers, could any such be found in this department. No such characters, however, have yet appeared within view of our most advanced pickets, the loyal slaves everywhere remaining on their plantations to welcome us, aid us, and supply us with food, labor, and information. It is the masters who have in every instance been the 'fugitives,' running away from loyal slaves as well as loyal soldiers, and whom we have only partially been able to see—chiefly their heads over ramparts, or rifle in hand, dodging behind trees—in the extreme distance. In the absence of any 'fugitive-master law,' the deserted slaves would be wholly without remedy, had not the crime of treason given them the right to pursue, capture, and bring back those persons of whose protection they have been thus suddenly bereft.

"To the third interrogatory it is my painful duty to reply that I never have received any specific authority for issues of clothing, uniforms, arms, equipments, and so forth, to the troops in question—my

general instructions from Mr. Cameron to employ them in any manner I might find necessary, and the military exigencies of the department and the country being my only, but, in my judgment, sufficient justification. Neither have I had any specific authority for supplying these persons with shovels, spades, and pickaxes when employing them as laborers, nor with boats and oars when using them as lightermen ; but these are not points included in Mr. Wickliffe's resolution. To me it seemed that liberty to employ men in any particular capacity implied with it liberty also to supply them with the necessary tools ; and acting upon this faith I have clothed, equipped, and armed the only loyal regiment yet raised in South Carolina.

"I must say, in vindication of my own conduct, that had it not been for the many other diversified and imperative claims on my time, a much more satisfactory result might have been hoped for ; and that in place of only one, as at present, at least five or six well-drilled, brave, and thoroughly acclimated regiments should by this time have been added to the loyal forces of the Union.

"The experiment of arming the blacks, so far as I have made it, has been a complete and even marvellous success. They are sober, docile, attentive, and enthusiastic, displaying great natural capacities for acquiring the duties of the soldier. They are eager beyond all things to take the field and be led into action ; and it is the unanimous opinion of the officers who have had charge of them, that in the peculiarities of this climate and country they will prove invaluable auxiliaries, fully equal to the similar regiments so long and successfully used by the British authorities in the West-India Islands.

"In conclusion, I would say it is my hope—there appearing no possibility of other reinforcements, owing to the exigencies of the campaign in the Peninsula—to have organized by the end of next fall, and to be able to present to the Government, from forty-eight to fifty thousand of these hardy and devoted soldiers.

"Trusting that this letter may form part of your answer to Mr. Wickliffe's resolutions, I have the honor to be, most respectfully, your very obedient servant,

"D. HUNTER,
"Major-General Commanding."

Mr. Wickliffe seemed to feel that he had received an exhaustive reply to his resolution of inquiry, but his colleague, Mr. Dunlap, offered the following resolution on the 3d of July, 1862, which was never acted upon :

"*Resolved*, That the sentiments contained in the paper read to this body yesterday, approving the arming of slaves, emanating from Major-

General David Hunter, clothed in discourteous language, are an indignity to the American Congress, an insult to the American people and our brave soldiers in arms ; for which sentiments, so uttered, he justly merits our condemnation and censure."

There was quite a flutter among the politicians in the rear, and many army officers felt that the United States uniform had been disgraced by being put upon "fugitive slaves."

Within a few weeks after the affair in Congress alluded to above, two United States Senators,¹ charmed with the bold idea of General Hunter, called upon the President to urge him to accept the services of two Negro regiments. The "New York Herald" of the 5th of August, 1862, gave an account of the interview under the caption of "*Important Decision of the President.*"

"The efforts of those who love the negro more than the Union to induce the President to swerve from his established policy are unavailing. He will neither be persuaded by promises nor intimidated by threats. To day he was called upon by two United States Senators and rather peremptorily requested to accept the services of two negro regiments. They were flatly and unequivocally rejected. The President did not appreciate the necessity of employing the negroes to fight the battles of the country and take the positions which the white men of the nation, the voters, and sons of patriotic sires, should be proud to occupy ; there were employments in which the negroes of rebel masters might well be engaged, but he was not willing to place them upon an equality with our volunteers, who had left home and family and lucrative occupations to defend the Union and the Constitution, while there were volunteers or militia enough in the loyal States to maintain the Government without resort to this expedient. If the loyal people were not satisfied with the policy he had adopted, he was willing to leave the administration to other hands. One of the Senators was impudent enough to tell the President he wished to God he would resign."²

But there the regiment was,—one thousand loyal and competent soldiers ; and there was no way out but for the government to father the regiment, and, therefore, on the 25th of August, 1862, the Secretary of War sent General Rufus Saxton the following order :

¹ They were, no doubt, from Massachusetts.

² New York Herald, Tuesday, August 5, 1862.

"3. In view of the small force under your command, and the inability of the Government at the present time to increase it, in order to guard the plantations and settlements occupied by the United States from invasion, and protect the inhabitants thereof from captivity and murder by the enemy, you are also authorized to arm, uniform, equip, and receive into the service of the United States, such number of Volunteers of African descent as you may deem expedient, not exceeding five thousand ; and may detail officers to instruct them in military drill, discipline, and duty, and to command them ; the persons so received into service, and their officers, to be entitled to and receive the same pay and rations as are allowed by law to Volunteers in the service.

"4. You will occupy, if possible, all the islands and plantations heretofore occupied by the Government, and secure and harvest the crops, and cultivate and improve the plantations.

"5. The population of African descent, that cultivate the land and perform the labor of the Rebels, constitute a large share of their military strength, and enable the White masters to fill the Rebel armies, and wage a cruel and murderous war against the people of the Northern States. By reducing the laboring strength of the Rebels, their military power will be reduced. You are, therefore, authorized, by every means in your power, to withdraw from the enemy their laboring force and population, and to spare no effort, consistent with civilized warfare, to weaken, harass, and annoy them, and to establish the authority of the Government of the United States within your Department."

But public sentiment was growing with every passing day. The very presence of the Negro regiment at Port Royal converted the most pronounced enemies of Negro troops into friends and admirers. The newspaper correspondents filled their letters to the papers North with most extravagant praise of the Negro soldier ; and the President was driven from his position of "*no negro soldiers.*"

The correspondent of the "Times," in a letter dated September 4, 1862, wrote :

"There is little doubt that the next mail from the North will bring an order from the War Department recalling Major-Gen. Hunter to a field of greater activity. The Government had not lent him a hearty support in carrying out his policy of arming the blacks, by which alone he could make himself useful in this department to the National cause ; and, therefore, more than two months since he applied to be relieved, rather than sit supinely with folded hands when his military abilities might be found of service elsewhere. Now, however, I have reason to

believe that Gen. Hunter's views upon the question of forming negro regiments, have been unreservedly adopted by the President, and the whole question has assumed such a different phase that Gen. Hunter almost regrets that he is to leave the department. The last mail brought the authorization of the President to *enlist* five negro regiments, each of a thousand negroes, to be armed and uniformed for the service of the United States, and also authorizes the enrollment of an additional 50,000 to be employed in the Quartermaster's Department nominally as laborers, but as they are to be organized into companies and uniformed, and a portion of their time is to be spent in drilling, it is easy to understand that the possibility of their being used as soldiers is not lost sight of. The exact time of commencing the work of enlisting the colored recruits, I am not able to state, but that it will be shortly, to my mind, there is not a shadow of doubt. The only way in which the men can be obtained is by the establishment of posts at various places upon the coast, where the negroes, assured of protection, will flock to us by thousands. Past experience and present information both go to prove this fact, and to establish these posts more men will be required ; therefore we may soon expect that the Government will be deriving positive advantages from this department which, heretofore, has been only negative of service, as the field of experiments and the testing of ideas. Gen. Saxton will go to Washington by the first steamer, for consultation with the President on the subject."

Just what one thing changed the President so suddenly upon the question of the employment of Negroes as soldiers was not known.

In Louisiana the Negroes were anxious to enlist in the service of the Union, and with this object in view thousands of them sought the Federal camps. Brig.-Gen. J. W. Phelps, commanding the forces at Carrollton, La., found his camps daily crowded with fugitives from slavery. What to do with them became a question of great moment. Gen. Phelps became convinced that it was impossible to subdue a great rebellion if slavery were to have the protection of Federal bayonets. He gave the Negroes who came to his camp protection ; and for this was reported to his superior officer, Gen. Butler. In a report to the latter officer's Adjutant-General, on June 16, 1862, he said :

"The enfranchisement of the people of Europe has been, and is still, going on, through the instrumentality of military service ; and by this means our slaves might be raised in the scale of civilization and prepared for freedom. Fifty regiments might be raised among them at

once, which could be employed in this climate to preserve order, and thus prevent the necessity of retrenching our liberties, as we should do by a large army exclusively of Whites. For it is evident that a considerable army of Whites would give stringency to our Government ; while an army partly of Blacks would naturally operate in favor of freedom and against those influences which at present most endanger our liberties. At the end of five years, they could be sent to Africa, and their places filled with new enlistments."

Receiving no specific response to this overture, Gen. Phelps made a requisition of arms, clothing, etc., for "three regiments of Africans, which I propose to raise for the defense of this point"; adding:

"The location is swampy and unhealthy ; and our men are dying at the rate of two or three a day.

"The Southern loyalists are willing, as I understand, to furnish their share of the tax for the support of the war ; but they should also furnish their quota of men ; which they have not thus far done. An opportunity now offers of supplying the deficiency ; and it is not safe to neglect opportunities in war. I think that, with the proper facilities, I could raise the three regiments proposed in a short time. Without holding out any inducements, or offering any reward, I have now upward of 300 Africans organized into five companies, who are all willing and ready to show their devotion to our cause in any way that it may be put to the test. They are willing to submit to any thing rather than to slavery.

"Society, in the South, seems to be on the point of dissolution ; and the best way of preventing the African from becoming instrumental in a general state of anarchy, is to enlist him in the cause of the Republic. If we reject his services, any petty military chieftain, by offering him freedom, can have them for the purpose of robbery and plunder. It is for the interests of the South, as well as of the North, that the African should be permitted to offer his block for the temple of freedom. Sentiments unworthy of the man of the present day—worthy only of another Cain—could alone prevent such an offer from being accepted.

"I would recommend that the cadet graduates of the present year should be sent to South Carolina and this point, to organize and discipline our African levies ; and that the more promising non-commissioned officers and privates of the army be appointed as company officers to command them. Prompt and energetic efforts in this direction would probably accomplish more toward a speedy termination of the

war, and an early restoration of peace and unity, than any other course which could be adopted."¹

Gen. Butler advised Gen. Phelps to employ "contrabands" for mere fatigue duty, and charged him not to use them as soldiers. On the 31st of July, 1862, Gen. Phelps rejoined by informing Gen. Butler: "I am not willing to become the mere slave-driver you propose, having no qualifications that way," and immediately tendered his resignation.

Nothing could stay the mighty stream of fugitives that poured into the Union lines by day and by night. Nothing could cool the ardor of the loyal Negroes who so earnestly desired to share the perils and honors of the Federal army. There was but one course left and that was to call the Negroes to arms as Gen. Jackson had done nearly a half century before. Gen. Butler repented his action toward the gallant and intelligent Phelps, and on the 24th of August, 1862, appealed to the free Colored men of New Orleans to take up arms in defence of the Union. As in the War of 1812, they responded to the call with enthusiasm; and in just two weeks one thousand Negroes were organized into a regiment. All the men and line officers were Colored; the staff-officers were white. Another regiment was raised and officered like the first—only two white men in it; while the third regiment was officered without regard to nationality. Two Colored batteries were raised, but all the officers were white because there were no Negroes found who understood that arm of the service.

The summer was gone, and Gen. McClellan, instead of "taking Richmond," had closed his campaign on the Peninsula most ingloriously. The President was compelled to make another call for troops—60,000. Conscription was unavoidable in many places, and prejudice against the military employment of Negroes began to decrease in proportion to the increase of the chances of white men to be drafted. On the 16th of July, 1862, Gen. Henry Wilson, United States Senator from Massachusetts, and Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, introduced a bill in the Senate amending the act of 1795, prescribing the manner of the calling forth of the militia to suppress insurrections, etc. Several amendments were offered, much debate was had, and finally it passed, amended, empowering the President to accept

¹ Greeley, vol. ii, pp. 517, 518.

"persons of African descent, for the purpose of constructing entrenchments or performing camp service, or *any* war service for which they may be found competent." It was agreed, grudgingly, to free the slaves of rebels *only* who should faithfully serve the country,—but *not* their wives and children! The vote was 28 yeas to 9 nays. It went to the House, where it was managed by Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, and upon a call of the previous question was passed. On the next day, July 17th, it received the signature of the President, and became the law of the land.

On the 28th of January the Army Appropriation bill was under consideration in the United States Senate. Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, had opposed, by the most frantic and desperate efforts, every attempt to use Negroes in any capacity to aid in the suppression of the Rebellion. Accordingly he offered the following amendment to the Appropriation bill:

"Provided, That no part of the sums appropriated by this act shall be disbursed for the pay, subsistence, or any other supplies, of any negro, free or slave, in the armed military service of the United States."

It received 8 votes, with 28 against it. Those who sustained the amendment were all Democrats:

Messrs. Carlyle, G. Davis, Kennedy, Latham, Nesmith, Powell, Turpie, and Wall.

The fight against the employment of Negroes as soldiers was renewed. On every occasion the opposition was led by a Kentucky representative! On the 21st of December, 1863, during the pendency of the Deficiency bill in the House, Mr. Harding, of Kentucky, desired to amend it by inserting the following:

"Provided, That no part of the moneys aforesaid shall be applied to the raising, arming, equipping, or paying of negro soldiers."

It was rejected: yeas, 41; nays, 105. The yeas were:

Messrs. Ancona, Bliss, James S. Brown, Coffroth, Cox, Dawson, Dennison, Eden, Edgerton, Eldridge, Finck, Grider, Hall, Harding, Harrington, Benjamin G. Harris, Charles M. Harris, Philip Johnson, William Johnson, King, Knapp, Law, Long, Marcy, McKinney, William H. Miller, James R. Morris, Morrison, Noble, John O'Neill, Pendleton, Samuel J. Randall, Rogers, Ross, Scott, Stiles, Strouse, Stuart, Chilton A. White, Joseph W. White, Yeaman.

On the 26th of January, 1863, the Secretary of War authorized Gov. John A. Andrew, of Massachusetts, to raise two regiments of Negro troops to serve three years. The order allowed the governor to raise "volunteer companies of artillery for duty in the forts of Massachusetts and elsewhere, and such companies of infantry for the volunteer military service as he may find convenient, and may include persons of African descent, organized into separate corps."

The Governor of Massachusetts immediately delegated authority to John W. M. Appleton to superintend the recruiting of the 54th Massachusetts, the first regiment of free Colored men raised at the North. The regiment was filled by the 13th of May, and ready to march to the front. It had been arranged that the regiment should pass through New York City on its way to the scene of the war in South Carolina, but the Chief of Police of New York suggested that the regiment would be subject to insult if it came. The regiment was sent forth with the blessings of Massachusetts and the prayers of its patriotic people. It went by water to South Carolina.

While Massachusetts was engaged in recruiting Negro soldiers, Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant-General of the United States Army, was despatched from Washington to the Mississippi Valley, where he inaugurated a system of recruiting service for Negroes. In a speech to the officers and men in the organization of white troops, he said, on the 8th of April, 1863, at Lake Providence, La.:

"You know full well—for you have been over this country—that the Rebels have sent into the field all their available fighting men—every man capable of bearing arms; and you know they have kept at home all their slaves for the raising of subsistence for their armies in the field. In this way they can bring to bear against us all the strength of their so-called Confederate States; while we at the North can only send a portion of our fighting force, being compelled to leave behind another portion to cultivate our fields and supply the wants of an immense army. The Administration has determined to take from the Rebels this source of supply—to take their negroes and compel them to send back a portion of their whites to cultivate their deserted plantations—and very poor persons they would be to fill the place of the dark-hued laborer. They must do this, or their armies will starve. * * *

"All of you will some day be on picket duty; and I charge you all, if any of this unfortunate race come within your lines, that you do not

turn them away, but receive them kindly and cordially. They are to be encouraged to come to us ; they are to be received with open arms ; they are to be fed and clothed ; they are to be armed."

On the 1st of May, 1863, Gen. Banks, in an order directing the recruiting of the "Corps d'Afrique," said :

"The prejudices or opinions of men are in no wise involved"; and "it is not established upon any dogma of equality, or other theory, but as a practical and sensible matter of business. The Government makes use of mules, horses, uneducated and educated White men, in the defense of its institutions. Why should not the negro contribute whatever is in his power for the cause in which he is as deeply interested as other men? We may properly demand from him whatever service he can render," etc., etc.

In the autumn of 1863, Adjutant-General Thomas issued the following order respecting the military employment of Negroes as soldiers :

"ENLISTMENT OF COLORED TROOPS.

"GENERAL ORDERS, No. 329.

"WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
"WASHINGTON, D. C., October 13, 1863.

"WHEREAS, The exigencies of the war require that colored troops be enlisted in the States of Maryland, Missouri, and Tennessee, it is

"ORDERED BY THE PRESIDENT, That the Chief of the Bureau for the Organization of Colored Troops shall establish recruiting stations at convenient places within said States, and give public notice thereof, and be governed by the following regulations :

"First. None but able-bodied persons shall be enlisted.

"Second. The State and county in which the enlistments are made shall be credited with the recruits enlisted.

"Third. All persons enlisted into the military service shall forever thereafter be FREE.

"Fourth. Free persons, and slaves with the written consent of their owners, and slaves belonging to those who have been engaged in or given aid or comfort to the rebellion, may now be enlisted—the owners who have not been engaged in or given aid to the rebellion being entitled to compensation as hereinafter provided.

"Fifth. If within thirty days from the date of opening enlistments, notice thereof and of the recruiting stations being published, a sufficient number of the description of persons aforesaid to meet the exi-

gencies of the service should not be enlisted, then enlistments may be made of slaves without requiring consent of their owners, but they may receive compensation as herein provided for owners offering their slaves for enlistment.

"Sixth. Any citizen of said States, who shall offer his or her slave for enlistment into the military service, shall, if such slave be accepted, receive from the recruiting officer a certificate thereof, and become entitled to compensation for the service of said slave, not exceeding the sum of three hundred dollars, upon filing a valid deed of manumission and of release, and making satisfactory proof of title. And the recruiting officer shall furnish to any claimant of descriptive list of any person enlisted and claimed under oath to be his or her slave, and allow any one claiming under oath that his or her slave has been enlisted without his or her consent, the privilege of inspecting the enlisted man for the purpose of identification.

"Seventh. A board of three persons shall be appointed by the President, to whom the rolls and recruiting lists shall be furnished for public information, and, on demand exhibited, to any person claiming that his or her slave has been enlisted against his or her will.

"Eighth. If a person shall within ten days after the filing of said rolls, make a claim for the service of any person so enlisted, the board shall proceed to examine the proof of title, and, if valid, shall award just compensation, not exceeding three hundred dollars for each slave enlisted belonging to the claimant, and upon the claimant filing a valid deed of manumission and release of service, the board shall give the claimant a certificate of the sum awarded, which on presentation shall be paid by the chief of the Bureau.

"Ninth. All enlistments of colored troops in the State of Maryland, otherwise than in accordance with these regulations, are forbidden.

"Tenth. No person who is or has been engaged in the rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who in any way has or shall give aid or comfort to the enemies of the Government, shall be permitted to present any claim or receive any compensation for the labor or service of any slave, and all claimants shall file with their claim an oath of allegiance to the United States. By order of the President.

"E. D. TOWNSEND,

"Assistant Adjutant-General."

This order was extended, on October 26th, to Delaware, at the personal request of Governor Cannon.

On the 12th of November, 1863, the Union League Club of New York City appointed a committee for the purpose of recruiting Colored troops. Col. George Bliss was made chairman

and entered upon the work with energy and alacrity. On the 23d of November the committee addressed a letter to Horatio Seymour, Governor of New York, stating that as he had no authority to grant them permission to enlist a Negro regiment; and as the National Government was unwilling to grant such authority without the sympathy and assent of the State government, they would feel greatly obliged should his excellency grant the committee his official concurrence. Gov. Seymour assured the committee of his official inability to grant authority for the raising of Colored troops,—just what the committee had written him,—and referred them to the National Government, on the 27th of November. The committee applied to the authorities at Washington, and on the 5th of December, 1863, the Secretary of War granted them authority to raise the 20th Regiment of United States Colored Troops. Having secured the authority of the Government to begin their work, the committee wrote Gov. Seymour: "We express the hope that, so far as in your power, you will give to the movement your aid and countenance." The governor never found the time to answer the request of the committee!

The work was pushed forward with zeal and enthusiasm. The Colored men rallied to the call, and within two weeks from the time the committee called for Colored volunteers 1,000 men responded. By the 27th of January, 1864, a second regiment was full; and thus in forty-five days the Union League Club Committee on the Recruiting of Colored Regiments had raised 2,000 soldiers!

Out of 9,000 men of color, eligible by age—18 to 45 years—to go into the service, 2,300 enlisted in less than sixty days. There was no bounty held out to them as an incentive to enlist; no protection promised to their families, nor to them should they fall into the hands of the enemy. But they were patriots! They were willing to endure any thing rather than the evils that would surely attend the triumph of the Confederacy. They went to the front under auspicious circumstances.

The 20th Regiment, under the command of Col. Bartram, landed at Thirty-Sixth Street, was headed by the police and the patriotic members of the Union League Club, and had a triumphal march through the city.

"The scene of yesterday," says a New York paper, "was one which marks an era of progress in the political and social history of New York. A thousand men with black skins and clad and equipped with the uni-

forms and arms of the United States Government, marched from their camp through the most aristocratic and busy streets, received a grand ovation at the hands of the wealthiest and most respectable ladies and gentlemen of New York, and then moved down Broadway to the steamer which bears them to their destination—all amid the enthusiastic cheers, the encouraging plaudits, the waving handkerchiefs, the showering bouquets and other approving manifestations of a hundred thousand of the most loyal of our people.

"In the month of July last the homes of these people were burned and pillaged by an infuriated political mob ; they and their families were hunted down and murdered in the public streets of this city ; and the force and majesty of the law were powerless to protect them. Seven brief months have passed, and a thousand of these despised and persecuted men march through the city in the garb of United States soldiers, in vindication of their own manhood, and with the approval of a countless multitude—in effect saving from inevitable and distasteful conscription the same number of those who hunted their persons and destroyed their homes during those days of humiliation and disgrace. This is noble vengeance—a vengeance taught by Him who commanded, 'Love them that hate you ; do good to them that persecute you.'"

The recruiting of Colored troops in Pennsylvania was carried on, perhaps, with more vigor, intelligence, and enthusiasm than in any of the other free States. A committee for the recruiting of men of color for the United States army was appointed at Philadelphia, with Thomas Webster as Chairman, Cadwalader Biddle, as Secretary, and S. A. Mercer, as Treasurer. This committee raised \$33,388.00 for the recruiting of Colored regiments. The 54th and 55th Massachusetts regiments had cost about \$60,000, but this committee agreed to raise three regiments at a cost of \$10,000 per regiment.

The committee founded a camp, and named it "Camp William Penn," at Shelton Hill, near Philadelphia. On the 26th of June, 1863, the first squad of eighty men went into camp. On the 3d of February, 1864, the committee made the following statement, in reference to the raising of regiments :

"On the 24th July, 1863, the First (3d United States) regiment was full.

"On the 13th September, 1863, the Second (6th United States) regiment was full.

"On the 4th December, 1863, the Third (8th United States) regiment was full.

" On the 6th January, 1864, the Fourth (22d United States) regiment was full.

" On the 3d February, 1864, the Fifth (25th United States) regiment was full.

" August 13th, 1863, the Third United States regiment left Camp William Penn, and was in front of Fort Wagner when it surrendered.

" October 14th, 1863, the Sixth United States regiment left for Yorktown.

" January 16th, 1864, the Eighth United States regiment left for Hilton Head.

" The 22d and 25th regiments are now at Camp William Penn, waiting orders from the Government."

The duty of recruiting "Colored troops" in the Department of the Cumberland was committed by Secretary Stanton to an able, honest, and patriotic man, Mr. George L. Stearns, of Massachusetts. Mr. Stearns had devoted his energies, wealth, and time to the cause of the slave during the holy anti-slavery agitation. He was a wealthy merchant of Boston; dwelt, with a noble wife and beautiful children, at Medford. He had been, from the commencement of the agitation, an ultra Abolitionist. He regarded slavery as a gigantic system of complicated evils, at war with all the known laws of civilized society; inimical to the fundamental principles of political economy; destructive to republican institutions; hateful in the sight of God, and ever abhorrent to all honest men. He hated slavery. He hated truckling, obsequious, cringing hypocrites. He put his feelings into vigorous English, and keyed his deeds and actions to the sublime notes of charity that filled his heart and adorned a long and eminently useful life. He gave shelter to the majestic and heroic John Brown. His door was—like the heavenly gates—ajar to every fugitive from slavery, and his fiery earnestness kindled the flagging zeal of many a conservative friend of God's poor.

Such a man was chosen to put muskets into the hands of the Negroes in the Department of the Cumberland. His rank was that of major, with the powers of an assistant adjutant-general. He took up his headquarters at Nashville, Tennessee. He carried into the discharge of the duties of his important office large executive ability, excellent judgment, and rare fidelity. He organized the best regiments that served in the Western army. When he had placed the work in excellent condition he com-

mitted it to the care of Capt. R. D. Mussey, who afterward was made the Colonel of the 100th U. S. Colored Troops.

The intense and unrelenting prejudice against the Negroes, and their ignorance of military tactics, made it necessary for the Government to provide suitable white commissioned officers. The prospect was pleasing to many young white men in the ranks; and ambition went far to irradicate prejudice against Negro soldiers. Nearly every white private and non-commissioned officer was expecting the lightning to strike him; *every* one expected to be promoted to be a commissioned officer, and, therefore, had no prejudice against the men they hoped to command as their *superior* officers. To prepare the large number of applicants for commissions in Colored regiments a "Free Military School" was established at No. 1210 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Secretary Stanton gave the school the following official endorsement in the spring of 1864.

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
"WASHINGTON CITY, March 21, 1864. }

"THOMAS WEBSTER, ESQ., *Chairman*,
"1210 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

"SIR: The project of establishing a free Military School for the education of candidates for the position of commissioned officers in the Colored Troops, received the cordial approval of this Department. Sufficient success has already attended the workings of the institution to afford the promise of much usefulness hereafter in sending into the service a class of instructed and efficient officers.

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"EDWIN M. STANTON,

"*Secretary of War.*"

In reply to a letter from Thomas Webster, Esq., Chairman, etc., of the Recruiting Committee, General Casey sent the following letter:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., March 7, 1864.

"DEAR SIR: Yours of the 4th instant is received, and I have directed the Secretary of the Board to attend to your request.

"It gives me great pleasure to learn that your School is prospering, and I am also pleased to inform you that the Board of which I am President has not as yet rejected one of your candidates. I am grati-

fied to see that the necessity of procuring competent officers for the armies of the Republic is beginning to be better appreciated by the public.

"I trust I shall never have occasion to regret my agency in suggesting the formation of your School, and I am sure the country owes your Committee much for the energy and judgment with which it has carried it out. The liberality which opens its doors to the young men of all the States is noble, and does honor to those citizens of Philadelphia from whom its support is principally derived.

"Truly yours,

"SILAS CASEY,

"Major-General."

"TO THOMAS WEBSTER, ESQ., *Chairman,*

"1210 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia."

In reference to applicants the following letter was written by the Adjutant-General :

"GENERAL ORDERS, }
"No. 125."

"WAR DEPARTMENT,

"ADJUTANT-GEN.'S OFFICE,

"WASHINGTON, March 29, 1864.

"Furloughs, not to exceed thirty days in each case, to the non-commissioned officers and privates of the army who may desire to enter the Free Military School at Philadelphia, may be granted by the Commanders of Armies and Departments, when the character, conduct, and capacity of the applicants are such as to warrant their immediate and superior commanders in recommending them for commissioned appointments in the regiments of colored troops.

"By order of the Secretary of War.

"E. D. TOWNSEND,

"Assistant Adjutant-General."

The organization of the school was as follows :

Chief Preceptor.

JOHN H. TAGGART

(Late Colonel 12th Regiment Pennsylvania Reserve Corps),

Professor of Infantry Tactics and Army Regulations.

Assistant Professors.

MILITARY STAFF.

ALBERT L. MAGILTON

(Graduate of West Point Military Academy, and late Colonel 4th
Regiment Pennsylvania Reserve Corps),
Professor of Infantry Tactics and Army Regulations.

LEVI FETTERS

(Late Captain 175th Pennsylvania Regiment),
Professor of Infantry Tactics and Army Regulations.

STUDENT DANL. W. HERR

(Late 1st Lieutenant Co. E., 122d Pennsylvania Regiment),
Post Adjutant.

STUDENT J. HALE SYPHER, OF PENNSYLVANIA,

Field Adjutant.

STUDENT LOUIS M. TAFT. M.D.

(Graduate of University of Penn.),
Surgeon.

ACADEMIC STAFF.

JOHN P. BIRCH, A.M.,

A. E. ROGERSON, A.M.,

Professors of Mathematics, Geography, and History

WM. L. WILSON,

Librarian and Phonographic Clerk.

STUDENT CHARLES BENTRICK, SR.,

Postmaster.

JAMES BUCHANAN (COLORED),

Messenger.

Within less than six months 1,051 applicants had been examined; 560 passed, and 491 were rejected.

Four regular classes were formed, and in addition to daily recitations the students were required to drill twice every day. The school performed excellent work; and furnished for the service many brave and efficient officers.

By December, 1863, 100,000 Colored Troops were in the service. About 50,000 were armed by that time and in the field.

Everywhere they were winning golden laurels by their aptitude in drill, their patient performance of the duties of the camp, and by their matchless courage in the deadly field. The young white officers who so cheerfully bore the odium of commanding Colored Troops, and who so heroically faced the dangers of capture and cruel death, had no superiors in the army. They had the supreme satisfaction of commanding brave men to whom they soon found themselves deeply attached. It was a school in which the noblest and purest patriot might feel himself honored and inspired to the performance of deathless deeds of valor.

The following tables indicate the manner in which the work was done.

Analysis of Examination of Applicants for Command of Colored Troops, before the Board at Washington, of which Major-General Silas Casey is President, from the organization of the Board to March 29th, 1864, inclusive.

Rank.	Number examined.	Number accepted and for what rank recommended.						Number rejected.
		Colonels.	Lieut.-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	1st Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.	
Colonels	4	—	—	2	—	—	—	2
Lieutenant-Colonels	3	—	2	—	—	1	—	—
Majors	9	2	3	1	2	—	—	1
Captains	68	3	7	8	20	5	3	22
1st Lieutenants	52	3	—	4	10	8	7	20
2d Lieutenants	24	—	—	—	9	2	3	10
Sergeants	505	—	1	—	62	75	133	234
Corporals	230	—	—	—	23	46	64	97
Privates	449	—	—	—	26	57	124	242
Civilians	429	1	6	15	48	49	94	216
Students of the Philadelphia Free Military School	1,773	9	19	30	200	243	428	844
	94	2	4	6	28	25	25	4
	1,867	11	23	36	228	268	453	848

EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES AS SOLDIERS. 299

Analysis of the Examination to 31st March, 1864, of the Students of the Philadelphia Free Military School, before the Board of Examiners at Washington, for Applicants for Command of Colored Troops, Major-General Silas Casey, President.

Rank.	Number examined.	Number accepted and for what rank recommended.						Number rejected.
		Colonels.	Lieut.-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	1st Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.	
Sergeants	14	—	1	—	3	3	6	1
Corporals	8	—	—	—	2	4	2	—
Privates	33	1	—	1	9	11	10	1
Civilians ¹	39	1	3	5	14	6	8	2
	94	2	4	6	28	24	26	4

The following official table gives the entire number of Colored Troops in the army from beginning to end.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.

	Colored Troops furnished 1861-'65.
Connecticut	1,764
Maine	104
Massachusetts	3,966
New Hampshire	125
Rhode Island	1,837
Vermont	120
Total of New England States	7,916
New Jersey	1,185
New York	4,125
Pennsylvania	8,612
Total of Middle States	13,922

¹ Many of these had previously been in the three months', nine months', and three years' service, from which they had been honorably discharged.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.—(*Continued.*)

	Colored Troops furnished 1861-'65.
Colorado Ter.	95
Dakota Ter.	
Illinois	1,811
Indiana	1,537
Iowa	440
Kansas	2,080
Michigan	1,387
Minnesota	104
Nebraska Ter.	
New Mexico Ter.	
Ohio	5,092
Wisconsin	165
Total, Western States and Territories . . .	12,711
California	
Nevada	
Oregon	
Washington Ter.	
Delaware	954
Dist. Columbia	3,269
Kentucky	23,703
Maryland	8,718
Missouri	8,344
West Virginia	196
Total, Border States	45,184
Alabama	4,969
Arkansas	5,526
Florida	1,044
Georgia	
Louisiana	3,486
Mississippi	17,869
North Carolina	5,035
South Carolina	5,462
Tennessee	20,133
Texas	47
Virginia	
Total, Southern States	63,571

EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES AS SOLDIERS. 301

STATES AND TERRITORIES.—(*Continued.*)

	Colored Troops furnished 1861-'65.
Indian Nation	
Colored Troops ¹	
Grand Total	173,079
At Large	733
Not accounted for	5,083
Officers	7,122
Total	186,017

Notwithstanding the complete demonstration of fact that Negroes were required as United States soldiers, there were many opposers of the movement. Some of the best men and leading journals were very conservative on this question. An elaborate and cautious editorial in the "New York Times" of February 16, 1863, fairly exhibits the nervousness of the North on the subject of the military employment of the Negro

"USE OF NEGROES AS SOLDIERS.

"One branch of Congress has rejected a bill authorizing the enlistment of negro soldiers. Mr. Sumner declares his intention to persist in forcing the passage of such a law by offering it as an amendment to some other bill. Meantime the President, by laws already enacted, has full authority over the subject, and we can see no good object to be attained by forcing it into the discussions of Congress and adding it to the causes of dissension already existing in the country at large.

"A law of last Congress authorized the President to use the negroes as laborers or *otherwise*, as they can be made most useful in the work of quelling the rebellion. Under this authority, it is understood that he has decided to use them in certain cases as soldiers. Some of them are already employed in garrisoning Southern forts, on the Mississippi River, which whites cannot safely occupy on account of the climate. Governor Sprague has authority to raise negro regiments in Rhode Island, and has proclaimed his intention to lead them when raised in person, and Gov Andrew has received similar authority for the State of Massachusetts. We see, therefore, not the slightest necessity for any further legislation on this subject, and hope Mr. Sumner will consent that Congress may give its attention, during the short remainder of its session, to topics of pressing practical importance.

¹ This gives Colored Troops enlisted in the States in rebellion; besides this, there were 92,576 Colored Troops (included with the white soldiers) in the quotas of the several States.

"Whether negroes shall or shall not be employed as soldiers, seems to us purely a question of expediency, and to be solved satisfactorily only by experiment. As to our *right* so to employ them, it seems absurd to question it for a moment. The most bigoted and inveterate stickler for the absolute divinity of slavery in the Southern States would scarcely insist that, as a matter of right, either constitutional or moral, we could not employ negroes as soldiers in the army. Whether they are, or are not, by nature, by law, or by usage, the equals of the white man, makes not the slightest difference in this respect. Even those at the North who are so terribly shocked at the prospect of their being thus employed, confine their objections to grounds of expediency. They urge :

"1st. That the negroes will not fight. This, if true, is exclusive against their being used as soldiers. But we see no way of testing the question except by trying the experiment. It will take but a very short time and but very few battles to determine whether they have courage, steadiness, subjection to military discipline and the other qualities essential to good soldiership or not. If they have, this objection will fall, if not then beyond all question they will cease to be employed.

"2d. It is said that the whites will not fight with them—that the prejudice against them is so strong that our own citizens will not enlist, or will quit the service, if compelled to fight by their side,—and that we shall thus lose two white soldiers for one black one that we gain. If this is true, they ought not to be employed. The object of using them is to strengthen our military force ; and if the project does not accomplish this, it is a failure. The question, moreover, is one of fact, not of theory. It matters nothing to say that it *ought* not to have this effect—that the prejudice is absurd and should not be consulted. The point is, not what men *ought* to do, but what they will *do*. We have to deal with human nature, with prejudice, with passion, with habits of thought and feeling, as well as with reason and sober judgment and the moral sense. Possibly the Government may have made a mistake in its estimate of the effect of this measure on the public mind. The use of negroes as soldiers may have a worse effect on the army and on the people than they have supposed.

"But this is a matter of opinion upon which men have differed. Very prominent and influential persons, Governors of States, Senators, popular Editors and others have predicted the best results from such a measure, while others have anticipated the worst. The President has resolved to try the experiment. If it works well, the country will be the gainer. If not, we have no doubt it will be abandoned. If the effect of using negroes as soldiers upon the army and the country, proves to be depressing and demoralizing, so as to weaken rather than strengthen our military operations, they will cease to be employed.

The President is a practical man, not at all disposed to sacrifice practical results to abstract theories.

"3d. It is said we shall get no negroes—or not enough to prove of any service. In the free States very few will volunteer, and in the Slave States we can get but few, because the Rebels will push them Southward as fast as we advance upon them. This may be so. We confess we share, with many others, the opinion that it will.

"But we may as well wait patiently the short time required to settle the point. When we hear more definitely from Gov. Sprague's black battalions and Gov. Andrew's negro brigades, we shall know more accurately what to think of the measure as one for the Free States; and when we hear further of the success of Gen. Banks and Gen. Saxton in enlisting them at the South, we can form a better judgment of the movement there. If we get very few or even none, the worst that can be said will be that the project is a failure; and the demonstration that it is so will have dissipated another of the many delusions which dreamy people have cherished about this war.

"4th. The use of negroes will exasperate the South; and some of our Peace Democrats make that an objection to the measure. We presume it will; but so will any other scheme we may adopt which is warlike and effective in its character and results. If that consideration is to govern us, we must follow Mr. Vallandigham's advice and stop the war entirely, or as Mr. McMaster puts it in his Newark speech, go 'for an immediate and *unconditional* peace.' We are not quite ready for *that* yet.

"The very best thing that can be done under existing circumstances, in our judgment, is to possess our souls in patience while *the experiment* is being tried. The problem will probably speedily solve itself—much more speedily than heated discussion or harsh criminations can solve it."

It did n't require a great deal of time for the Black troops to make a good impression; and while the Congress, the press, and the people were being exercised over the probable out-come, the first regiment of ex-slaves ever equipped for the service was working a revolution in public sentiment. On the last day of January, 1863, the "New York Tribune" printed the following editorial on the subject:

"A disloyal minority in the House is factiously resisting the passage of the Steven's bill, authorizing the President to raise and equip 150,000 soldiers of African descent. Meanwhile, in the Department of the South a full regiment of blacks has been enlisted under Gen. Saxton; is already uniformed and armed, and has been actively drilling for the last seven weeks. A letter which we printed on Wednesday from our Special Correspondent, who is usually well qualified to judge

of its military proficiency, says of this regiment that no honest-minded, unprejudiced observer could come to any other conclusion than that it had attained a remarkable proficiency in the short period during which it had been drilled. We have in addition from an officer of the regiment, who is thoroughly informed as to its condition, a very interesting statement of its remarkable progress, and some valuable suggestions on the employment of negro troops in general.

“ ‘ This regiment—the 1st South Carolina Volunteers, Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson—marched on the 17th for the first time through the streets of Beaufort. It was the remark of many bitterly pro-slavery officers that they looked “splendidly.” They marched through by platoons, and returned by the flank; the streets were filled with soldiers and citizens, but every man looked straight before him and carried himself steadily. How many white regiments do the same? One black soldier said: “We did n’t see a thing in Beaufort; every man hold his head straight up to de front, every step was worth a half dollar.”

“ ‘ Many agreed with what is my deliberate opinion,’ writes this officer, ‘that no regiment in this department can, even now, surpass this one. In marching in regimental line I have not seen it equalled. In the different modes of passing from line into column, and from column into line, in changing front, countermarching, forming divisions, and forming square, whether by the common methods, or by Casey’s methods, it does itself the greatest credit. Nor have I yet discovered the slightest ground of inferiority to white troops.

“ ‘ So far is it from being true that the blacks as material soldiers are inferior to white, that they are in some respects manifestly superior; especially in aptness for drill, because of their imitateness and love of music; docility in discipline, when their confidence is once acquired; and enthusiasm for the cause. *They* at least know what they are fighting for. They have also a *pride* as soldiers, which is not often found in our white regiments, where every private is only too apt to think himself specially qualified to supersede his officers. They are above all things faithful and trustworthy on duty from the start. In the best white regiments it has been found impossible to trust newly-enlisted troops with the countersign—they invariably betray it to their comrades. There has been but one such instance in this black regiment, and that was in the case of a mere boy, whose want of fidelity excited the greatest indignation among his comrades.

“ ‘ Drunkenness, the bane of our army, does not *exist* among the black troops. There has not been *one* instance in the regiment. Enough. The only difficulty which threatened to become at all serious was that of absence without leave and overstaying passes, but this was checked by a few decided measures and has ceased entirely.

“ ‘ When this regiment was first organized, some months ago, it had to encounter bitter hostility from the white troops at Port Royal, and there was great exultation when General Hunter found himself obliged to disband it. Since its reorganization this feeling seems to have almost disappeared. There is no complaint by the privates of insult or ill-treatment, formerly disgracefully common from their white comrades.

“ ‘ It has been supposed that these black troops would prove fitter for garrison duty than active service in the field. No impression could be more mistaken. Their fidelity as sentinels adapts them especially, no doubt, to garrison duty ; but their natural place is in the advance. There is an inherent dash and fire about them which white troops of more sluggish Northern blood do not emulate, and their hearty enthusiasm shows itself in all ways. Such qualities are betrayed even in drill, as anybody may know who has witnessed the dull, mechanical way in which ordinary troops make a bayonet charge on the parade ground, and contrasts it with the spirit of those negro troops in the same movement. They are to be used, moreover, in a country which they know perfectly. Merely from their knowledge of wood-craft and water-craft, it would be a sheer waste of material to keep them in garrison. It is scarcely the knowledge which is at once indispensable and impossible to be acquired by our troops. See these men and it is easier to understand the material of which the famous *Chasseurs d’ Afrique* are composed.’

“ General Saxton, in a letter published yesterday, said : ‘ In no regiment have I ever seen duty performed with so much cheerfulness and alacrity. * * * In the organization of this regiment I have labored under difficulties which might have discouraged one who had less faith in the wisdom of the measure ; but I am glad to report that the experiment is a complete success. My belief is that when we get a footing on the mainland regiments may be raised which will do more than any now in the service to put an end to this rebellion.’

“ We are learning slowly, very slowly, in this war to use the means of success which lie ready to our hands. We have learnt at last that the negro is essential to our success, but we are still hesitating whether to allow him to do all he can or only a part.

“ It will not take many such proofs as this black regiment now offers to convince us of the full value of our new allies. But we ought to go beyond that selfishness which regards only our own necessities and remember that the negro has a right to fight for his freedom, and that he will be all the more fit to enjoy his new destiny by helping to achieve it.”

On the 28th of March, 1863, Mr. Greeley sent forth the following able and sensible editorial on the Negro as a soldier :

"NEGRO TROOPS.

"Facts are beginning to dispel prejudices. Enemies of the negro race, who have persistently denied the capacity and doubted the courage of the Blacks, are unanswerably confuted by the good conduct and gallant deeds of the men whom they persecute and slander. From many quarters come evidence of the swiftly approaching success which is to crown what is still by some persons deemed to be the experiment of arming whom the Proclamation of Freedom liberates.

"The 1st and 2d South Carolina Volunteers, under Colonels Higginson and Montgomery, have ascended the St. John's River in Florida as far as Jacksonville, and have re-occupied that important town which was once before taken and afterward abandoned by the Union forces. Many of the negroes composing these regiments had been slaves in this very place. Their memory of old wrongs, of the privations, outrages and tortures of Slavery, must here, if anywhere, have been fresh and vivid, and the passions which opportunity for just revenges stimulates even in white breasts, ought to have been roused more than in all other places on the spot where they had suffered.

"If, then, Jacksonville were to-day in ashes, and the ghastly spirit visions of '*The World*' materialized into terrible realities, the negro haters would have no cause to be disappointed. '*The World*' hailed the alleged repulse and massacre of the negroes and white officers—a report which it invented outright, in sheer malignity, in order to forestall public opinion by creating a belief in the failure of the expedition—would have changed into agonized shrieks over the outrages on its Southern brethren. The experiment of subjecting negroes to military rules and accustoming them to those amenities of civilized warfare which the rebels so uniformly practice would again have been declared to be a hopeless failure; and for the hundredth time the Proclamation and the radicals who advised it would have been pilloried for public execration.

"Since, however, the contrary of all this is true, it may be presumed by a confiding public which does not read it that '*The World*' has honestly acknowledged the injustice of its slanders. It is unpleasant to disabuse a confiding public on any subject, but we who are sometimes obliged to look at that paper as a professional duty, regret to say that we have not discovered a single evidence of its repentance. The facts are, however, that Colonel Higginson's men landed quietly at Jacksonville, marched through its streets in perfect order, committed no outrages or excesses of any kind, and by the testimony of all witnesses conducted themselves with a military decorum and perfect discipline which is far from common among white regiments in similar circumstances. They have gone before this time still further into the interior,

and will doubtless do good service in a direction where their presence has been least expected by the Rebels. In the only instance in which the white chivalry ventured to make a stand against them, the whites were defeated and driven off the field by the Blacks.

"The truth is that the fitness of negroes to be soldiers has long since, in this country and elsewhere, been amply demonstrated, and the success of Col. Higginson's Black Troops is no matter of surprise to any person tolerably well informed about the history of the race. If it were in any sense an experiment, the only thing to be tested was the obstinacy of our Saxon prejudice which denied the possibility of success, and did what it could to prevent it. But even Saxon prejudice must shortly yield to the logic of facts."

In the face of the fact that the United States Government had employed Negroes as soldiers to fight the battles of the Union, there were men of intelligence who held that it was all wrong in fact, in policy, and in point of law. And this opinion attained such proportions that the Secretary of War felt called upon to request the opinion of Judge Advocate Holt. It is given here.

ENLISTMENT OF SLAVES.

In a letter to Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, dated Aug. 20, 1863, Judge Advocate Holt said: "The right of the Government to employ for the suppression of the rebellion persons of African Descent held to service or labor under the local law, rests firmly on two grounds:

"First, as property. Both our organic law and the usages of our institutions under it recognize fully the authority of the Government to seize and apply to public use private property, on making compensation therefor. What the use may be to which it is to be applied does not enter into the question of the right to make the seizure, which is untrammelled in its exercise, save by the single condition mentioned.

"Secondly, as persons. While those of African Descent held to service or labor in several of the States, occupy under the laws of such States, the status of property; they occupy also under the Federal Government, the status of 'persons.' They are referred to so *nomine* in the Constitution of the United States, and it is not as property but as 'persons' that they are represented on the floor of Congress, and thus form a prominent constituent element alike in the organization and practical administration of the Government.

"The obligation of all persons—irrespective of creed or color—to bear arms, if physically capable of doing so, in defence of the Govern-

ment under which they live and by which they are protected, is one that is universally acknowledged and enforced. Corresponding to this obligation is the duty resting on those charged with the administration of the Government, to employ such persons in the military service whenever the public safety may demand it. Congress realized both this obligation on the one hand, and this duty on the other when, by the 12th section of the Act of the 17th of July, 1862, it was enacted that 'the President be and is hereby authorized to receive into the service of the United States for the purpose of constructing intrenchments, or performing camp service or any other labor, or any military or naval service for which they may be found competent, persons of African Descent, and such persons shall be enrolled and organized under such regulations not inconsistent with the Constitution and the laws, as the President may prescribe.'

"The terms of this Act are without restriction and no distinction is made, or was intended to be made, between persons of African Descent held to service or labor or those not so held.

"The President is empowered to receive them all into the military service, and assign them such duty as they may be found competent to perform.

"The tenacious and brilliant valor displayed by troops of this race at Port Hudson, Milliken's Bend, and Fort Wagner, has sufficiently demonstrated to the President and to the country, the character of service of which they are capable. In the interpretation given to the Enrolment Act, free citizens of African Descent are treated as citizens of the United States, in the sense of the law, and are everywhere being drafted into the military service.

"In reference to the other class of persons of this race—those held to service or labor—the 12th section of the Act of July 17th is still in full force, and the President may in his discretion receive them into the army and assign them to such field of duty as he may deem them prepared to occupy. In view of the loyalty of this race, and of the obstinate courage which they have shown themselves to possess, they certainly constitute at this crisis in our history a most powerful and reliable arm of the public defence. Whether this arm shall now be exerted is not a question of power or right, but purely of policy, to be determined by the estimate which may be entertained of the conflict in which we are engaged, and of the necessity that presses to bring this waste of blood and treasure to a close. A man precipitated into a struggle for his life on land or sea, instinctively and almost necessarily puts forth every energy with which he is endowed, and eagerly seizes upon every source of strength within his grasp; and a nation battling for existence, that does not do the same, may well be regarded as neither wise nor obedient to that great law of self-preservation, from which are derived

our most urgent and solemn duties. That there exists a prejudice against the employment of persons of African Descent is undeniable ; it is, however, rapidly giving way, and never had any foundation in reason or loyalty. It originated with and has been diligently nurtured by those in sympathy with the Rebellion, and its utterance at this moment is necessarily in the interests of treason.

"Should the President feel that the public interests require he shall exert the power with which he is clothed by the 12th section of the Act of the 17th of July, his action should be in subordination to the Constitutional principle which exacts that compensation shall be made for private property devoted to the public uses. A just compensation to loyal claimants to the service or labor of persons of African Descent enlisted in our army, would accord with the uniform practice of the Government and the genius of our institutions !

"Soldiers of this class, after having perilled their lives in the defence of the Republic, could not be re-enslaved without a national dishonor revolting and unendurable for all who are themselves to be free. The compensation made, therefore, should be such as entirely to exhaust the interest of claimants ; so that when soldiers of this class lay down their arms at the close of the war, they may at once enter into the enjoyment of that freedom symbolized by the flag which they have followed and defended."

The Negro was now a soldier, legally, "constitutionally." He had donned the uniform of an American soldier ; was entrusted with the honor and defence of his country, and had set before him liberty as his exceeding great reward. Rejected at first he was at last urged into the service—even *drafted* ! He was charged with the solution of a great problem—his fitness, his valor. History shall record his deeds of patriotism, his marvellous achievements, his splendid triumphs.

CHAPTER XIX.

NEGROES AS SOLDIERS.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF SLAVES AS SOLDIERS. — TRIALS OF THE NEGRO SOLDIER. — HE UNDERGOES PERSECUTION FROM THE WHITE NORTHERN TROOPS, AND BARBAROUS TREATMENT FROM THE REBELS. — EDITORIAL OF THE "NEW YORK TIMES" ON THE NEGRO SOLDIER IN BATTLE. — REPORT OF THE "TRIBUNE" ON THE GALLANT EXPLOITS OF THE 1ST SOUTH CAROLINA VOLUNTEERS. — NEGRO TROOPS IN ALL THE DEPARTMENTS. — NEGRO SOLDIERS IN THE BATTLE OF PORT HUDSON. — DEATH OF CAPTAIN ANDER CALLIOUX. — DEATH OF COLOR-SERGEANT ANSELMAS PLANCHARDIS. — AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF PORT HUDSON. — OFFICIAL REPORT OF GEN. BAKER. — HE APPLAUDS THE VALOR OF THE COLORED REGIMENTS AT PORT HUDSON. — GEORGE H. BAKER'S POEM ON "THE BLACK REGIMENT." — BATTLE OF MILLIKEN'S BEND, JUNE, 1863. — DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLE. — MEMORABLE EVENTS OF JULY, 1863. — BATTLE ON MORRIS ISLAND. — BRAVERY OF SERGEANT CAENEY. — AN ACCOUNT OF THE 54TH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT BY EDWARD L. PIERCE TO GOVERNOR ANDREW. — DEATH OF COL. SHAW. — COLORED TROOPS IN THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC. — BATTLE OF PETERSBURG. — TABLE SHOWING THE LOSSES AT NASHVILLE. — ADJT.-GEN. THOMAS ON NEGRO SOLDIERS. — AN EXTRACT FROM THE "NEW YORK TRIBUNE" IN BEHALF OF THE SOLDIERLY QUALITIES OF THE NEGROES. — LETTER RECEIVED BY COL. DARTING FROM MR. ADEN AND COL. FOSTER PRAISING THE EMINENT QUALIFICATIONS OF THE NEGRO FOR MILITARY LIFE. — HISTORY RECORDS THEIR DEEDS OF VALOR IN THE PRESERVATION OF THE UNION.

ALL history, ancient and modern, Pagan and Christian, justified the conduct of the Federal Government in the employment of slaves as soldiers. Greece had tried the experiment; and at the battle of Marathon there were two regiments of heavy infantry composed of slaves. The beleaguered city of Rome offered freedom to her slaves who should volunteer as soldiers; and at the battle of Cannae a regiment of Roman slaves made Hannibal's cohorts reel before their unequalled courage. When Abraham heard of the loss of his stock, he armed his slaves, pursued the enemy, and regained his possessions. Negro officers as well as soldiers had shared the perils and glories of the campaigns of Napoleon Bonaparte; and even the royal guard at the Court of Imperial France had been mounted with black soldiers. In two wars in North America Negro soldiers had followed the fortunes of military life, and won the applause of white patriots on two continents. So then all history furnished a precedent for the guidance of the United States Government in the Civil War in America.

But there were several aggravating questions which had to be referred to the future. In both wars in this country the Negro had fought a foreign foe—an enemy representing a Christian civilization. He had a sense of security in going to battle with the colonial fathers; for their sacred battle-songs gave him purpose and courage. And, again, the Negro knew that the English soldier had never disgraced the uniform of Hampden or Wellington by practising the cruelties of uncivilized warfare upon helpless prisoners. In the Rebellion it was altogether different. Here was a war between the States of one Union. Here was a war all about the *Negro*; a war that was to declare him forever bond, or forever free. Now, in such a war the Negro appeared in battle against his master. For two hundred and forty-three years the Negro had been learning the lesson of obedience and obsequious submission to the white man. The system of slavery under which he had languished had destroyed the family relation, the source of all virtue, self-respect, and moral growth. The tendency of slavery was to destroy the confidence of the slave in his ability and resources, and to disqualify him for those relations where the noblest passion of mankind is to be exercised in an intelligent manner—*amor patriæ*.

Negro soldiers were required by an act of Congress to fight for the Union at a salary of \$10 per month, with \$3 deducted for clothing—leaving them only \$7 per month as their actual pay. White soldiers received \$13 per month and clothing.¹

The Negro soldiers had to run the gauntlet of the persecuting hate of white Northern troops, and, if captured, endure the most barbarous treatment of the rebels, without a protest on the part of the Government—for at least nearly a year. Hooted at, jeered, and stoned in the streets of Northern cities as they marched to the front to fight for the Union; scoffed at and abused by white troops under the flag of a common country, there was little of a consoling or inspiring nature in the experience of Negro soldiers.

¹ This was remedied at length, after the 54th Massachusetts Infantry had refused pay for a year, unless the regiment could be treated as other regiments. Major Sturges, Agent for the State of Massachusetts, made up the difference between \$7 and \$13 to disabled and discharged soldiers of this regiment, until the 15th June, 1864, when the Government came to its senses respecting this great injustice to its gallant soldiers.

"But none of these things" moved the Negro soldier. His qualifications for the profession of arms were ample and admirable. To begin with, the Negro soldier was a patriot of the highest order. No race of people in the world are more thoroughly domestic, have such tender attachments to home and friends as the Negro race. And when his soul was quickened with the sublime idea of liberty for himself and kindred—that his home and country were to be rid of the triple curse of slavery—his enthusiasm was boundless. His enthusiasm was not mere animal excitement. No white soldier who marched to the music of the Union possessed a more lofty conception of the sacredness of the war for the Union than the Negro. The intensity of his desires, the sincerity of his prayers, and the sublimity of his faith during the long and starless night of his bondage made the Negro a poet, after a fashion. To him there was poetry in our flag—the red, white, and blue. Our national odes and airs found a response in his soul, and inspired him to the performance of heroic deeds. He was always seeing something "sublime," "glorious," "beautiful," "grand," and "wonderful" in war. There was poetry in the swinging, measured tread of companies and regiments in drill or battle; and dress parade always found the Negro soldier in the height of his glory. His love of harmonious sounds, his musical faculty, and delight of show aided him in the performance of the most difficult manœuvres. His imitativeness gave him facility in handling his musket and sabre; and his love of domestic animals, and natural strength made him a graceful cavalryman and an efficient artilleryman.

The lessons of obedience the Negro had learned so thoroughly as a slave were turned to good account as a soldier. He obeyed orders to the letter. He never used his discretion; he added nothing to, he subtracted nothing from, his orders; he made no attempt at reading between the lines; he did not interpret—he *obeyed*. Used to outdoor life, with excellent hearing, wonderful eyesight, and great vigilance, he was a model picket. Heard every sound, observed every moving thing, and was quick to shoot, and of steady aim. He was possessed of exceptionally good teeth, and, therefore, could bite his cartridge and hard tack. He had been trained to long periods of labor, poor food, and miserable quarters, and therefore, could endure extreme fatigue and great exposure.

His docility of nature, patient endurance, and hopeful dispo-

sition enabled him to endure long marches, severe hardships, and painful wounds. His joyous, boisterous songs on the march and in the camp; his victorious shout in battle, and his merry laughter in camp proclaimed him the insoluble enigma of military life. He never was discouraged; *melancholia* had no abiding place in his nature.

But how did the Negro meet his master in battle? How did he stand fire? On the 31st of July, 1863, the "New York Times," editorially answered these questions as follows:

"Negro soldiers have now been in battle at Port Hudson and at Milliken's Bend in Louisiana; at Helena in Arkansas, at Morris Island in South Carolina, and at or near Fort Gibson in the Indian Territory. In two of these instances they assaulted fortified positions and led the assault; in two they fought on the defensive, and in one they attacked rebel infantry. In all of them they acted in conjunction with white troops and under command of white officers. In some instances they acted with distinguished bravery, and in all they acted as well as could be expected of raw troops.

"Some of these negroes were from the cotton States, others from New England States, and others from the slave States of the Northwest. Those who fought at Port Hudson were from New Orleans; those who fought at Battery Wagner were from Boston; those who fought at Helena and Young's Point were from the river counties of Arkansas, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Those who fought in the Indian Territory were from Missouri."

This is warm praise from a journal of the high, though conservative, character of the "Times." Warmer praise and more unqualified praise of the Negro soldier's fighting qualities could not be given. And it was made after a careful weighing of all the facts and evidence supplied from careful and reliable correspondents. But more specific evidence was being furnished on every hand. The 1st South Carolina Volunteers—the first regiment of Negroes enlisted during the war,—commanded by Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, was the first Black regiment of its character under the fire of the enemy. The regiment covered itself with glory during an expedition upon the St. John's River in Florida. The "Times" gave the following editorial notice of the expedition at the time, based upon the official report of the colonel and a letter from its special correspondent:

"THE NEGROES IN BATTLE.

"Colonel Higginson, of the 1st S. C. Volunteers, furnishes an entertaining official report of the exploits of his black regiment in Florida. He seems to think it necessary to put his case strongly, and in rather exalted language, as well as in such a way as to convince the public that negroes will fight. In this expedition, his battalion was repeatedly under fire—had rebel cavalry, infantry, and, says he, 'even artillery' arranged against them, yet in every instance came off with unblemished honor and undisputed triumph. His men made the most urgent appeals to him to be allowed to press the flying enemy. They exhibited the most fiery energy beyond anything of which Colonel Higginson ever read, unless it may be in the case of the French Zouaves. He even says that 'it would have been madness to attempt with the bravest white troops what he successfully accomplished with black ones.' No wanton destruction was permitted, no personal outrages desired, during the expedition. The regiment, besides the victories which it achieved, and the large amount of valuable property which it secured, obtained a cannon and a flag which the Colonel very properly asks permission for the regiment to retain. The officers and men desire to remain permanently in Florida, and obtain supplies of lumber, iron, etc., for the Government. The Colonel puts forth a very good suggestion, to the effect that a 'chain of such posts would completely alter the whole aspect of the war in the seaboard slave States, and would accomplish what no accumulation of Northern regiments can so easily effect.' This is the very use for negro soldiers suggested in the Proclamation of the President. We have no doubt that the whole State of Florida might easily be held for the Government in this way, by a dozen negro regiments."¹

On the 11th of February, 1863, the "Times" gave the following account of the exploits of this gallant regiment in the following explicit language:

"ACCOUNT OF A SUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION INTO GEORGIA AND
FLORIDA WITH A FORCE OF FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-
TWO OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE 1ST SOUTH
CAROLINA VOLUNTEERS.

"The bravery and good conduct of the regiment more than equalled the high anticipations of its commander. The men were repeatedly under fire,—were opposed by infantry, cavalry, and artillery,—fought on board a steamer exposed to heavy musketry fire from the banks of a

¹ Times, Feb. 10, 1863.

narrow river,—were tried in all ways, and came off invariably with honor and success. They brought away property to a large amount, capturing also a cannon and a flag, which the Colonel asks leave to keep for the regiment, and which he and they have fairly won.

"It will not need many such reports as this—and there have been several before it—to shake our inveterate Saxon prejudice against the capacity and courage of negro troops. Everybody knows that they were used in the Revolution, and in the last war with Great Britain fought side by side with white troops, and won equal praises from Washington and Jackson. It is shown also that black sailors employed on our men-of-war, are valued by their commanders, and are on equal terms with their white comrades. If on the sea, why not on the land? No officer who has commanded black troops has yet reported against them. They are tried in the most unfavorable and difficult circumstances, but never fail. When shall we learn to use the full strength of the formidable ally who is only waiting for a summons to rally under the flag of the Union? Colonel Higginson says: 'No officer in this regiment now doubts that the successful prosecution of this war lies in the unlimited employment of black troops.' The remark is true in a military sense, and it has a still deeper political significance.

"When General Hunter has scattered 50,000 muskets among the negroes of the Carolinas, and General Butler has organized the 100,000 or 200,000 blacks for whom he may perhaps shortly carry arms to New Orleans, the possibility of restoring the Union as it was, with slavery again its dormant power, will be seen to have finally passed away. The negro is indeed the key to success."¹

So here, in the Department of the South, where General Hunter had displayed such admirable military judgment, first, in emancipating the slave, and second, in arming them; here where the white Union soldiers and their officers had felt themselves insulted; and where the President had disarmed the 1st regiment of ex-slaves and removed the officer who had organized it, a few companies of Negro troops had fought rebel infantry, cavalry, artillery, and guerillas, and put them all to flight. They had invaded the enemy's country, made prisoners, and captured arms and flags; and without committing a single depredation. Prejudice gave room to praise, and the exclusive, distant spirit of white soldiers was converted into the warm and close admiration of comradeship. The most sanguine expectations and high opin-

¹ Times, Feb. 11, 1863.

ions of the advocates of Negro soldiers were more than realized, while the prejudice of Negro haters was disarmed by the flinty logic and imperishable glory of Negro soldiership.¹

Every Department had its Negro troops by this time; and everywhere the Negro was solving the problem of his military existence. At Port Hudson in May, 1863, he proved himself worthy of his uniform and the object of the most extravagant eulogies from the lips of men who were, but a few months before the battle, opposed to Negro soldiers. Mention has been made in another chapter of the Colored regiment raised in New Orleans under General Butler. After remaining in camp from the 7th of September, 1862, until May, 1863, they were quite efficient in the use of their arms. The 1st Louisiana regiment was ordered to report to General Dwight. The regiment was at Baton Rouge. Its commanding officer, Colonel Stafford [white], was under arrest when the regiment was about ready to go to the front.

The line officers assembled at his quarters to assure him that the regiment would do its duty in the day of battle, and to tender their regrets that he could not lead them on the field. At this moment the color-guard marched up to receive the regimental flags. Colonel Stafford stepped into his tent and returned with the flags. He made a speech full of patriotism and feeling, and concluded by saying: "*Color-guard, protect, defend, die for, but do not surrender these flags!*" Sergeant Planciancois said: "Colonel, I will bring back these colors to you in honor, or report to God the reason why!" Noble words these, and brave! And no more fitting epitaph could mark the resting-place of a hero who has laid down his life in defence of human liberty! A king might well covet these sublime words of the dauntless Planciancois!

PORT HUDSON.

It was a question of grave doubt among white troops as to the fighting qualities of Negro soldiers. There were various doubts expressed by the officers on both sides of the line. The Confederates greeted the news that "niggers" were to meet them in battle with derision, and treated the whole matter as a huge joke. The Federal soldiers were filled with amazement and fear as to the issue.

¹ For the official report of Colonel Higginson and the war correspondent, see *Rebellion Records*, vol. vii. Document, pp. 176-178.

It was the determination of the commanding officer at Port Hudson to assign this Negro regiment to a post of honor and danger. The regiment marched all night before the battle of Port Hudson, and arrived at one Dr. Chambers's sugar house on the 27th of May, 1863. It was just 5 A. M. when the regiment stacked arms. Orders were given to rest and breakfast in one hour. The heat was intense and the dust thick, and so thoroughly fatigued were the men that many sank in their tracks and slept soundly.

Arrangements were made for a field hospital, and the drum corps instructed where to carry the wounded. Officers' call was beaten at 5:30, when they received instructions and encouragement. "Fall in" was sounded at 6 o'clock, and soon thereafter the regiment was on the march. The sun was now shining in his full strength upon the field where a great battle was to be fought. The enemy was in his stronghold, and his forts were crowned with angry and destructive guns. The hour to charge had come. It was 7 o'clock. There was a feeling of anxiety among the white troops as they watched the movements of these Blacks in blue. The latter were anxious for the fray. At last the command came, "Forward, double-quick, march!" and on they went over the field of death. Not a musket was heard until the command was within four hundred yards of the enemy's works, when a blistering fire was opened upon the left wing of the regiment. Unfortunately Companies A, B, C, D, and E wheeled suddenly by the left flank. Some confusion followed, but was soon over. A shell—the first that fell on the line—killed and wounded about twelve men. The regiment came to a right about, and fell back for a few hundred yards, wheeled by companies, and faced the enemy again with the coolness and military precision of an old regiment on parade. The enemy was busy at work now. Grape, canister, shell, and musketry made the air hideous with their noise. A masked battery commanded a bluff, and the guns could be depressed sufficiently to sweep the entire field over which the regiment must charge. It must be remembered that this regiment occupied the extreme right of the charging line. The masked battery worked upon the left wing. A three-gun battery was situated in the centre, while a half dozen large pieces shelled the right, and enfiladed the regiment front and rear every time it charged the battery on the bluff. A bayou ran under the bluff, immediately in front of the guns. It was too deep to

be forded by men. These brave Colored soldiers made six desperate charges with indifferent success, because

“ Cannon to right of them,
Cannon to left of them,
Cannon in front of them
 Volleyed and thundered ;
Stormed at with shot and shell.”

The men behaved splendidly. As their ranks were thinned by shot and grape, they closed up into place, and kept a good line. But no matter what high soldierly qualities these men were endowed with, no matter how faithfully they obeyed the oft-repeated order to “charge,” it was both a moral and physical impossibility for these men to cross the deep bayou that flowed at their feet—already crimson with patriots’ blood—and capture the battery on the bluff. Colonel Nelson, who commanded this black brigade, despatched an orderly to General Dwight, informing him that it was not in the nature of things for his men to accomplish any thing by further charges. “Tell Colonel Nelson,” said General Dwight, “I shall consider that he has accomplished nothing unless he takes those guns.” This last order of General Dwight’s will go into history as a cruel and unnecessary act. He must have known that three regiments of infantry, torn and shattered by about fifteen or twenty heavy guns, with an impassable bayou encircling the bluff, could accomplish nothing by charging. But the men, what could they do?

“ Theirs not to make reply,
Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die.”

DEATH OF CAPTAIN ANDRE CALLIOUX.

Again the order to charge was given, and the men, worked up to a feeling of desperation on account of repeated failures, raised a cry and made another charge. The ground was covered with dead and wounded. Trees were felled by shell and solid shot; and at one time a company was covered with the branches of a falling tree. Captain Callioux was in command of Company E, the color company. He was first wounded in the left arm—the limb being broken above the elbow. He ran to the front of his

company, waving his sword and crying, "Follow me." But when within about fifty yards of the enemy he was struck by a shell and fell dead in front of his company.

Many Greeks fell defending the pass at Thermopylæ against the Persian army, but history has made peculiarly conspicuous Leonidas and his four hundred Spartans. In a not distant future, when a calm and truthful history of the battle of Port Hudson is written, notwithstanding many men fought and died there, the heroism of the "Black Captain," the accomplished gentleman and fearless soldier, Andre Callioux, and his faithful followers, will make a most fascinating picture for future generations to look upon and study.

DEATH OF COLOR-SERGEANT ANSELMAS PLANCIANCOIS.

"Colonel, I will bring back these colors to you in honor, or report to God the reason why." It was now past 11 A.M., May 27, 1863. The men were struggling in front of the bluff. The brave Callioux was lying lifeless upon the field, that was now slippery with gore and crimson with blood. The enemy was directing his shell and shot at the flags of the First Regiment. A shell, about a six-pounder, struck the flag-staff, cut it in two, and carried away part of the head of Planciancois. He fell, and the flag covered him as a canopy of glory, and drank of the crimson tide that flowed from his mutilated head. Corporal Heath caught up the flag, but no sooner had he shouldered the dear old banner than a musket ball went crashing through his head and scattered his brains upon the flag, and he, still clinging to it, fell dead upon the body of Sergeant Planciancois. Another corporal caught up the banner and bore it through the fight with pride.

This was the last charge—the seventh; and what was left of this gallant Black brigade came back from the hell into which they had plunged with so much daring and forgetfulness seven times.

They did not capture the battery on the bluff it's true, but they convinced the white soldiers on both sides that they were both willing and able to help fight the battles of the Union. And if any person doubts the abilities of the Negro as a soldier, let him talk with General Banks, as we have, and hear "his golden eloquence on the black brigade at Port Hudson."

A few days after the battle a "New York Times" correspondent sent the following account to that journal:

"BATTLE OF PORT HUDSON.

"In an account of the Battle of Port Hudson, the 'Times' correspondent says: 'Hearing the firing apparently more fierce and continuous to the right than anywhere else, I hurried in that direction, past the sugar house of Colonel Chambers, where I had slept, and advanced to near the pontoon bridge across the Big Sandy Bayou, which the negro regiments had erected, and where they were fighting most desperately. I had seen these brave and hitherto despised fellows the day before as I rode along the lines, and I had seen General Banks acknowledge their respectful salute as he would have done that of any white troops; but still the question was—with too many,—"Will they fight?" The black race was, on this eventful day, to be put to the test, and the question to be settled—now and forever,—whether or not they are entitled to assert their right to manhood. Nobly, indeed, have they acquitted themselves, and proudly may every colored man hereafter hold up his head, and point to the record of those who fell on that bloody field.

"General Dwight, at least, must have had the idea, not only that they were men, but something *more than men*, from the terrific test to which he put their valor. Before any impression had been made upon the earthworks of the enemy, and in full face of the batteries belching forth their 62 pounders, these devoted people rushed forward to encounter grape, canister, shell, and musketry, with no artillery but two small howitzers—that seemed mere pop-guns to their adversaries—and no reserve whatever.

"Their force consisted of the 1st. Louisiana Native Guards (with colored field-officers) under Lieut.-Colonel Bassett, and the 3d Louisiana Native Guards, Colonel Nelson (with white field-officers), the whole under command of the latter officer.

"On going into action they were 1,080 strong, and formed into four lines, Lieut.-Colonel Bassett, 1st Louisiana, forming the first line, and Lieut.-Colonel Henry Finnegas the second. When ordered to charge up the works, they did so with the skill and nerve of old veterans, (black people, be it remembered who had never been in action before,) but the fire from the rebel guns was so terrible upon the unprotected masses, that the first few shots mowed them down like grass and so continued.

"Colonel Bassett being driven back, Colonel Finnegas took his place, and his men being similarly cut to pieces, Lieut.-Colonel Bassett reformed and recommenced; and thus these brave people went in, from morning until 3:30 p. m., under the most hideous carnage that men ever had to withstand, and that very few white ones would have had nerve to encounter, even if ordered to. During this time, they rallied, and *were ordered to make six distinct charges*, losing thirty-seven killed, and one

hundred and fifty-five wounded, and one hundred and sixteen missing,—the majority, if not all, of these being, in all probability, now lying dead on the gory field, and without the rites of sepulture; for when, by flag of truce, our forces in other directions were permitted to reclaim their dead, the benefit, through some neglect, was not extended to these black regiments.

“The deeds of heroism performed by these colored men were such as the proudest white men might emulate. Their colors are torn to pieces by shot, and literally bespattered by blood and brains. The color-sergeant of the 1st. La., on being mortally wounded, hugged the colors to his breast, when a struggle ensued between the two color-corporals on each side of him, as to who should have the honor of bearing the sacred standard, and during this generous contention one was seriously wounded. One black lieutenant actually mounted the enemy's works three or four times, and in one charge the assaulting party came within fifty paces of them. Indeed, if only ordinarily supported by artillery and reserve, no one can convince us that they would not have opened a passage through the enemy's works.

“Capt. Callioux of the 1st. La., a man so black that he actually prided himself upon his blackness, died the death of a hero, leading on his men in the thickest of the fight. One poor wounded fellow came along with his arm shattered by a shell, and jauntily swinging it with the other, as he said to a friend of mine: “Massa, guess I can fight no more.” I was with one of the captains, looking after the wounded going in the rear of the hospital, when we met one limping along toward the front. On being asked where he was going, he said: “I been shot bad in the leg, captain, and dey want me to go to de hospital, but I guess I can gib 'em some more yet.” I could go on filling your columns with startling facts of this kind, but I hope I have told enough to prove that we can hereafter rely upon black arms as well as white in crushing this ininternal rebellion. I long ago told you there was an army of 250,000 men ready to leap forward in defence of freedom at the first call. You know where to find them and what they are worth.

“Although repulsed in an attempt which—situated as things were—was all but impossible, these regiments, though badly cut up, are still on hand, and burning with a passion ten times hotter from their fierce baptism of blood. Who knows but that it is a black hand which shall first plant the standard of the Republic upon the doomed ramparts of Port Hudson?”¹

The official report of Gen. Banks is given in full. It shows the disposition of the troops, and applauds the valor of the Colored regiments.

¹ New York Times, June 13, 1863.

“HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE GULF, {
“BEFORE PORT HUDSON, May 30, 1863. }

“Major-General H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief, Washington.

“GENERAL :—Leaving Sommesport on the Atchafalaya, where my command was at the date of my last dispatch, I landed at Bayou Sara at two o'clock on the morning of the 21st.

“A portion of the infantry were transported in steamers, and the balance of the infantry, artillery, cavalry, and wagon-train moving down on the west bank of the river, and from this to Bayou Sara.

“On the 23d a junction was effected with the advance of Major-General Augur and Brigadier-General Sherman, our line occupying the Bayou Sara road at a distance five miles from Port Hudson.

“Major-General Augur had an encounter with a portion of the enemy on the Bayou Sara road in the direction of Baton Rouge, which resulted in the repulse of the enemy, with heavy loss.

“On the 25th the enemy was compelled to abandon his first line of works.

“General Weitzel's brigade, which had covered our rear in the march from Alexandria, joined us on the 26th, and on the morning of the 27th a general assault was made upon the fortifications.

“The artillery opened fire between 5 and 6 o'clock, which was continued with animation during the day. At 10 o'clock Weitzel's brigade, with the division of General Grover, reduced to about two brigades, and the division of General Emory, temporarily reduced by detachments to about a brigade, under command of Colonel Paine, with two regiments of colored troops, made an assault upon the right of the enemy's works, crossing Sandy Creek, and driving them through the woods to their fortifications.

“The fight lasted on this line until 4 o'clock, and was very severely contested. On the left, the infantry did not come up until later in the day; but at 2 o'clock an assault was opened on the centre and left of centre by the divisions under Major-General Augur and Brigadier-General Sherman.

“The enemy was driven into his works, and our troops moved up to the fortifications, holding the opposite sides of the parapet with the enemy on the right. Our troops still hold their position on the left. After dark the main body, being exposed to a flank fire, withdrew to a belt of woods, the skirmishers remaining close upon the fortifications.

“In the assault of the 27th, the behavior of the officers and men was most gallant, and left nothing to be desired. Our limited acquaintance of the ground and the character of the works, which were almost hid-

den from our observation until the moment of approach, alone prevented the capture of the post.

"On the extreme right of our line I posted the first and third regiments of negro troops. The First regiment of Louisiana Engineers, composed exclusively of colored men, excepting the officers, was also engaged in the operations of the day. The position occupied by these troops was one of importance, and called for the utmost steadiness and bravery in those to whom it was confided.

"It gives me pleasure to report that they answered every expectation. Their conduct was heroic. No troops could be more determined or more daring. They made, during the day, three charges upon the batteries of the enemy, suffering very heavy losses, and holding their position at nightfall with the other troops on the right of our line. The highest commendation is bestowed upon them by all the officers in command on the right. Whatever doubt may have existed before as to the efficiency of organizations of this character, the history of this day proves conclusively to those who were in a condition to observe the conduct of these regiments, that the Government will find in this class of troops effective supporters and defenders.

"The severe test to which they were subjected, and the determined manner in which they encountered the enemy, leave upon my mind no doubt of their ultimate success. They require only good officers, commands of limited numbers, and careful discipline, to make them excellent soldiers.

"Our losses from the 23d to this date, in killed, wounded, and missing, are nearly 1,000, including, I deeply regret to say, some of the ablest officers of the corps. I am unable yet to report them in detail.

"I have the honor to be, with much respect

"Your obedient servant,

"N. P. BANKS, -

"*Major-General Commanding.*"

The effect of this battle upon the country can scarcely be described. Glowing accounts of the charge of the Black Regiments appeared in nearly all the leading journals of the North. The hearts of orators and poets were stirred to elegant utterance. The friends of the Negro were encouraged, and their number multiplied. The Colored people themselves were jubilant. Mr. George H. Boker, of Philadelphia, the poet friend of the Negro, wrote the following elegant verses on the gallant charge of the 1st Louisiana:

THE BLACK REGIMENT.

MAY 27, 1863.

BY GEORGE H. BOKER.

Dark as the clouds of even,
Ranked in the western heaven,
Waiting the breath that lifts
All the dread mass, and drifts
Tempest and falling brand
Over a ruined land ;—
So still and orderly,
Arm to arm, knee to knee,
Waiting the great event,
Stands the black regiment.

Down the long dusky line
Teeth gleam and eyeballs shine ;
And the bright bayonet,
Bristling and firmly set,
Flashed with a purpose grand,
Long ere the sharp command
Of the fierce rolling drum
Told them their time had come,
Told them what work was sent
For the black regiment.

" Now," the flag-sergeant cried,
" Though death and hell betide,
Let the whole nation see
If we are fit to be
Free in this land ; or bound
Down, like the whining hound—
Bound with red stripes of pain
In our old chains again ! "
Oh ! what a shout there went
From the black regiment !

" Charge ! " Trump and drum awoke,
Onward the bondmen broke ;
Bayonet and sabre-stroke
Vainly opposed their rush.

Through the wild battle's crush,
With but one thought aflush,
Driving their lords like chaff,
In the guns' mouths they laugh ;
Or at the slippery brands
Leaping with open hands,
Down they tear man and horse,
Down in their awful course ;
Trampling with bloody heel
Over the crashing steel,
All their eyes forward bent,
Rushed the black regiment.

" Freedom ! " their battle-cry—
" Freedom ! or leave to die ! "
Ah ! and they meant the word,
Not as with us 't is heard,
Not a mere party-shout :
They gave their spirits out
Trusted the end to God,
And on the gory sod
Rolled in triumphant blood.
Glad to strike one free blow,
Whether for weal or woe ;
Glad to breathe one free breath,
Though on the lips of death.
Praying—alas ! in vain !—
That they might fall again,
So they could once more see
That burst to liberty !
This was what " freedom " lent
To the black regiment.

Hundreds on hundreds fell ;
But they are resting well ;
Scourges and shackles strong
Never shall do them wrong.
Oh, to the living few,
Soldiers, be just and true !
Hail them as comrades tried ;
Fight with them side by side ;
Never, in field or tent,
Scorn the black regiment !

The battle of Milliken's Bend was fought on the 6th of June, 1863. The troops at this point were under the command of Brig.-Gen. E. S. Dennis. The force consisted of the 23d Iowa, 160 men; 9th La., 500; 11th La., 600; 1st Miss., 150; total, 1,410. Gen. Dennis's report places the number of his troops at 1,061; but evidently a clerical error crept into the report. Of the force engaged, 1,250 were Colored, composing the 9th and 11th Louisiana and the 1st Mississippi. The attacking force comprised six Confederate regiments—about 3,000 men,—under the command of Gen. Henry McCulloch. This force, coming from the interior of Louisiana, by the way of Richmond, struck the 9th Louisiana and two companies of Federal cavalry, and drove them within sight of the earthworks at the Bend. It was now nightfall, and the enemy rested, hoping and believing himself able to annihilate the Union forces on the morrow.

During the night a steamboat passed the Bend, and Gen. Dennis availed himself of the opportunity of sending to Admiral Porter for assistance. The gun-boats, "Choctaw" and "Lexington" were despatched to Milliken's Bend from Helena. As the "Choctaw" was coming in sight, at 3 o'clock in the morning, the rebels made their first charge on the Federal earthworks, filling the air with their vociferous cries: "*No quarter!*" to Negroes and their officers. The Negro troops had just been recruited, and hence knew little or nothing of the manual or use of arms. But the desperation with which they fought has no equal in the annals of modern wars. The enemy charged the works with desperate fury, but were checked by a deadly fire deliberately delivered by the troops within. The enemy fell back and charged the flanks of the Union columns, and, by an enfilading fire, drove them back toward the river, where they sought the protection of the gun-boats. The "Choctaw" opened a broadside upon the exulting foe, and caused him to beat a hasty retreat. The Negro troops were ordered to charge, and it was reported by a "Tribune" correspondent that many of the Union troops were killed before the gun-boats could be signalled to "*cease firing.*" The following description of the battle was given by an eye-witness of the affair, and a gentleman of exalted character:

"My informant states that a force of about one thousand negroes and two hundred men of the Twenty-third Iowa, belonging to the Second brigade, Carr's division (the Twenty-third Iowa had been up

the river with prisoners, and was on its way back to this place), was surprised in camp by a rebel force of about two thousand men. The first intimation that the commanding officer received was from one of the black men, who went into the colonel's tent and said : ' Massa, the secesh are in camp.' The colonel ordered him to have the men load their guns at once. He instantly replied : ' We have done did dat now, massa.' Before the colonel was ready, the men were in line, ready for action. As before stated, the rebels drove our force toward the gun-boats, taking colored men prisoners and murdering them. This so enraged them that they rallied and charged the enemy more heroically and desperately than has been recorded during the war. It was a genuine bayonet charge, a hand-to-hand fight, that has never occurred to any extent during this prolonged conflict. Upon both sides men were killed with the butts of muskets. White and black men were lying side by side, pierced by bayonets, and in some instances transfixed to the earth. In one instance, two men, one white and the other black, were found dead, side by side, each having the other's bayonet through his body. If facts prove to be what they are now represented, this engagement of Sunday morning will be recorded as the most desperate of this war. Broken limbs, broken heads, the mangling of bodies, all prove that it was a contest between enraged men : on the one side from hatred to a race ; and on the other, desire for self-preservation, revenge for past grievances and the inhuman murder of their comrades. One brave man took his former master prisoner, and brought him into camp with great gusto. A rebel prisoner made a particular request, that *his own* negroes should not be placed over him as a guard. Dame Fortune is capricious ! His request was *not* granted. Their mode of warfare does not entitle them to any privileges. If any are granted, it is from magnanimity to a fellow-foe.

"The rebels lost five cannon, two hundred men killed, four hundred to five hundred wounded, and about two hundred prisoners. Our loss is reported to be one hundred killed and five hundred wounded ; but few were white men."¹

Mr. G. G. Edwards, who was in the fight, wrote, on the 13th of June :

"Tauntingly it has been said that negroes won't fight. Who say it, and who but a dastard and a brute will dare to say it, when the battle of Milliken's Bend finds its place among the heroic deeds of this war ? This battle has significance. It demonstrates the fact that the freed slaves will fight."

¹ Rebellion Records, vol. vii Doc. p. 15.

The month of July, 1863, was memorable. Gen. Mead had driven Lee from Gettysburg, Grant had captured Vicksburg, Banks had captured Port Hudson, and Gillmore had begun his operations on Morris Island. On the 13th of July the New York Draft Riot broke out. The Democratic press had advised the people that they were to be called upon to fight the battles of the "Niggers" and "Abolitionists"; while Gov. Seymour "*requested*" the rioters to await the return of his adjutant-general whom he had despatched to Washington to have the President suspend the draft. The speech was either cowardly or treasonous. It meant, when read between the lines, it is unjust for the Government to draft you men; I will try and get the Government to rescind its order, and until *then* you are respectfully requested to suspend your violent acts against *property*. But the riot went on. When the troops under Gen. Wool took charge of the city, thirteen rioters were killed, eighteen wounded, and twenty-four made prisoners. The rioters rose ostensibly to resist the draft, but there were three objects before them: robbery, the destruction of the property of the rich sympathizers with the Union, and the assassination of Colored persons wherever found. They burned the Colored Orphans' Asylum, hung Colored men to lamp posts, and destroyed the property of this class of citizens with impunity.

During these tragic events in New York a gallant Negro regiment was preparing to lead an assault upon the rebel Fort Wagner on Morris Island, South Carolina. On the morning of the 16th of July, 1863, the 54th Massachusetts—first Colored regiment from the North—was compelled to fall back upon Gen. Terry from before a strong and fresh rebel force from Georgia. This was on James Island. The 54th was doing picket duty, and these early visitors thought to find Terry asleep; but instead found him awaiting their coming with all the vigilance of an old soldier. And in addition to the compliment his troops paid the enemy, the gunboats "Pawnee," "Huron," "Marblehead," "John Adams," and "Mayflower" paid their warmest respects to the intruders. They soon withdrew, having sustained a loss of 200, while Gen. Terry's loss was only about 100. It had been arranged to concentrate the Union forces on Morris Island, open a bombardment upon Fort Wagner, and then charge and take it on the 18th. The troops on James Island were put in motion to form a junction with the forces already upon Morris

Island. The march of the 54th Mass., began on the night of the 16th and continued until the afternoon of the 18th. Through ugly marshes, over swollen streams, and broken dykes—through darkness and rain, the regiment made its way to Morris Island where it arrived at 6 A. M. of the 18th of July. The bombardment of Wagner was to have opened at daylight of this day; but a terrific storm sweeping over land and sea prevented. It was 12:30 P. M. when the thunder of siege guns, batteries, and gunboats announced the opening of the dance of death. A semicircle of batteries, stretching across the island for a half mile, sent their messages of destruction into Wagner, while the fleet of iron vessels battered down the works of the haughty and impregnable little fort. All the afternoon one hundred great guns thundered at the gates of Wagner. Toward the evening the bombardment began to slacken until a death-like stillness ensued. To close this part of the dreadful programme Nature lifted her hoarse and threatening voice, and a severe thunder-storm broke over the scene. Darkness was coming on. The brave Black regiment had reached Gen. Strong's headquarters fatigued, hungry, and damp. No time could be allowed for refreshments. Col. Shaw and Gen. Strong addressed the regiment in eloquent, inspiring language. Line of battle was formed in three brigades. The first was led by Gen. Strong, consisting of the 54th Massachusetts (Colored), Colonel Robert Gould Shaw; the 6th Connecticut, Col. Chatfield; the 48th New York, Col. Barton; the 3d New Hampshire, Col. Jackson; the 76th Pennsylvania, Col. Strawbridge; and the 9th Maine. The 54th was the only regiment of Colored men in the brigade, and to it was assigned the post of honor and danger in the front of the attacking column. The shadows of night were gathering thick and fast. Gen. Strong took his position, and the order to charge was given. On the brave Negro regiment swept amid the shot and shell of Sumter, Cumming's Point, and Wagner. Within a few minutes the troops had double-quickened a half mile; and but few had suffered from the heavy guns; but suddenly a terrific fire of small arms was opened upon the 54th. But with matchless courage the regiment dashed on over the trenches and up the side of the fort, upon the top of which Sergt. Wm. H. Carney planted the colors of the regiment. But the howitzers in the bastions raked the ditch, and hand-grenades from the parapet tore the brave men as they climbed the battle-scarred face of the fort. Here waves the

flag of a Northern Negro regiment ; and here its brave, beautiful, talented young colonel, Robert Gould Shaw, was saluted by death and kissed by immortality ! Gen. Strong received a mortal wound, while Col. Chatfield and many other heroic officers yielded a full measure of devotion to the cause of the Union. Three other colonels were wounded,—Barton, Green, and Jackson. The shattered brigade staggered back into line under the command of Major Plympton, of the 3d New Hampshire, while the noble 54th retired in care of Lieutenant Francis L. Higginson. The second brigade, composed of the 7th New Hampshire, Col. H. S. Putnam ; 62d Ohio, Col. Steele ; 67th Ohio, Col. Vorhees ; and the 100th New York, under Col. Danby, was led against the fort, by Col. Putnam, who was killed in the assault. So this brigade was compelled to retire. One thousand and five hundred (1,500) men were thrown away in this fight, but one fact was clearly established, that Negroes could and would fight as bravely as white men. The following letter, addressed to the Military Secretary of Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, narrates an instance of heroism in a Negro soldier which deserves to go into history :

“ HEADQUARTERS 54TH MASSACHUSETTS VOLS., }
 “ MORRIS ISLAND, S. C., Oct. 15, 1863. }

“ COLONEL : I have the honor to forward you the following letter, received a few days since from Sergeant W. H. Carney, Company C, of this regiment. Mention has before been made of his heroic conduct in preserving the American flag and bearing it from the field, in the assault on Fort Wagner on the 18th of July last, but that you may have the history complete, I send a simple statement of the facts as I have obtained them from him, and an officer who was an eye-witness :

“ When the Sergeant arrived to within about one hundred yards of the fort—he was with the first battalion, which was in the advance of the storming column—he received the regimental colors, pressed forward to the front rank, near the Colonel, who was leading the men over the ditch. He says, as they ascended the wall of the fort, the ranks were full, but as soon as they reached the top, ‘they melted away’ before the enemy’s fire ‘almost instantly.’ He received a severe wound in the thigh, but fell only upon his knees. He planted the flag upon the parapet, lay down on the outer slope, that he might get as much shelter as possible ; there he remained for over half an hour, till the 2d brigade came up. He kept the colors flying until the second conflict was ended. When our forces retired he followed, creeping on one knee, still holding up the flag. It was thus that Sergeant Carney came

from the field, having held the emblem of liberty over the walls of Fort Wagner during the sanguinary conflict of the two brigades, and having received two very severe wounds, one in the thigh and one in the head. Still he refused to give up his sacred trust until he found an officer of his regiment.

"When he entered the field hospital, where his wounded comrades were being brought in, they cheered him and the colors. Though nearly exhausted with the loss of blood, he said: 'Boys, the old flag never touched the ground.'

"Of him as a man and soldier, I can speak in the highest term of praise.

"I have the honor to be, Colonel, very respectfully,

"Your most obedient servant,

"M. S. LITTLEFIELD,

"Col. Comd'g 54th Reg't Mass. Vols.

"Col. A. G. BROWN, Jr., *Military Secretary to his Excellency John A. Andrew, Mass.*"

It was natural that Massachusetts should feel a deep interest in her Negro regiment: for it was an experiment; and the fair name of the Old Bay State had been committed to its keeping. Edward L. Pierce gave the following account of the regiment to Gov. John A. Andrew:

"BEAUFORT, July 22, 1863.

"MY DEAR SIR: You will probably receive an official report of the losses in the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts by the mail which leaves to-morrow, but perhaps a word from me may not be unwelcome. I saw the officers and men on James Island on the thirteenth instant, and on Saturday last saw them at Brigadier-General Strong's tent, as they passed on at six or half-past six in the evening to Fort Wagner, which is some two miles beyond. I had been the guest of General Strong, who commanded the advance since 'Tuesday.' Colonel Shaw had become attached to General Strong at St. Helena, where he was under him, and the regard was mutual. When the troops left St. Helena they were separated, the Fifty-fourth going to James Island. While it was there, General Strong received a letter from Colonel Shaw, in which the desire was expressed for the transfer of the Fifty-fourth to General Strong's brigade. So when the troops were brought away from James Island, General Strong took this regiment into his command. It left James Island on Thursday, July sixteenth, at nine P. M., and marched to Cole's Island, which they reached at four o'clock on Friday morning, marching all night, most of the way in single file. over swampy and

muddy ground. There they remained during the day, with hard-tack and coffee for their fare, and this only what was left in their haversacks; not a regular ration. From eleven o'clock of Friday evening until four o'clock of Saturday they were being put on the transport, the General Hunter, in a boat which took about fifty at a time. There they breakfasted on the same fare, and had no other food before entering into the assault on Fort Wagner in the evening.

"The General Hunter left Cole's Island for Folly Island at six A.M., and the troops landed at the Pawnee Landing about half-past nine A.M., and thence marched to the point opposite Morris Island, reaching there about two o'clock in the afternoon. They were transported in a steamer across the inlet, and at five P.M. began their march for Fort Wagner. They reached Brigadier-General Strong's quarters, about midway on the island, about six or half-past six, where they halted for five minutes. I saw them here, and they looked worn and weary.

"General Strong expressed a great desire to give them food and stimulants, but it was too late, as they were to lead the charge. They had been without tents during the pelting rains of Thursday and Friday nights. General Strong had been impressed with the high character of the regiment and its officers, and he wished to assign them the post where the most severe work was to be done, and the highest honor was to be won. I had been his guest for some days, and knew how he regarded them. The march across Folly and Morris Islands was over a very sandy road, and was very wearisome. The regiment went through the centre of the island, and not along the beach where the marching was easier. When they had come within about one thousand six hundred yards of Fort Wagner, they halted and formed in line of battle—the Colonel leading the right and the Lieutenant-Colonel the left wing. They then marched four hundred yards further on and halted again. There was little firing from the enemy at this point, one solid shot falling between the wings, and another falling to the right, but no musketry.

"At this point the regiment, together with the next supporting regiments, the Sixth Connecticut, Ninth Maine, and others, remained half an hour. The regiment was addressed by General Strong and Colonel Shaw. Then at half-past seven or a quarter before eight o'clock the order for the charge was given. The regiment advanced at quick time, changed to double-quick when at some distance on. The intervening distance between the place where the line was formed and the Fort was run over in a few minutes. When within one or two hundred yards of the Fort, a terrific fire of grape and musketry was poured upon them along the entire line, and with deadly results. It tore the ranks to pieces and disconcerted some. They rallied again, went through the

ditch, in which were some three feet of water, and then up the parapet. They raised the flag on the parapet, where it remained for a few minutes. Here they melted away before the enemy's fire, their bodies falling down the slope and into the ditch. Others will give a more detailed and accurate account of what occurred during the rest of the conflict.

"Colonel Shaw reached the parapet, leading his men, and was probably killed. Adjutant James saw him fall. Private Thomas Burgess, of Company I, told me that he was close to Colonel Shaw ; that he waved his sword and cried out : 'Onward, boys !' and, as he did so, fell. Burgess fell, wounded, at the same time. In a minute or two, as he rose to crawl away, he tried to pull Colonel Shaw along, taking hold of his feet, which were near his own head, but there appeared to be no life in him. There is a report, however, that Colonel Shaw is wounded and a prisoner, and that it was so stated to the officers who bore a flag of truce from us, but I cannot find it well authenticated. It is most likely that this noble youth has given his life to his country and to mankind. Brigadier-General Strong (himself a kindred spirit) said of him to-day, in a message to his parents : 'I had but little opportunity to be with him, but I already loved him. No man ever went more gallantly into battle. None knew but to love him.' I parted with Colonel Shaw between six and seven, Saturday evening, as he rode forward to his regiment, and he gave me the private letters and papers he had with him, to be delivered to his father. Of the other officers, Lieutenant-Colonel Hallowell is severely wounded in the groin ; Adjutant James has a wound from a grape-shot in his ankle, and a flesh-wound in his side from a glancing ball or piece of shell. Captain Pope has had a musket-ball extracted from his shoulder. Captain Appleton is wounded in the thumb, and also has a contusion on his right breast from a hand-grenade. Captain Willard has a wound in the leg, and is doing well. Captain Jones was wounded in the right shoulder. The ball went through and he is doing well. Lieutenant Homans wounded by a ball from a smooth-bore musket entering the left side, which has been extracted from the back. He is doing well.

"The above-named officers are at Beaufort, all but the last arriving there on Sunday evening, whither they were taken from Morris Island to Pawnee Landing, in the *Alice Price*, and thence to Beaufort in the *Cosmopolitan*, which is specially fitted up for hospital service and is provided with skilful surgeons under the direction of Dr. Bontecou. They are now tenderly cared for with an adequate corps of surgeons and nurses, and provided with a plentiful supply of ice, beef and chicken broth, and stimulants. Lieutenant Smith was left at the hospital tent on Morris Island. Captain Emilio and Lieutenants Grace, Appleton, Johnston, Reed, Howard, Dexter, Jennison, and Emerson, were not wounded and are doing duty. Lieutenants Jewett and

Tucker were slightly wounded and are doing duty also. Lieut. Pratt was wounded and came in from the field on the following day. Captains Russell and Simpkins are missing. The Quartermaster and Surgeon are safe and are with the regiment.

"Dr. Stone remained on the Alice Price during Saturday night, caring for the wounded until she left Morris Island, and then returned to look after those who were left behind. The Assistant Surgeon was at the camp on St. Helena Island, attending to duty there. Lieutenant Littlefield was also in charge of the camp at St. Helena. Lieutenant Higginson was on Folly Island with a detail of eighty men. Captain Bridge and Lieutenant Walton are sick and were at Beaufort or vicinity. Captain Partridge has returned from the North, but not in time to participate in the action.

"Of the privates and non-commissioned officers I send you a list of one hundred and forty-four who are now in the Beaufort hospitals. A few others died on the boats or since their arrival here. There may be others at the Hilton Head Hospital; and others are doubtless on Morris Island; but I have no names or statistics relative to them. Those in Beaufort are well attended to—just as well as the white soldiers, the attentions of the surgeons and nurses being supplemented by those of the colored people here, who have shown a great interest in them. The men of the regiment are very patient, and where their condition at all permits them, are cheerful. They express their readiness to meet the enemy again, and they keep asking if Wagner is yet taken. Could any one from the North see these brave fellows as they lie here, his prejudice against them, if he had any, would all pass away. They grieve greatly at the loss of Colonel Shaw, who seems to have acquired a strong hold on their affections. They are attached to their other officers, and admire General Strong, whose courage was so conspicuous to all. I asked General Strong if he had any testimony in relation to the regiment to be communicated to you. These are his precise words, and I give them to you as I noted them at the time :

"'The Fifty-fourth did well and nobly, only the fall of Colonel Shaw prevented them from entering the Fort. They moved up as gallantly as any troops could, and with their enthusiasm they deserve a better fate.' The regiment could not have been under a better officer than Colonel Shaw. He is one of the bravest and most genuine men. His soldiers loved him like a brother, and go where you would through the camps you would hear them speak of him with enthusiasm and affection. His wound is severe, and there are some apprehensions as to his being able to recover from it. Since I found him at the hospital tent on Morris Island, about half-past nine o'clock on Saturday, I have been all the time attending to him or the officers of the Fifty-fourth, both on the boats and here. Nobler spirits it has never been my fort-

une to be with. General Strong, as he lay on the stretcher in the tent, was grieving all the while for the poor fellows who lay uncared for on the battle-field, and the officers of the Fifty-fourth have had nothing to say of their own misfortunes, but have mourned constantly for the hero who led them to the charge from which he did not return. I remember well the beautiful day when the flags were presented at Readville, and you told the regiment that your reputation was to be identified with its fame. It was a day of festivity and cheer. I walk now in these hospitals and see mutilated forms with every variety of wound, and it seems all a dream. But well has the regiment sustained the hope which you indulged, and justified the identity of fame which you trusted to it.

"I ought to add in relation to the fight on James Island, on July sixteenth, in which the regiment lost fifty men, driving back the rebels, and saving, as it is stated, three companies of the Tenth Connecticut, that General Terry, who was in command on that Island, said to Adjutant James :

" 'Tell your Colonel that I am exceedingly pleased with the conduct of your regiment. They have done all they could do.' "

"Yours truly,

"EDWARD L. PIERCE." ¹

The Negro in the Mississippi Valley, and in the Department of the South had won an excellent reputation as a soldier. In the spring of 1864 Colored Troops made their *début* in the army of the Potomac. In the battles at Wilson's Wharf, Petersburg, Deep Bottom, Chapin's Farm, Fair Oaks, Hatcher's Run, Farmville, and many other battles, these soldiers won for themselves lasting glory and golden opinions from the officers and men of the white organizations. On the 24th of May, 1864, Gen. Fitz-Hugh Lee called at Wilson's Wharf to pay his respects to two Negro regiments under the command of Gen. Wild. But the chivalry of the South were compelled to retire before the destructive fire of Negro soldiers. A "Tribune" correspondent who witnessed the engagement gave the following account the next day :

"At first the fight raged fiercely on the left. The woods were riddled with bullets; the dead and wounded of the rebels were taken away from this part of the field, but I am informed by one accustomed to judge, and who went over the field to-day, that from the pools of

¹ Rebellion Recs., vol. vii. Doc., p. 215, 216.

blood and other evidences the loss must have been severe. Finding that the left could not be broken, Fitz-Hugh Lee hurled his chivalry—dismounted of course—upon the right. Steadily they came on, through obstructions, through slashing, past abattis without wavering. Here *one* of the advantages of colored troops was made apparent. They obeyed orders, and bided their time. When well tangled in the abattis the death-warrant, 'Fire,' went forth. Southern chivalry quailed before Northern balls, though fired by negro hands. Volley after volley was rained upon the superior by the inferior race, and the chivalry broke and tried to run."

On the 8th of June Gen. Gillmore, at the head of 3,500 troops, crossed the Appomattox, and moved on Petersburg by turnpike from the north. Gen. Kautz, with about 1,500 cavalry, was to charge the city from the south, or southwest; and two gun-boats and a battery were to bombard Fort Clinton, defending the approach up the river. Gillmore was somewhat dismayed at the formidable appearance of the enemy, and, thinking himself authorized to use his own discretion, did not make an attack. On the 10th of June, Gen. Kautz advanced without meeting any serious resistance until within a mile and one half of the city, drove in the pickets and actually entered the city! Gillmore had attracted considerable attention on account of the display he made of his forces; but when he declined to fight, the rebels turned upon Kautz and drove him out of the city.

Gen. Grant had taken up his headquarters at Bermuda Hundreds, whence he directed Gen. Butler to despatch Gen. W. F. Smith's corps against Petersburg. The rebel general, A. P. Hill, commanding the rear of Lee's army, was now on the south front of Richmond. Gen. Smith moved on toward Petersburg, and at noon of the 15th of June, 1864, his advance felt the outposts of the enemy's defence about two and one half miles from the river. Here again the Negro soldier's fighting qualities were to be tested in the presence of our white troops. Gen. Hinks commanded a brigade of Negro soldiers. This brigade was to open the battle and receive the fresh fire of the enemy. Gen. Hinks—a most gallant soldier—took his place and gave the order to charge the rebel lines. Here, under a clear Virginia sky, in full view of the Union white troops, the Black brigade swept across the field in magnificent line. The rebels received them with siege gun, musket, and bayonet, but they never wavered. In a short time they had carried a line of rifle-pits,

driven the enemy out in confusion, and captured two large guns. It was a supreme moment; all that was needed was the order, "On to Petersburg," and the city could have been taken by the force there was in reserve for the Black brigade. But he who doubts is damned, and he who dallies is a dastard. Gen. Smith hesitated. Another assault was not ordered until near sundown, when the troops cleared another line of rifle-pits, made three hundred prisoners, and captured sixteen guns, sustaining a loss of only six hundred. The night was clear and balmy; there was nothing to hinder the battle from being carried on; but Gen. Smith halted for the night—a fatal halt. During the night the enemy was reënforced by the flower of Lee's army, and when the sunlight of the next morning fell upon the battle field it revealed an almost new army,—a desperate and determined enemy. Then it seems that Gens. Meade and Hancock did not know that Petersburg was to be attacked. Hancock's corps had lingered in the rear of the entire army, and did not reach the front until dusk. Why Gen. Smith delayed the assault until evening was not known. Even Gen. Grant, in his report of the battle, said: "Smith, for some reason that I have never been able to satisfactorily understand, did not get ready to assault the enemy's main lines until near sundown." But whatever the reason was, his conduct cost many a noble life and the postponement of the end of the war.

On the 16th of June, 1864, Gens. Burnside and Warren came up. The 18th corps, under Gen. Smith, occupied the right of the Federal lines, with its right touching the Appomattox River. Gens. Hancock, Burnside, and Warren stretched away to the extreme left, which was covered by Kautz's cavalry. After a consultation with Gen. Grant, Gen. Meade ordered a general attack all along the lines, and at 6 P.M. on the 16th of June, the battle of Petersburg was opened again. Once more a division of Black troops was hurled into the fires of battle, and once more proved that the Negro was equal to all the sudden and startling changes of war. The splendid fighting of these troops awakened the kindest feelings for them among the white troops, justified the Government in employing them, stirred the North to unbounded enthusiasm, and made the rebel army feel that the Negro was the equal of the Confederate soldier under all circumstances. Secretary Stanton was in a state of ecstasy over the behavior of the Colored troops at Petersburg, an unusual thing for him. In his despatch on this battle, he said:

"The hardest fighting was done by the black troops. The forts they stormed were the worst of all. After the affair was over Gen. Smith went to thank them, and tell them he was proud of their courage and dash. He says they cannot be exceeded as soldiers, and that hereafter he will send them in a difficult place as readily as the best white troops."¹

The "Tribune" correspondent wrote on the day of the battle :

"The charge upon the advanced works was made in splendid style; and as the 'dusky warriors' stood shouting upon the parapet, Gen. Smith decided that 'they would do,' and sent word to storm the first redoubt. Steadily these troops moved on, led by officers whose unostentatious bravery is worthy of emulation. With a shout and rousing cheers they dashed at the redoubt. Grape and canister were hurled at them by the infuriated rebels. They grinned and pushed on, and with a yell that told the Southern chivalry their doom, rolled irresistibly over and into the work. The guns were speedily turned upon those of our 'misguided brethren,' who forgot that discretion was the better part of valor. Another redoubt was carried in the same splendid style, and the negroes have established a reputation that they will surely maintain.

"Officers on Gen. Hancock's staff, as they rode by the redoubt, surrounded by a moat with water in it, over which these negroes charged, admitted that its capture was a most gallant affair. The negroes bear their wounds quite as pluckily as the white soldiers."

Here the Colored Troops remained, skirmishing, fighting, building earthworks, and making ready for the next assault upon Petersburg, which was to take place on the 30th proximo. In the actions of the 18th, 21st, 23d, 24th, 25th, and 28th of June, the Colored Troops had shared a distinguished part. The following letter on the conduct of the Colored Troops before Petersburg, written by an officer who participated in all the actions around that city, is worth its space in gold :

"IN THE FIELD, NEAR PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, }
" June 27, 1864.

"The problem is solved. The negro is a man, a soldier, a hero. Knowing of your laudable interest in the colored troops, but particularly those raised under the immediate auspices of the Supervisory

¹ Herald, June 18, 1864.

Committee, I have thought it proper that I should let you know how they acquitted themselves in the late actions in front of Petersburg, of which you have already received newspaper accounts. If you remember, in my conversations upon the character of these troops, I carefully avoided saying anything about their fighting qualities till I could have an opportunity of trying them.

"That opportunity came on the fifteenth instant, and since, and I am now prepared to say that I never, since the beginning of this war, saw troops fight better, more bravely, and with more determination and enthusiasm. Our division, commanded by General Hinks, took the advance on the morning of the fifteenth instant, arrived in front of the enemy's works about nine o'clock A.M., formed line, charged them, and took them most handsomely. Our regiment was the first in the enemy's works, having better ground to charge over than some of the others, and the only gun that was taken on this first line was taken by our men. The color-sergeant of our regiment planted his colors on the works of the enemy, a rod in advance of any officer or man in the regiment. The effect of the colors being thus in advance of the line, so as to be seen by all, was truly inspiring to our men, and to a corresponding degree dispiriting to the enemy. We pushed on two and a half miles further, till we came in full view of the main defences of Petersburg. We formed line at about two o'clock P.M., reconnoitred and skirmished the whole afternoon, and were constantly subject to the shells of the enemy's artillery. At sunset we charged these strong works and carried them. Major Cook took one with the left wing of our regiment as skirmishers, by getting under the guns, and then preventing their gunners from using their pieces, while he gained the rear of the redoubt, where there was no defence but the infantry, which, classically speaking, 'skedaddled.' We charged across what appeared to be an almost impassable ravine, with the right wing all the time subject to a hot fire of grape and canister, until we got so far under the guns as to be sheltered, when the enemy took to their rifle-pits as infantrymen. Our brave fellows went steadily through the swamp, and up the side of a hill, at an angle of almost fifty degrees, rendered nearly impassable by fallen timber. Here again our color-sergeant was conspicuous in keeping far ahead of the most advanced, hanging on to the side of the hill, till he would turn about and wave the stars and stripes at his advancing comrades; then steadily advancing again, under the fire of the enemy, till he could almost have reached their rifle-pits with his flagstaff. How he kept from being killed I do not know, unless it can be attributed to the fact that the party advancing up the side of the hill always has the advantage of those who hold the crest. It was in this way that we got such decided advantage over the enemy at South Mountain. We took, in these two redoubts, four more guns, making, in all, five for

our regiment, two redoubts, and part of a rifle-pit as our day's work. The Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh United States colored troops advanced against works more to the left. The Fourth United States colored troops took one more redoubt, and the enemy abandoned the other. In these two we got two more guns, which made, in all, seven. The Sixth regiment did not get up in time, unfortunately, to have much of the sport, as it had been previously formed in the second line. We left forty-three men wounded and eleven killed in the ravine, over which our men charged the last time. Our loss in the whole day's operations was one hundred and forty-three, including six officers, one of whom was killed. Sir, there is no underrating the good conduct of these fellows during these charges; with but a few exceptions, they all went in as old soldiers, but with more enthusiasm. I am delighted that our first action resulted in a decided victory.

"The commendations we have received from the Army of the Potomac, including its general officers, are truly gratifying. Hancock's corps arrived just in time to relieve us (we being out of ammunition), before the rebels were reinforced and attempted to retake these strong works and commanding positions, without which they could not hold Petersburg one hour, if it were a part of Grant's plan to advance against it on the right here.

"General Smith speaks in the highest terms of the day's work, as you have doubtless seen, and he assured me, in person, that our division should have the guns we took as trophies of honor. He is also making his word good in saying that he could hereafter trust colored troops in the most responsible positions. Colonel Ames, of the Sixth United States colored troops, and our regiment, have just been relieved in the front, where we served our tour of forty-eight hours in turn with the other troops of the corps. While out, we were subjected to some of the severest shelling I have ever seen, Malvern Hill not excepted. The enemy got twenty guns in position during the night, and opened on us yesterday morning at daylight. Our men stood it, behind their works, of course, as well as any of the white troops. Our men, unfortunately, owing to the irregular features of ground, took no prisoners. Sir, we can bayonet the enemy to terms on this matter of treating colored soldiers as prisoners of war far sooner than the authorities at Washington can bring him to it by negotiation. This I am morally persuaded of. I know, further, that the enemy won't fight us if he can help it. I am sure that the same number of white troops could not have taken those works on the evening of the fifteenth; prisoners that we took told me so. I mean prisoners who came in after the abandonment of the fort, because they could not get away. They excuse themselves on the ground of pride; as one of them said to me: 'D——d if men educated as we have been will fight with niggers, and your government ought not

to expect it.' The real fact is, the rebels will not stand against our colored soldiers when there is any chance of their being taken prisoners, for they are conscious of what they justly deserve. Our men went into these works after they were taken, yelling 'Fort Pillow!' The enemy well knows what this means, and I will venture the assertion, that that piece of infernal brutality enforced by them there has cost the enemy already two men for every one they so inhumanly murdered."¹

The 9th corps, under Burnside, containing a splendid brigade of Colored Troops, had finally pushed its way up to one hundred and fifty yards of the enemy's works. In the immediate front a small fort projected out quite a distance beyond the main line of the enemy's works. It was decided to place a mine under this fort and destroy it. Just in the rear of the 9th corps was a ravine, which furnished a safe and unobserved starting-point for the mine. It was pushed forward with great speed and care. When the point was reached directly under the fort, chambers were made to the right and left, and then packed with powder or other combustibles. It was understood from the commencement that the Colored Troops were to have the post of honor again, and charge after the mine should be sprung. The inspecting officer having made a thorough examination of the entire works reported to Gen. Burnside that the "Black Division was the fittest for this perilous service." But Gen. Grant was not of the same opinion. Right on the eve of the great event he directed the three white commanders of divisions to *draw lots*—who should *not* go into the crater! The lot fell to the poorest officer, for a dashing, brilliant movement, in the entire army, Gen. Ledlie.

The mine was to be fired at 3:30 A.M., on the morning of the 30th of July, 1864. The match was applied, but the train did not work. Lieut. Jacob Douty and Sergt. Henry Rees, of the 48th Pennsylvania, entered the gallery, removed the hindering cause, and at 4:45 A.M. the match was applied and the explosion took place. The fort was lifted into the air and came down a mass of ruins, burying 300 men. Instead of a fort there was a yawning chasm, 150 feet long, 25 feet wide, and about 25 or 30 feet deep. At the same moment all the guns of the Union forces opened from one end of their line to the other. It was verily a judgment morn. Confusion reigned among the Confederates. The enemy fled in disorder from his works. The way to Petersburg was

¹ Rebellion Recs., vol. xi. Doc. pp. 580, 581.

open, unobstructed for several hours ; all the Federal troops had to do was to go into the city at a trail arms without firing a gun. Gen. Ledlie was not equal to the situation. He tried to mass his division in the mouth of the crater. The 10th New Hampshire went timidly into line, and when moved forward broke into the shape of a letter V, and confusion indescribable followed. Gens. Potter and Wilcox tried to support Ledlie, but the latter division had halted after they had entered the crater, although the enemy had not recovered from the shock. Gen. Potter, by *some* means, got his division out of the crater and gallantly led a charge toward the crest, but so few followed him that he was compelled to retire. After all had been lost, after the rebels had regained their composure, Gen. Burnside was *suffered* to send in his "Black Division." It charged in splendid order to the right of the crater toward the crest, but was hurled back into the crater by a destructive fire from batteries and muskets. But they rallied and charged the enemy again and again until nightfall ; exhausted and reduced in numbers, they fell back into the friendly darkness to rest. The Union loss was 4,400 killed, wounded, and captured. Again the Negro had honored his country and covered himself with glory. Managed differently, with the Black Division as the charging force, Petersburg would have fallen, the war would have ended before the autumn, and thousands of lives would have been saved. But a great sacrifice had to be laid upon the cruel altar of race prejudice.

In the battles around Nashville about 8,000 or 10,000 Colored Troops took part, and rendered efficient aid. Here the Colored Troops, all of them recruited from slave States, stormed fortified positions of the enemy with the bayonet through open fields, and behaved like veterans under the most destructive fire. In his report of the battle of Nashville, Major-Gen. James B. Steedman said :

"The larger portion of these losses, amounting in the aggregate to fully twenty-five per cent. of the men under my command who were taken into action, it will be observed, fell upon the Colored Troops. The severe loss of this part of my troops was in the brilliant charge on the enemy's works on Overton Hill on Friday afternoon. I was unable to discover that *color* made any difference in the fighting of my troops. All, white and black, nobly did their duty as soldiers, and evinced cheerfulness and resolution, such as I have never seen excelled in any campaign of the war in which I have borne a part." ¹

¹ Rebellion Recs., vol. xi. Doc., p. 89.

The following table shows the losses in this action :

	Killed.		Wounded.		Missing.		Total.	
	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.
Fourteenth U. S. Colored Infantry		4		41		20		65
Forty-fourth " "	1	2		27	2	49	3	78
Sixteenth " "		1		2				3
Eighteenth " "		1		5		3		9
Seventeenth " "	7	14	4	64			6	78
Twelfth " "	3	10	3	99			6	109
Thirteenth " "	4	51	4	161		1	8	213
One Hundredth " "	12	12	5	116			5	128
Eighteenth Ohio Infantry	2	9	2	38		9	4	56
Sixty-eighth Indiana Infantry		1		7		33		8
Provisional Division, A. C. .	1	19	3	74			4	126
Twentieth Indiana Battery			2	6			2	6
Aggregate	18	124	23	640	2	115	38	879
Total								38
								917

Organized as the First Colored Brigade, Colonel T. J. Morgan, commanding.

Organized as the Second Colored Brigade, Col. C. K. Thompson, commanding.

Included in the Provisional Division, A. C., Brigadier-General Cruft, commanding.

Captain Osborn.

At the battle of Appomattox a division of picked Colored Troops (Gen. Birney¹) accomplished some most desperate and brilliant fighting, and received the praise of the white troops who acted as their support.

From the day the Government put arms into the hands of Negro soldiers to the last hour of the Slave-holders' Rebellion they rendered effective aid in surpressing the rebellion and in saving the Union. They fought a twofold battle—conquered the prejudices and fears of the white people of the North and the swaggering insolence and lofty confidence of the South.

As to the efficiency of Negroes as soldiers abundant testimony awaits the hand of the historian. The following letter speaks for itself.

ADJ.-GEN. THOMAS ON NEGRO SOLDIERS.

"WAR DEP'T, ADJ.-GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
"WASHINGTON, May 30, 1864. }

"HON. H. WILSON :

"DEAR SIR : On several occasions when on the Mississippi River, I contemplated writing to you respecting the colored troops and to suggest that, as they have been fully tested as soldiers, their pay should be raised to that of white troops, and I desire now to give my testimony in their behalf. You are aware that I have been engaged in the organization of freedmen for over a year, and have necessarily been thrown in constant contact with them.

"The negro in a state of slavery is brought up by the master, from early childhood, to strict obedience and to obey implicitly the dictates of the white man, and they are thus led to believe that they are an inferior race. Now, when organized into troops, they carry this habit of obedience with them, and their officers being entirely white men, the negroes promptly obey their orders.

"A regiment is thus rapidly brought into a state of discipline. They are a religious people—another high quality for making good soldiers. They are a musical people, and thus readily learn to march and accurately perform their manœuvres. They take pride in being elevated as soldiers, and keep themselves, as their camp grounds, neat and clean. This I know from special inspection, two of my staff-officers being constantly on inspecting duty. They have proved a most important addi-

¹ I remember now, as I was in the battle of Appomattox Court House, that Gen. Birney was relieved just after the battle of Farmville, because he refused to march his division in the rear of all the white troops. It was doubtless Gen. Foster who led the Colored Troops in the action at Appomattox.

tion to our forces, enabling the Generals in active operations to take a large force of white troops into the field ; and now brigades of blacks are placed with the whites. The forts erected at the important points on the river are nearly all garrisoned by blacks—artillery regiments raised for the purpose,—say at Paducah and Columbus, Kentucky, Memphis, Tennessee, Vicksburg and Natchez, Mississippi and most of the works around New Orleans.

“ Experience proves that they manage heavy guns very well. Their fighting qualities have also been fully tested a number of times, and I am yet to hear of the first case where they did not fully stand up to their work. I passed over the ground where the 1st Louisiana made the gallant charge at Port Hudson, by far the stronger part of the rebel works. The wonder is that so many have made their escape. At Milliken’s Bend where I had three incomplete regiments,—one without arms until the day previous to the attack,—greatly superior numbers of the rebels charged furiously up to the very breastworks. The negroes met the enemy on the ramparts, and both sides freely used the bayonet—a most rare occurrence in warfare, as one of the other party gives way before coming in contact with the steel. The rebels were defeated with heavy loss. The bridge at Moscow, on the line of railroad from Memphis to Corinth, was defended by one small regiment of blacks. A cavalry attack of three times their number was made, the blacks defeating them in three charges made by the Rebels.

“ They fought them hours till our cavalry came up, when the defeat was made complete, many of the dead being left on the field.

“ A cavalry force of three hundred and fifty attacked three hundred rebel cavalry near the Big Black with signal success, a number of prisoners being taken and marched to Vicksburg. Forrest attacked Paducah with 7,500 men. The garrison was between 500 and 600, nearly 400 being colored troops recently raised. What troops could have done better? So, too, they fought well at Fort Pillow till overpowered by greatly superior numbers.

“ The above enumerated cases seem to me sufficient to demonstrate the value of the colored troops.

“ I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ L. THOMAS, *Adj.-General*.

In regard to the conduct of the Colored Troops at Petersburg, a correspondent to the “ Boston Journal ” gave the following account from the lips of Gen. Smith :

“ A few days ago I sat in the tent of Gen. W. F. Smith, commander of the 18th Corps, and heard his narration of the manner in which

Gen. Hinks' division of colored troops stood the fire and charged upon the Rebel works east of Petersburg on the 16th of June. There were thirteen guns pouring a constant fire of shot and shell upon those troops, enfilading the line, cutting it lengthwise and crosswise, 'Yet they stood unmoved for *six hours*. Not a man flinched. [These are the words of the General.] It was as severe a test as I ever saw. But they stood it, and when my arrangements were completed for charging the works, they moved with the steadiness of veterans to the attack. I expected that they would fall back, or be cut to pieces; but when I saw them move over the field, gain the works and capture the guns, I was astounded. They lost between 500 and 600 in doing it. There is material in the negroes to make the best troops in the world, if they are properly trained.'

"These are the words of one of the ablest commanders and engineers in the service. A graduate of West Point, who, earlier in the war, had the prejudices which were held by many other men against the negro. He has changed his views. He is convinced, and honorably follows his convictions, as do all men who are not stone blind or perversely wilful."¹

Gen. Blunt in a letter to a friend speaks of the valor of Colored Troops at the battle of Honey Springs. He says:

"The negroes (1st colored regiment) were too much for the enemy, and let me here say that I never saw such fighting as was done by that negro regiment. They fought like veterans, with a coolness and valor that is unsurpassed. They preserved their line perfect throughout the whole engagement, and although in the hottest of the fight, they never once faltered. Too much praise cannot be awarded them for their gallantry. The question that negroes will fight is settled, besides they make better soldiers in every respect, than any troops I have ever had under my command."²

The following from the Washington correspondent of the "New York Tribune" is of particular value:

"In speaking of the soldierly qualities of our colored troops, I do not refer specially to their noble action in the perilous edge of battle; that is settled, but to their docility and their patience of labor and suffering in the camp and on the march.

"I have before me a private letter from a friend, now Major in one of the Pennsylvania colored regiments, a portion of which I think the

¹ Tribune, July 26, 1864.

² Tribune, August 19, 1863.

public should find in your columns. He says in speaking of service in his regiment : ' I am delighted with it. I find that these colored men learn every thing that pertains to the duties of a soldier much faster than any white soldiers I have ever seen. The reason is apparent,—not that they are smarter than white men, but they feel promoted ; they feel as though their whole sphere of life was advanced and enlarged. They are willing, obedient, and cheerful ; move with agility, and *are full of music*, which is almost a *sine qua non* to soldierly bearing '

"Soon after the letter of which the above is an extract was written, the regiment was ordered to the field from which the Major writes again : ' The more I know and see of these negro regiments, the more I am delighted with the whole enterprise. It is truly delightful to command a regiment officered as these are. In all my experience I have never known a better class of officers. . . . I have charge of the school of non-commissioned officers here. I drill them once a day and have them recite from the oral instructions given them the day before. I find them more anxious to learn their duties and more ready to perform them when they know them than any set of non-commissioned officers I ever saw. . . . There is no discount on these fellows at all. Give me a thousand such men as compose this regiment and I desire no stronger battalion to lead against an enemy that is at once their oppressors and traitors to my, and my soldiers' country.'

"This testimony is worth a chapter of speculation. The Major alludes to one fact above, moreover, to which the public attention has not been often directed—the excellent and able men who are in command of our colored troops. They are generally men of heart—men of opinions—men whose generous impulses have not been chilled in 'the cold shade of West Point.'

"The officer from whose letter I have quoted was a volunteer in the ranks of a Pennsylvania regiment from the day of the attack on Sumter until August, 1862. His bravery, his devotion to the principles of freedom, his zeal in the holy cause of his country through all the campaigns of the calamitous McClellan, won the regard and attention of our loyal Governor Curtin, who, with rare good sense and discrimination, took him from the ranks and made him first, Lieut.-Colonel, and then Colonel of a regiment in the nine months' service. He carried himself through all in such a manner as fully justified the Governor's confidence, and has stepped now into a position where his patriotic zeal can concentrate the valor of these untutored free men in defense of our imperilled country. So long as these brave colored men are officered by gallant, high-hearted, slave-hating men, we can never despair of the Republic."¹

¹ New York Tribune, Nov. 14, 1863.

Mr. D. Aden in a letter to Col. Darling, dated Norfolk, Va., Feb. 22, 1864, said :

"During the expedition last October to Charles City Court House, on the Peninsula, the colored troops marched steadily through storm and mud ; and on coming up with the enemy, behaved as bravely under fire as veterans. An officer of the 1st N. Y. Mounted Rifles—a most bitter opponent and reviler of colored troops—who was engaged in this affair, volunteered the statement that they had fought bravely, and, in his own language, more expressive than elegant, were 'bully boys'—which coming from such a source, might be regarded as the highest praise.

"During the recent advance toward Richmond to liberate the Union prisoners, the 4th, 5th, and 9th regiments formed part of the expedition and behaved splendidly. They marched thirty miles in ten hours, and an unusually small number straggled on the route."

Col. John A. Foster of the 175th New York, in January, 1864, wrote to Col. Darling as follows :

"While before Port Hudson, during the siege of that place, I was acting on Col. Gooding's staff, prior to the arrival of my regiment at that place. On the assault of May 27, 1863, Col. Gooding was ordered to proceed to the extreme right of our lines and oversee the charge of the two regiments constituting the negro-brigade, and I accompanied him.

"We witnessed them in line of battle, under a very heavy fire of musketry, and siege and field pieces. There was a deep gully or bayou before them, which they could not cross nor ford in the presence of the enemy, and hence an assault was wholly impracticable. Yet they made five several attempts to swim and cross it, preparatory to an assault on the enemy's works ; and in this, too, in fair view of the enemy, and at short musket range. Added to this, the nature of the enemy's works was such that it allowed an enfilading fire. Success was impossible ; yet they behaved as cool as if veterans, and when ordered to retire, marched off as if on parade. I feel satisfied that, if the position of the bayou had been known and the assault made a quarter of a mile to the left of where it was, the place would have been taken by this negro brigade on that day.

"On that day I witnessed the attack made by the divisions of Generals Grover and Paine, and can truly say I saw no steadier fighting by those daring men than did the negroes in this their first fight.

"On the second assault, June 14th, in the assault made by Gen. Paine's division, our loss was very great in wounded, and, as there was

a want of ambulance men, I ordered about a hundred negroes, who were standing idle and unharmed, to take the stretchers and carry the wounded from the field. Under a most severe fire of musketry, grape, and canister, they performed this duty with unflinching courage and nonchalance. They suffered severely in this duty both in killed and wounded ; yet not a man faltered. These men had just been recruited, and were not even partially disciplined. But I next saw the negroes (engineers) working in these trenches, under a heavy fire of the enemy. They worked faithfully, and wholly regardless of exposure to the enemy's fire."

Mr. Cadwallader in his despatch concerning the battle of Spottsylvania, dated May 18th, says :

"It is a subject of considerable merriment in camp that a charge of the famous Hampton Legion, the flower of Southern chivalry, was repulsed by the Colored Troops of General Ferrero's command."¹

· These are but a *few* of the tributes that brave and true white men cheerfully gave to the valor and loyalty of Colored Troops during the war. No officer, whose privilege it was to command or observe the conduct of these troops, has ever hesitated to give a full and cheerful endorsement of their worth as men, their loyalty as Americans, and their eminent qualifications for the duties and dangers of military life. No history of the war has ever been written, no history of the war ever can be written, without mentioning the patience, endurance, fortitude, and heroism of the Negro soldiers who prayed, wept, fought, bled, and died for the preservation of the Union of the United States of America !

¹ New York Herald, May 20, 1864.

CHAPTER XX.

CAPTURE AND TREATMENT OF NEGRO SOLDIERS.

THE MILITARY EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES DISTASTEFUL TO THE REBEL AUTHORITIES — THE CONFEDERATES THE FIRST TO EMPLOY NEGROES AS SOLDIERS — JEFFERSON DAVIS REFERS TO THE SUBJECT IN HIS MESSAGE, AND THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS ORDERS ALL NEGROES CAPTURED TO BE TURNED OVER TO THE STATE AUTHORITIES, AND RAISES THE "BLACK FLAG" UPON WHITE OFFICERS COMMANDING NEGRO SOLDIERS — THE NEW YORK PRESS CALLS UPON THE GOVERNMENT TO PROTECT ITS NEGRO SOLDIERS — SECRETARY STANTON'S ACTION. — THE PRESIDENT'S ORDER — CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GEN. PECK AND GEN. PICKETT IN REGARD TO THE KILLING OF A COLORED MAN AFTER HE HAD SURRENDERED AT THE BATTLE OF NEW-BERN. — SOUTHERN PRESS ON THE CAPTURE AND TREATMENT OF NEGRO SOLDIERS — THE REBELS REFUSE TO EXCHANGE NEGRO SOLDIERS CAPTURED ON MORRIS AND JAMES ISLANDS ON ACCOUNT OF THE ORDER OF THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS WHICH REQUIRED THEM TO BE TURNED OVER TO THE AUTHORITIES OF THE SEVERAL STATES. — JEFFERSON DAVIS ISSUES A PROCLAMATION OUTLAWING GEN. H. F. BUTLER. — HE IS TO BE HUNG WITHOUT TRIAL BY ANY CONFEDERATE OFFICER WHO MAY CAPTURE HIM — THE BATTLE OF FORT PILLOW. — THE GALLANT DEFENCE BY THE LITTLE BAND OF UNION TROOPS — IT REFUSES TO CAPITULATE AND IS ASSAULTED AND CAPTURED BY AN OVERWHELMING FORCE. — THE UNION TROOPS BUTCHERED IN COLD BLOOD. — THE WOUNDED ARE CARRIED INTO HOUSES WHICH ARE FIRED AND BURNED WITH THEIR HELPLESS VICTIMS. — MEN ARE NAILED TO THE OUTSIDE OF BUILDINGS THROUGH THEIR HANDS AND FEET AND BURNED ALIVE. — THE WOUNDED AND DYING ARE BRAINED WHERE THEY LAY IN THEIR EDDING BLOOD — THE OUTRAGES ARE RENEWED IN THE MORNING — DEAD AND LIVING FIND A COMMON SEPULCHRE IN THE TRENCH. — GENERAL CHAMBERS ORDERS THE KILLING OF A NEGRO CHILD — TESTIMONY OF THE FEW UNION SOLDIERS WHO WERE ENABLED TO CRAWL OUT OF THE GILT EDGE, FIRE PROOF HELL AT PILLOW — THEY GIVE A SICKENING ACCOUNT OF THE MASSACRE BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR. — GEN. FORREST'S FUTILE ATTEMPT TO DESTROY THE RECORD OF HIS FOUL CRIME. — FORT PILLOW MASSACRE WITHOUT A PARALLEL IN HISTORY.

THE appearance of Negroes as soldiers in the armies of the United States seriously offended the Southern view of "the eternal fitness of things." No action on the part of the Federal Government was so abhorrent to the rebel army. It called forth a bitter wail from Jefferson Davis, on the 12th of January, 1863, and soon after the Confederate Congress elevated its olfactory organ and handled the subject with a pair of tongs. After a long discussion the following was passed :

"Resolved, by the Congress of the Confederate States of America, In response to the message of the President, transmitted to Congress at the commencement of the present session, That, in the opinion of Congress, the commissioned officers of the enemy ought *not* to be de-

livered to the authorities of the respective States, as suggested in the said message, but all captives taken by the Confederate forces ought to be dealt with and disposed of by the Confederate Government.

"SEC. 2. That, in the judgment of Congress, the proclamations of the President of the United States, dated respectively September 22, 1862, and January 1, 1863, and the other measures of the Government of the United States and of its authorities, commanders, and forces, designed or tending to emancipate slaves in the Confederate States, or to abduct such slaves, or to incite them to insurrection, or to employ negroes in war against the Confederate States, or to overthrow the institution of African Slavery, and bring on a servile war in these States, would, if successful, produce atrocious consequences, and they are inconsistent with the spirit of those usages which, in modern warfare, prevail among civilized nations; they may, therefore, be properly and lawfully repressed by retaliation.

"SEC. 3. That in every case wherein, during the present war, any violation of the laws or usages of war among civilized nations shall be, or has been, done and perpetrated by those acting under the authority of the Government of the United States, on the persons or property of citizens of the Confederate States, or of those under the protection or in the land or naval service of the Confederate States, or of any State of the Confederacy, the President of the Confederate States is hereby authorized to cause full and ample retaliation to be made for every such violation, in such manner and to such extent as he may think proper.

"SEC. 4. That every white person, being a commissioned officer, or acting as such, who, during the present war, shall command negroes or mulattoes in arms against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, train, organize, or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service against the Confederate States, or who shall voluntarily aid negroes or mulattoes in any military enterprise, attack, or conflict in such service, shall be deemed as inciting servile insurrection, and shall, if captured, be put to death, or be otherwise punished at the discretion of the court.

"SEC. 5. Every person, being a commissioned officer, or acting as such in the service of the enemy, who shall, during the present war, excite, attempt to excite, or cause to be excited, a servile insurrection, or who shall incite, or cause to be incited, a slave or rebel, shall, if captured, be put to death, or be otherwise punished at the discretion of the court.

"SEC. 6. Every person charged with an offence punishable under the preceding resolutions shall, during the present war, be tried before the military court attached to the army or corps by the troops of which he shall have been captured, or by such other military court as the

President may direct, and in such manner and under such regulations as the President shall prescribe ; and, after conviction, the President may commute the punishment in such manner and on such terms as he may deem proper.

"SEC. 7. All negroes and mulattoes who shall be engaged in war, or be taken in arms against the Confederate States, or shall give aid or comfort to the enemies of the Confederate States, shall, when captured in the Confederate States, be delivered to the authorities of the State or States in which they shall be captured, to be dealt with according to the present or future laws of such State or States."

This document stands alone among the resolves of the civilized governments of all Christendom. White persons acting as commissioned officers in organizations of Colored Troops were to "be put to death!" And all Negroes and Mulattoes taken in arms against the Confederate Government were to be turned over to the authorities—civil, of course—of the States in which they should be captured, to be dealt with according to the present or future laws of such States! Now, what were the laws of the Southern States respecting Negroes in arms against white people? The most cruel death. And fearing some of those States had modified their cruel slave Code, the States were granted the right to pass *ex post facto* laws in order to give the cold-blooded murder of captured Negro soldiers the semblance of law,—and by a *civil law* too. Colored soldiers and their officers had been butchered before this in South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida, notwithstanding the rebels were the first to arm Negroes, as has been already shown. If the Confederates had a right to arm Negroes and include them in their armies, why could not the Federal Government pursue the same policy? But the Rebel Government had determined upon a barbarous policy in dealing with captured Negro soldiers,—and barbarous as that policy was, the rebel soldiers exceeded its cruel provisions tenfold. Their treatment of Negroes was perfectly fiendish.

But what was the attitude of the Federal Government? Silence, until the butcheries of its gallant defenders had sickened the civilized world, and until the Christian governments of Europe frowned upon the inhuman indifference of the Government that would *force* its slaves to fight its battles and then allow them to be tortured to death in the name of "*State laws!*" Even the most conservative papers of the North began to feel that some

policy ought to be adopted whereby the lives of Colored soldiers could be protected against the inhuman treatment bestowed upon them when captured by the rebels. In the spring of 1863, the "Tribune," referring to this subject, said, editorially:

"The Government has sent Adj.-General Thomas to the West with full authority to arm and organize the negroes for service against the Rebels. They are to be employed to protect the navigation of the Mississippi and other rivers against guerrillas, and as garrisons at fortified posts, and are evidently destined for all varieties of military duty. Seven thousand soldiers who listened to this announcement at Fort Curtis received it with satisfaction and applause. Gen. Thomas, heretofore known as opposed to this and all similar measures, urged in his address that the Blacks should be treated with kindness; declared his belief in their capacity, and informed the officers of the army that no one would be permitted to oppose or in any way interfere with this policy of the Government.

"It is not directly stated, but may be inferred from the Despatch, that the negroes are not to be encouraged to enlist, but are to be drafted. At all events, the policy of the Government to employ Black Troops in active service is definitely established, and it becomes—as indeed it has been for months—a very serious question what steps are to be taken for their protection. The Proclamation of Jefferson Davis remains unrevoked. By it he threatened death or slavery to every negro taken in arms, and to their white officers the same fate. What is the response of our Government? Hitherto, silence. The number of negroes in its service has already increased; in South Carolina they have already been mustered into regiments by a sweeping conscription, and now in the West apparently the same policy is adopted and rigorously enforced.

"Does the Government mean that the men are to be exposed not merely to the chances of battle, but to the doom which the unanswered Proclamation of the Rebel President threatens?

"Every black soldier now marches to battle with a halter about his neck. The simple question is: Shall we protect and insure the ordinary treatment of a prisoner of war? Under it, every negro yet captured has suffered death or been sent back to the hell of slavery from which he had escaped. The bloody massacre of black prisoners at Murfreesboro, brooked, so far as the public knows, no retaliation at Washington. The black servants captured at Galveston—free men and citizens of Massachusetts—were sold into slavery and remained there. In every instance in which they have had the opportunity, the rebels have enforced their barbarous proclamation. How much longer are they to be suffered to do it without remonstrance?

"Gen. Hunter—at this moment in the field,—General Butler, and hundreds of other white officers are included in this Proclamation, or were previously outlawed and adjudged a felon's death. Delay remonstrance much longer, and retaliation must supersede it. If the Government wishes to be spared the necessity of retaliating, it has only to say that it will retaliate—to declare by proclamation or general order that all its soldiers who may be captured must receive from the Rebels the treatment to which, as prisoners of war, they are, by the usages of war, entitled. The Government can know no distinction of color under its flag. The moment a soldier shoulders a musket he is invested with every military right which belongs to a white soldier. He is at least and above all things entitled to the safeguards which surround his white comrades.

"It is not possible to suppose the Government means to withhold them; we only urge that the wisest, safest, and humanest, as well as the most honorable policy, is at once to announce its purpose."¹

The able article just quoted had a wholesome effect upon many thoughtful men at the South, and brought the blush to the cheek of the nation. A few of the Southern journals agreed with Mr. Greeley that the resolves of the Confederate Congress were unjustifiable; that the Congress had no right to say what color the Union soldiers should be; and that such action would damage their cause in the calm and humane judgment of all Europe. But the Confederate Congress was unmoved and unmoved upon this subject.

Three Colored men had been captured in Stone River on the gun-boat "Isaac Smith." They were free men; but, notwithstanding this, they were placed in close confinement and treated like felons. Upon the facts reaching the ear of the Government, Secretary Stanton took three South Carolina prisoners and had them subjected to the same treatment, and the facts telegraphed to the Rebel authorities. Commenting upon the question of the treatment of captured Colored soldiers the "Richmond Examiner" said:

"It is not merely the pretension of a regular Government affecting to deal with 'Rebels,' but it is a deadly stab which they are aiming at our institutions themselves—because they know that, if we were insane enough to yield this point, to treat Black men as the equals of White, and insurgent slaves as equivalent to our brave soldiers, the very foundation of Slavery would be fatally wounded."

¹ New York Tribune, April 14, 1863.

Shortly after this occurrence an exchange of prisoners took place in front of Charleston. The rebels returned only white prisoners. When upbraided by the Union officers for not exchanging Negroes the reply came that under the resolutions of the Confederate Congress they could not deliver up any Negro soldiers. This fact stirred the heart of the North, and caused the Government to act. The following order was issued by the President :

“EXECUTIVE MANSION, }
“WASHINGTON, July 30, 1863. }

“It is the duty of every Government to give protection to its citizens, of whatever class, color, or condition, and especially to those who are duly organized as soldiers in the public service. The law of nations, and the usages and customs of war, as carried on by civilized powers, permit no distinction as to color in the treatment of prisoners of war as public enemies. To sell or enslave any captured person, on account of his color, and for no offense against the laws of war, is a relapse into barbarism, and a crime against the civilization of the age.

“The Government of the United States will give the same protection to all its soldiers ; and if the enemy shall sell or enslave any one because of his color, the offense shall be punished by retaliation upon the enemy's prisoners in our possession.

“It is therefore ordered that, for every soldier of the United States killed in violation of the laws of war, a Rebel soldier shall be executed ; and for every one enslaved by the enemy or sold into Slavery, a Rebel soldier shall be placed at hard labor on public works, and continued at such labor until the other shall be released and receive the treatment due to a prisoner of war.

“ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

“By order of the Secretary of War.

“E. D. TOWNSEND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*”

In the early spring of 1864, there was a great deal said in the Southern journals and much action had in the rebel army respecting the capture and treatment of Negro soldiers. The “Richmond Examiner” contained an account of the battle of Newbern, North Carolina, in which the writer seemed to gloat over the fact that a captured Negro had been hung after he had surrendered. It came to the knowledge of Gen. Peck, commanding the army of the District of North Carolina, when the following correspondence took place :

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY AND DISTRICT OF
 "NORTH CAROLINA, NEWBERN, NORTH
 "CAROLINA, Feb. 11, 1864. }

"Major-General PICKETT, *Department of Virginia and North Carolina,*
"Confederate Army, Petersburg.

"GENERAL: I have the honor to inclose a slip cut from the Richmond 'Examiner,' February eighth, 1864. It is styled 'The Advance on Newbern,' and appears to have been extracted from the Petersburg 'Register,' a paper published in the city where your headquarters are located.

"Your attention is particularly invited to that paragraph which states 'that Colonel Shaw was shot dead by a negro soldier from the other side of the river, which he was spanning with a pontoon bridge, and that 'the negro was watched, followed, taken, and hanged after the action at Thomasville.'

"THE ADVANCE ON NEWBERN.—The Petersburg "Register gives the following additional facts of the advance on Newbern: Our army, according to the report of passengers arriving from Weldon, has fallen back to a point sixteen miles west of Newbern. The reason assigned for this retrograde movement was that Newbern could not be taken by us without a loss on our part which would find no equivalent in its capture, as the place was stronger than we had anticipated. Yet, in spite of this, we are sure that the expedition will result in good to our cause. Our forces are in a situation to get large supplies from a country still abundant, to prevent raids on points westward, and keep Tories in check, and hang them when caught.

"From a private, who was one of the guard that brought the batch of prisoners through, we learn that Colonel Shaw was shot dead by a negro soldier from the other side of the river, which he was spanning with a pontoon bridge. The negro was watched, followed, taken, and hanged after the action at Thomasville. It is stated that when our troops entered Thomasville, a number of the enemy took shelter in the houses and fired upon them. The Yankees were ordered to surrender, but refused, whereupon our men set fire to the houses, and their occupants got, bodily, a taste in this world of the flames eternal.'

"The Government of the United States has wisely seen fit to enlist many thousand colored citizens to aid in putting down the rebellion, and has placed them on the same footing in all respects as her white troops.

"Believing that this atrocity has been perpetrated without your knowledge, and that you will take prompt steps to disavow this violation

of the usages of war, and to bring the offenders to justice, I shall refrain from executing a rebel soldier until I learn your action in the premises.

"I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"JOHN J. PECK,

"*Major-General.*"

REPLY OF GENERAL PICKETT.

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF NORTH
"CAROLINA, PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, February 16, 1864. }

"Major-General JOHN J. PECK, U. S. A., *Commanding at Newbern* :

"GENERAL : Your communication of the eleventh of February is received. I have the honor to state in reply, that the paragraph from a newspaper inclosed therein, is not only without foundation in fact, but so ridiculous that I should scarcely have supposed it worthy of consideration ; but I would respectfully inform you that had I caught *any negro*, who had killed either officer, soldier, or citizen of the Confederate States, I should have caused him to be immediately executed.

"To your threat expressed in the following extract from your communication, namely : 'Believing that this atrocity has been perpetrated without your knowledge, and that you will take prompt steps to disavow this violation of the usages of war, and to bring the offenders to justice, I shall refrain from executing a rebel soldier until I learn of your action in the premises,' I have merely to say that I have in my hands and subject to my orders, captured in the recent operations in this department, some four hundred and fifty officers and men of the United States army, and for every man you hang I will hang ten of the United States army.

"I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"J. E. PICKETT,

"*Major-General Commanding.*"¹

As already indicated, some of the Southern journals did not endorse the extreme hardships and cruelties to which the rebels subjected the captured Colored men. During the month of July, 1863, quite a number of Colored soldiers had fallen into the hands of the enemy on Morris and James islands. The rebels did not only refuse to exchange them as prisoners of war, but treated them most cruelly.

On this very important subject, in reply to some strictures of

¹ Rebellion Recs., vol. viii. Doc. pp. 418, 419.

the Charleston "Mercury" (made under *misapprehension*), the Chief of Staff of General Beauregard addressed to that journal the following letter:

"HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF S. C., GA., AND FLA., {
"CHARLESTON, S. C., August 12, 1863. }

"Colonel R. B. RHETT, Jr., *Editor of 'Mercury'*:"

"In the 'Mercury' of this date you appear to have written under a misapprehension of the facts connected with the present *status* of the negroes captured in arms on Morris and James Islands, which permit me to state as follows:

"The Proclamation of the President, dated December twenty-fourth, 1862, directed that all negro slaves captured in arms should be at once delivered over to the executive authorities of the respective States to which they belong, to be dealt with according to the laws of said States.

"An informal application was made by the State authorities for the negroes captured in this vicinity; but as none of them, it appeared, had been slaves of citizens of South Carolina, they were not turned over to the civil authority, for at the moment there was no official information at these headquarters of the Act of Congress by which 'all negroes and mulattoes, who shall be engaged in war, or be taken in arms against the confederate States, or shall give aid or comfort to the enemies of the confederate States,' were directed to be turned over to the authorities of 'State or States in which they shall be captured, to be dealt with according to the present or future laws of such State or States.'

"On the twenty-first of July, however, the Commanding General telegraphed to the Secretary of War for instructions as to the disposition to be made of the negroes captured on 'Morris and James Islands, and on the twenty-second received a reply that they must be turned over to the State authorities, by virtue of the joint resolutions of Congress in question.

"Accordingly, on the twenty-ninth July, as soon as a copy of the resolution or act was received, his Excellency Governor Bonham was informed that the negroes captured were held subject to his orders, to be dealt with according to the laws of South Carolina.

"On the same day (twenty-ninth July) Governor Bonham requested that they should be retained in military custody until he could make arrangements to dispose of them; and in that custody they still remain, awaiting the orders of the State authorities.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"THOMAS JORDAN,

"Chief of Staff."

The Proclamation of Jefferson Davis, referred to in the second paragraph of Mr. Jordan's letter, had declared Gen. Butler "a felon, an outlaw, and an enemy of mankind." It recited his hanging of Mumford; the neglect of the Federal Government to explain or disapprove the act; the imprisonment of non-combatants; Butler's woman order; his sequestration of estates in Western Louisiana; and the inciting to insurrection and arming of slaves. Mr. Davis directed any Confederate officer who should capture Gen. Butler to hang him immediately and without trial. Mr. Davis's proclamation is given here, as history is bound to hold him personally responsible for the cruelties practised upon Negro soldiers captured by the rebels from that time till the close of the war.

"First. That all commissioned officers in the command of said Benjamin F. Butler be declared not entitled to be considered as soldiers engaged in honorable warfare, but as robbers and criminals, deserving death; and that they and each of them be, whenever captured, reserved for execution.

"Second. That the private soldiers and non-commissioned officers in the army of said Butler be considered as only the instruments used for the commission of crimes perpetrated by his orders, and not as free agents; that they, therefore, be treated, when captured as prisoners of war, with kindness and humanity, and be sent home on the usual parole that they will in no manner aid or serve the United States in any capacity during the continuance of this war, unless duly exchanged.

"Third. That all negro slaves captured in arms be at once delivered over to the executive authorities of the respective States to which they belong, to be dealt with according to the laws of said States.

"Fourth. That the like orders be executed in all cases with respect to all commissioned officers of the United States, when found serving in company with said slaves in insurrection against the authorities of the different States of this Confederacy.

"[Signed and sealed at Richmond, Dec. 23, 1862.]

"JEFFERSON DAVIS."

The ghastly horrors of Fort Pillow stand alone in the wide field of war cruelties. The affair demands great fortitude in the historian who would truthfully give a narrative of such bloody, sickening detail.

On the 18th of April, 1864, Gen. N. B. Forrest, commanding a corps of Confederate cavalry, appeared before Fort Pillow, situ-

ated about forty miles above Memphis, Tennessee, and demanded its surrender. It was held by Major L. F. Booth, with a garrison of 557 men, 262 of whom were Colored soldiers of the 6th U. S. Heavy Artillery; the other troops were white, under Major Bradford of the 13th Tennessee Cavalry. The garrison was mounted with six guns. From before sunrise until nine A.M. the Union troops had held an outer line of intrenchments; but upon the death of Major Booth Major Bradford retired his force into the fort. It was situated upon a high bluff on the Mississippi River, flanked by two ravines with sheer declivities and partially timbered. The gun-boat "New Era" was to have coöperated with the fort, but on account of the extreme height of the bluff, was unable to do much. The fighting continued until about two o'clock in the afternoon, when the firing slackened on both sides to allow the guns to cool off. The "New Era," nearly out of shell, backed into the river to clean her guns. During this lull Gen. Forrest sent a flag of truce demanding the unconditional surrender of the fort. A consultation of the Federal officers was held, and a request made for twenty minutes to consult the officers of the gun-boat. Gen. Forrest refused to grant this, saying that he only demanded the surrender of the fort and not the gun-boat. He demanded an immediate surrender, which was promptly declined by Major Bradford. During the time these negotiations were going on, Forrest's men were stealing horses, plundering the buildings in front of the fort, and closing in upon the fort through the ravines, which was unsoldierly and cowardly to say the least. Upon receiving the refusal of Major Booth to capitulate, Forrest gave a signal and his troops made a frantic charge upon the fort. It was received gallantly and resisted stubbornly, but there was no use of fighting. In ten minutes the enemy, assaulting the fort in the centre, and striking it on the flanks, swept in. The Federal troops surrendered; but an indiscriminate massacre followed. Men were shot down in their tracks; pinioned to the ground with bayonet and sabre. Some were clubbed to death while dying of wounds; others were made to get down upon their knees, in which condition they were shot to death. Some were burned alive, having been fastened into the buildings, while still others were nailed against the houses, tortured, and then burned to a crisp. A little Colored boy only eight years old was lifted to the horse of a rebel who intended taking him along with him, when

Gen. Forrest meeting the soldier ordered him to put the child down and shoot him. The soldier remonstrated, but the stern and cruel order was repeated, emphasized with an oath, and backed with a threat that endangered the soldier's life, so he put the child on the ground and shot him dead! From three o'clock in the afternoon until the merciful darkness came and threw the sable wings of night over the carnival of death, the slaughter continued. The stars looked down in pity upon the dead—ah! they were beyond the barbarous touch of the rebel fiends—and the dying; and the angels found a spectacle worthy of their tears. And when the morning looked down upon the battle-field, it was not to find it peaceful in death and the human hyenas gone. Alas! those who had survived the wounds of the day before were set upon again and brained or shot to death.

The Committee on the Conduct and Expenditures of the War gave this "Horrible Massacre" an investigation. They examined such of the Union soldiers as escaped from death at Fort Pillow and were sent to the Mound City Hospital, Illinois. The following extracts from the testimony given before the Committee, the Hons. Ben. F. Wade and D. W. Gooch, give something of an idea of this the most cruel and inhuman affair in the history of the civilized world.

Manuel Nichols (Colored), private, Company B, Sixth United States Heavy Artillery, sworn and examined.

By Mr. Gooch:

Question. Were you in the late fight at Fort Pillow?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you wounded there?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. When?

A. I was wounded once about a half an hour before we gave up.

Q. Did they do any thing to you after you surrendered?

A. Yes, sir; they shot me in the head under my left ear, and the morning after the fight they shot me again in the right arm. When they came up and killed the wounded ones, I saw some four or five coming down the hill. I said to one of our boys: "Anderson, I expect if those fellows come here they will kill us." I was lying on my right side, leaning on my elbow. One of the black soldiers went into the house where the white soldiers were. I asked him if there was any water in there, and he said yes; I wanted some, and took a stick and tried to get to the house. I did not get to the house. Some of them

came along, and saw a little boy belonging to Company D. One of them had his musket on his shoulder, and shot the boy down. He said: "All you damned niggers come out of the house; I am going to shoot you." Some of the white soldiers said: "Boys, it is only death anyhow; if you don't go out they will come in and carry you out." My strength seemed to come to me as if I had never been shot, and I jumped up and ran down the hill. I met one of them coming up the hill; he said: "Stop!" but I kept on running. As I jumped over the hill, he shot me through the right arm.

Q. How many did you see them kill after they had surrendered?

A. After I surrendered I did not go down the hill. A man shot me under the ear, and I fell down and said to myself: "If he don't shoot me any more this won't hurt me." One of their officers came along and hallooed: "Forrest says no quarter! no quarter!" and the next one hallooed: "Black flag! black flag!"

Q. What did they do then?

A. They kept on shooting. I could hear them down the hill.

Q. Did you see them bury any body?

A. Yes, sir; they carried me around right to the corner of the Fort, and I saw them pitch men in there.

Q. Was there any alive?

A. I did not see them bury any body alive.

Q. How near to you was the man who shot you under the ear?

A. Right close to my head. When I was shot in the side, a man turned me over, and took my pocket-knife and pocket-book. I had some of these brass things that looked like cents. They said: "Here's some money; here's some money." I said to myself: "You got fooled that time."

Major Williams (Colored), private, Company B, Sixth United States Heavy Artillery, sworn and examined.

By the Chairman:

Q. Where were you raised?

A. In Tennessee and North Mississippi.

Q. Where did you enlist?

A. In Memphis.

Q. Who was your captain?

A. Captain Lamburg.

Q. Were you in the fight at Fort Pillow?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was your captain with you?

A. No, sir; I think he was at Memphis.

Q. Who commanded your company ?

A. Lieutenant Hunter and Sergeant Fox were all the officers we had.

Q. What did you see done there ?

A. We fought them right hard during the battle, and killed some of them. After a time they sent in a flag of truce. They said afterward that they did it to make us stop firing until their reinforcements could come up. They said that they never could have got in if they had not done that ; that we had whipped them ; that they had never seen such a fight.

Q. Did you see the flag of truce ?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did they do when the flag of truce was in ?

A. They kept coming up nearer, so that they could charge quick. A heap of them came up after we stopped firing.

Q. When did you surrender ?

A. I did not surrender until they all ran.

Q. Were you wounded then ?

A. Yes, sir ; after the surrender.

Q. At what time of day was that ?

A. They told me it was about half after one o'clock, I was wounded. Immediately we retreated.

Q. Did you have any arms in your hands when they shot you ?

A. No, sir ; I was an artillery man, and had no arms.

Q. Did you see the man who shot you ?

A. No, sir.

Q. Did you hear him say any thing ?

A. No, sir ; I heard nothing. He shot me, and I was bleeding pretty free, and I thought to myself : " I will make out it was a dead shot, and maybe I will not get another."

Q. Did you see any others shot ?

A. No, sir.

Q. Was there any thing said about giving quarter ?

A. Major Bradford brought in a black flag, which meant no quarter. I heard some of the rebel officers say : " You damned rascals, if you had not fought us so hard, but had stopped when we sent in a flag of truce, we would not have done any thing to you." I heard one of the officers say : " Kill all the niggers " ; another one said : " No ; Forrest says take them and carry them with him to wait upon him and cook for him, and put them in jail and send them to their masters." Still they kept on shooting. They shot at me after that, but did not hit me ; a rebel officer shot at me. He took aim at my side ; at the crack of his pistol I fell. He went on and said : " There 's another dead nigger."

Q. Was there any one shot in the hospital that day ?

A. Not that I know of. I think they all came away and made a raft and floated across the mouth of the creek and got into a flat bottom.

Q. Did you see any buildings burned ?

A. I stayed in the woods all day Wednesday. I was there Thursday and looked at the buildings. I saw a great deal left that they did not have a chance to burn up. I saw a white man burned up who was nailed up against the house.

Q. A private or an officer ?

A. An officer ; I think it was a lieutenant in the Tennessee cavalry.

Q. How was he nailed ?

A. Through his hands and feet right against the house.

Q. Was his body burned ?

A. Yes, sir ; burned all over—I looked at him good.

Q. When did you see that ?

A. On the Thursday after the battle.

Q. Where was the man ?

A. Right in front of the Fort.

Jacob Thompson (Colored), sworn and examined.

By Mr. Gooch :

Q. Were you a soldier at Fort Pillow ?

A. No, sir ; I was not a soldier ; but I went up in the Fort and fought with the rest. I was shot in the hand and the head.

Q. When were you shot ?

A. After I surrendered.

Q. How many times were you shot ?

A. I was shot but once ; but I threw my hand up, and the shot went through my hand and my head.

Q. Who shot you ?

A. A private.

Q. What did he say ?

A. He said : " God damn you, I will shoot you, old friend."

Q. Did you see anybody else shot ?

A. Yes, sir ; they just called them out like dogs, and shot them down. I reckon they shot about fifty, white and black, right there. They nailed some black sergeants to the logs, and set the logs on fire.

Q. When did you see that ?

A. When I went there in the morning I saw them ; they were burning all together.

Q. Did they kill them before they burned them?

A. No, sir; they nailed them to the logs; drove the nails right through their hands.

Q. How many did you see in that condition?

A. Some four or five; I saw two white men burned.

Q. Was there any one else there who saw that?

A. I reckon there was; I could not tell who.

Q. When was it that you saw them?

A. I saw them in the morning after the fight; some of them were burned almost in two. I could tell they were white men, because they were whiter than the colored men.

Q. Did you notice how they were nailed?

A. I saw one nailed to the side of a house; he looked like he was nailed right through his wrist. I was trying then to get to the boat when I saw it.

Q. Did you see them kill any white men?

A. They killed some eight or nine there. I reckon they killed more than twenty after it was all over; called them out from under the hill, and shot them down. They would call out a white man and shoot him down, and call out a colored man and shoot him down; do it just as fast as they could make their guns go off.

Q. Did you see any rebel officers about there when this was going on?

A. Yes, sir; old Forrest was one.

Q. Did you know Forrest?

A. Yes, sir; he was a little bit of a man. I had seen him before at Jackson.

Ransom Anderson (Colored), Company B, Sixth United States Heavy Artillery, sworn and examined.

By Mr. Gooch:

Q. Where were you raised?

A. In Mississippi.

Q. Were you a slave?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did you enlist?

A. At Corinth.

Q. Were you in the fight at Fort Pillow?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Describe what you saw done there.

A. Most all the men that were killed on our side were killed after the fight was over. They called them out and shot them down. Then

they put some in the houses and shut them up, and then burned the houses.

Q. Did you see them burn ?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were any of them alive ?

A. Yes, sir ; they were wounded, and could not walk. They put them in the houses, and then burned the houses down.

Q. Do you know they were in there ?

A. Yes, sir ; I went and looked in there.

Q. Do you know they were in there when the house was burned ?

A. Yes, sir ; I heard them hallooing there when the houses were burning.

Q. Are you sure they were wounded men, and not dead men, when they were put in there ?

A. Yes, sir ; they told them they were going to have the doctor see them, and then put them in there and shut them up, and burned them.

Q. Who set the house on fire ?

A. I saw a rebel soldier take some grass and lay it by the door, and set it on fire. The door was pine plank, and it caught easy.

Q. Was the door fastened up ?

A. Yes, sir ; it was barred with one of those wide bolts.

James Walls, sworn and examined.

By Mr. Gooch :

Q. To what company did you belong ?

A. To Company E, Thirteenth Tennessee Cavalry.

Q. Under what officers did you serve ?

A. I was under Major Bradford and Captain Potter.

Q. Were you in the fight at Fort Pillow ?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. State what you saw there of the fight, and what was done after the place was captured.

A. We fought them for some six or eight hours in the Fort, and when they charged our men scattered and ran under the hill ; some turned back and surrendered, and were shot. After the flag of truce came in I went down to get some water. As I was coming back I turned sick, and laid down behind a log. The secesh charged, and after they came over I saw one go a good ways ahead of the others. One of our men made to him and threw down his arms. The bullets were flying so thick there I thought I could not live there, so I threw down my arms and surrendered. He did not shoot me then, but as I turned around he or some other one shot me in the back

Q. Did they say any thing while they were shooting?

A. All I heard was: "Shoot him, shoot him!" "Yonder he goes!" "Kill him, kill him!" That is about all I heard.

Q. How many do you suppose you saw shot after they surrendered?

A. I did not see but two or three shot around me. One of the boys of our company, named Taylor, ran up there, and I saw him shot and fall. Then another was shot just before me, like—shot down after he threw down his arms.

Q. Those were white men?

A. Yes, sir. I saw them make lots of niggers stand up, and then they shot them down like hogs. The next morning I was lying around there waiting for the boat to come up. The secesh would be prying around there, and would come to a nigger, and say: "You ain't dead, are you?" They would not say any thing; and then the secesh would get down off their horses, prick them in their sides, and say: "Damn you, you ain't dead; get up." Then they would make them get up on their knees, when they would shoot them down like hogs.

Q. Did you see any rebel officers about while this shooting was going on?

A. I do not know as I saw any officers about when they were shooting the negroes. A captain came to me a few minutes after I was shot; he was close by me when I was shot.

Q. Did he try to stop the shooting?

A. I did not hear a word of their trying to stop it. After they were shot down, he told them not to shoot them any more. I begged him not to let them shoot me again, and he said they would not. One man, after he was shot down, was shot again. After I was shot down, the man I surrendered to went around the tree I was against and shot a man, and then came around to me again and wanted my pocket-book. I handed it up to him, and he saw my watch-chain and made a grasp at it, and got the watch and about half the chain. He took an old Barlow knife I had in my pocket. It was not worth five cents; was of no account at all, only to cut tobacco with.

Lieutenant McJ. Leming, sworn and examined.

By Mr. Gooch:

Q. Were you in the fight at Fort Pillow?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your rank and position?

A. I am a First Lieutenant and Adjutant of the Thirteenth Tennessee Cavalry. A short time previous to the fight I was Post-Adjutant at

Fort Pillow, and during most of the engagement I was acting as Post-Adjutant. After Major Booth was killed, Major Bradford was in command. The pickets were driven in just before sunrise, which was the first intimation we had that the enemy were approaching. I repaired to the Fort, and found that Major Booth was shelling the rebels as they came up toward the outer intrenchments. They kept up a steady fire by sharp-shooters behind trees and logs and high knolls. The Major thought at one time they were planting some artillery, or looking for places to plant it. They began to draw nearer and nearer, up to the time our men were all drawn into the Fort. Two companies of the Thirteenth Tennessee Cavalry were ordered out as sharp-shooters, but were finally ordered in. We were pressed on all sides.

I think Major Booth fell not later than nine o'clock. His Adjutant, who was then acting Post-Adjutant, fell near the same time. Major Bradford then took the command, and I acted as Post-Adjutant. Previous to this, Major Booth had ordered some buildings in front of the Fort to be destroyed, as the enemy's sharp-shooters were endeavoring to get possession of them. There were four rows of buildings, but only the row nearest the fort was destroyed; the sharp-shooters gained possession of the others before they could be destroyed. The fight continued, one almost unceasing fire all the time, until about three o'clock. They threw some shells, but they did not do much damage with their shells.

I think it was about three o'clock that a flag of truce approached. I went out, accompanied by Captain Young, the Provost-Marshal of the post. There was another officer, I think, but I do not recollect now particularly who it was, and some four mounted men. The rebels announced that they had a communication from General Forrest. One of their officers there, I think, from his dress, was a colonel. I received the communication, and they said they would wait for an answer. As near as I remember, the communication was as follows :

"HEADQUARTERS CONFEDERATE CAVALRY, }
 "NEAR FORT PILLOW, April 12, 1864. }

"As your gallant defence of the Fort has entitled you to the treatment of brave men [or something to that effect], I now demand an unconditional surrender of your force, at the same time assuring you that they will be treated as prisoners of war. I have received a fresh supply of ammunition, and can easily take your position.

"N. B. FORREST.

"Major L. F. BOOTH,

"Commanding United States Forces."

I took this message back to the Fort. Major Bradford replied that he desired an hour for consultation and consideration with his

officers and the officers of the gun-boat. I took out this communication to them, and they carried it back to General Forrest. In a few minutes another flag of truce appeared, and I went out to meet it. Some one said, when they handed the communication to me: "That gives you twenty minutes to surrender; I am General Forrest." I took it back. The substance of it was: "Twenty minutes will be given you to take your men outside of the Fort. If in that time they are not out, I will immediately proceed to assault your works," or something of that kind. To this Major Bradford replied: "I will not surrender." I took it out in a sealed envelope, and gave it to him. The general opened it and read it. Nothing was said; we simply saluted, and they went their way, and I returned back into the Fort.

Almost instantly the firing began again. We mistrusted, while this flag of truce was going on, that they were taking horses out at a camp we had. It was mentioned to them, the last time that this and other movements excited our suspicion, that they were moving their troops. They said that they had noticed it themselves, and had it stopped; that it was unintentional on their part, and that it should not be repeated.

It was not long after the last flag of truce had retired, that they made their grand charge. We kept them back for several minutes. What was called —— brigade or battalion attacked the centre of the Fort where several companies of colored troops were stationed. They finally gave way, and, before we could fill up the breach, the enemy got inside the Fort, and then they came in on the other two sides, and had complete possession of the Fort. In the mean time nearly all the officers had been killed, especially of the colored troops, and there was no one hardly to guide the men. They fought bravely indeed until that time. I do not think the men who broke had a commissioned officer over them. They fought with the most determined bravery, until the enemy gained possession of the Fort. They kept shooting all the time. The negroes ran down the hill toward the river, but the rebels kept shooting them as they were running; shot some again after they had fallen; robbed and plundered them. After every thing was all gone, after we had given up the Fort entirely, the guns thrown away and the firing on our part stopped, they still kept up their murderous fire, more especially on the colored troops, I thought, although the white troops suffered a great deal. I know the colored troops had a great deal the worst of it. I saw several shot after they were wounded; as they were crawling around, the secesh would step out and blow their brains out.

About this time they shot me. It must have been four or half-past four o'clock. I saw there was no chance at all, and threw down my sabre. A man took deliberate aim at me, but a short distance from me, certainly not more than fifteen paces, and shot me.

Q. With a musket or pistol ?

A. I think it was a carbine ; it may have been a musket, but my impression is, that it was a carbine. Soon after I was shot I was robbed. A secesh soldier came along, and wanted to know if I had any greenbacks. I gave him my pocket-book. I had about a hundred dollars, I think, more or less, and a gold watch and gold chain. They took every thing in the way of valuables that I had. I saw them robbing others. That seemed to be the general way they served the wounded, so far as regards those who fell in my vicinity. Some of the colored troops jumped into the river, but were shot as fast as they were seen. One poor fellow was shot as he reached the bank of the river. They ran down and hauled him out. He got on his hands and knees, and was crawling along, when a secesh soldier put his revolver to his head, and blew his brains out. It was about the same thing all along, until dark that night.

I was very weak, but I finally found a rebel who belonged to a society that I am a member of (the Masons), and he got two of our colored soldiers to assist me up the hill, and he brought me some water. At that time it was about dusk. He carried me up just to the edge of the Fort, and laid me down. There seemed to be quite a number of dead collected there. They were throwing them into the outside trench, and I heard them talking about burying them there. I heard one of them say : " There is a man who is not quite dead yet." They buried a number there ; I do not know how many.

I was carried that night to a sort of little shanty that the rebels had occupied during the day with their sharp-shooters. I received no medical attention that night at all. The next morning early I heard the report of cannon down the river. It was the gun-boat 28 coming up from Memphis ; she was shelling the rebels along the shore as she came up. The rebels immediately ordered the burning of all the buildings, and ordered the two buildings where the wounded were to be fired. Some one called to the officer who gave the order, and said there were wounded in them. The building I was in began to catch fire. I prevailed upon one of our soldiers who had not been hurt much to draw me out, and I think others got the rest out. They drew us down a little way, in a sort of gully, and we lay there in the hot sun without water or any thing.

About this time a squad of rebels came around, it would seem for the purpose of murdering what negroes they could find. They began to shoot the wounded negroes all around there, interspersed with the whites. I was lying a little way from a wounded negro, when a secesh soldier came up to him, and said : " What in hell are you doing here ? " The colored soldier said he wanted to get on the gun-boat. The secesh soldier said : " You want to fight us again, do you ? Damn you, I 'll teach you," and drew up his gun and shot him dead.

Another negro was standing up, erect a little way from me—he did not seem to be hurt much. The rebel loaded his gun again immediately. The negro begged of him not to shoot him, but he drew up his gun and took deliberate aim at his head. The gun snapped, but he fixed it again, and then killed him. I saw this. I heard them shooting all around there—I suppose killing them

By the Chairman :

Q. Do you know of any rebel officers going on board our gun-boat after she came up ?

A. I don't know about the gun-boat, but I saw some of them on board the "Platte Valley," after I had been carried on her. They came on board, and I think went into drink with some of our officers. I think one of the rebel officers was General Chalmers.

Q. Do you know what officers of ours drank with them ?

A. I do not.

Q. You know that they did go on board the "Platte Valley" and drink with some of our officers ?

A. I did not see them drinking at the time, but I have no doubt they did ; that was my impression from all I saw, and I thought our officers might have been in better business.

Q. Were our officers treating these rebel officers with attention ?

A. They seemed to be ; I did not see much of it, as they passed along by me.

Q. Do you know whether or not the conduct of the privates, in murdering our soldiers after they had surrendered, seemed to have the approval of their officers ?

A. I did not see much of their officers, especially during the worst of those outrages ; they seemed to be back.

Q. Did you observe any effort on the part of their officers to suppress the murders ?

A. No, sir ; I did not see any where I was first carried ; just about dusk, all at once several shots were fired just outside. The cry was : "They are shooting the darkey soldiers." I heard an officer ride up and say : "Stop that firing ; arrest that man." I suppose it was a rebel officer, but I do not know. It was reported to me, at the time, that several darkeys were shot then. An officer who stood by me, a prisoner, said that they had been shooting them, but that the general had had it stopped.

Q. Do you know of any of our men in the hospital being murdered ?

A. I do not.

Q. Do you know any thing of the fate of your Quartermaster, Lieutenant Akerstrom ?

A. He was one of the officers who went with me to meet the flag of truce the last time. I do not know what became of him ; that was about the last I saw of him. I heard that he was nailed to a board and burned, and I have very good reason for believing that was the case, although I did not see it. The First Lieutenant of Company D of my regiment says that he has an affidavit to that effect of a man who saw it.

Francis A. Alexander, sworn and examined.

By the Chairman :

Q. To what company and regiment do you belong ?

A. Company C, Thirteenth Tennessee Cavalry.

Q. Were you at Fort Pillow at the fight there ?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who commanded your regiment ?

A. Major Bradford commanded the regiment, and Lieutenant Logan commanded our company.

Q. By what troops was the Fort attacked ?

A. Forrest was in command. I saw him.

Q. Did you know Forrest ?

A. I saw him there, and they all said it was Forrest. Their own men said so.

Q. By what troops was the charge made

A. They are Alabamians and Texans.

Q. Did you see any thing of a flag of truce ?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. State what was done while the flag of truce was in.

A. When the flag of truce came up our officers went out and held a consultation, and it went back. They came in again with a flag of truce ; and while they were consulting the second time, their troops were coming up a gap or hollow, where we could have cut them to pieces. They tried it before, but could not do it. I saw them come up there while the flag of truce was in the second time.

Q. That gave them an advantage ?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you wounded there ?

A. Not in the Fort. I was wounded after I left the Fort, and was going down the hill.

Q. Was that before or after the Fort was taken ?

A. It was afterward.

Q. Did you have any arms in your hand at the time they shot you ?

A. No, sir ; I threw my gun away, and started down the hill, and got about twenty yards, when I was shot through the calf of the leg.

Q. Did they shoot you more than once ?

A. No, sir ; they shot at me, but did not hit me more than once.

Q. Did they say why they shot you after you had surrendered ?

A. They said afterward they intended to kill us all for being there with their niggers.

Q. Were any rebel officers there at the time this shooting was going on ?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they try to stop it ?

A. One or two of them did.

Q. What did the rest of them do ?

A. They kept shouting and hallooing at the men to give no quarter. I heard that cry very frequent.

Q. Was it the officers that said that ?

A. I think it was. I think it was them, the way they were going on. When our boys were taken prisoners, if anybody came up who knew them, they shot them down. As soon as ever they recognized them, wherever it was, they shot them.

Q. After they had taken them prisoners ?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you know any thing about their shooting men in the hospitals ?

A. I know of their shooting negroes in there. I don't know about white men.

Q. Wounded negro men ?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who did that ?

A. Some of their troops. I don't know which of them. The next morning I saw several black people shot that were wounded, and some that were not wounded. One was going down the hill before me, and the officer made him come back up the hill ; and after I got in the boat I heard them shooting them.

Q. You say you saw them shoot negroes in the hospital the next morning ?

A. Yes, sir ; wounded negroes who could not get along ; one with his leg broke. They came there the next day and shot him.

John F. Ray, sworn and examined.

By Mr. Gooch :

Q. To what company and regiment do you belong ?

A. Company B, Thirteenth Tennessee Cavalry.

Q. Were you at Fort Pillow when it was attacked ?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. At what time were you wounded ?

A. I was wounded about two o'clock, after the rebels got in the breastworks.

Q. Was it before or after you had surrendered ?

A. It was after I threw down my gun, as they all started to run.

Q. Will you state what you saw there ?

A. After I surrendered they shot down a great many white fellows right close to me—ten or twelve, I suppose—and a great many negroes, too.

Q. How long did they keep shooting our men after they surrendered ?

A. I heard guns away after dark shooting all that evening, somewhere ; they kept up a regular fire for a long time, and then I heard the guns once in a while.

Q. Did you see any one shot the next day ?

A. I did not ; I was in a house, and could not get up at all.

Q. Do you know what became of the Quartermaster of your regiment, Lieutenant Akerstrom ?

A. He was shot by the side of me.

Q. Was he killed ?

A. I thought so at the time ; he fell on his face. He was shot in the forehead, and I thought he was killed. I heard afterward he was not.

Q. Did you notice any thing that took place while the flag of truce was in ?

A. I saw the rebels slipping up and getting in the ditch along our breastworks.

Q. How near did they come up ?

A. They were right at us ; right across from the breastworks. I asked them what they were slipping up there for. They made answer that they knew their business.

Q. Are you sure this was done while the flag of truce was in ?

A. Yes, sir. There was no firing ; we could see all around ; we could see them moving up all around in large force.

Q. Was any thing said about it except what you said to the rebels ?

A. I heard all our boys talking about it. I heard some of our officers remark, as they saw it coming, that the white flag was a bad thing ; that they were slipping on us. I believe it was Lieutenant Akerstrom that I heard say it was against the rules of war for them to come up in that way.

Q. To whom did he say that ?

A. To those fellows coming up ; they had officers with them.

Q. Was Lieutenant Akerstrom shot before or after he had surrendered ?

A. About two minutes after the flag of truce went back, during the action.

Q. Do you think of any thing else to state? If so, go on and state it.

A. I saw a rebel lieutenant take a little negro¹ boy up on the horse behind him; and then I heard General Chalmers—I think it must have been—tell him to “Take that negro down and shoot him,” or “Take him and shoot him,” and he passed him down and shot him.

Q. How large was the boy?

A. He was not more than eight years old. I heard the lieutenant tell the other that the negro was not in the service; that he was nothing but a child; that he was pressed and brought in there. The other one said: “Damn the difference; take him down and shoot him, or I will shoot him.” I think it must have been General Chalmers. He was a smallish man; he had on a long gray coat, with a star on his coat.*

The country and the world stood aghast. The first account of this human butchery was too much for credence: after a while the truth began to dawn upon the country; and at last the people admitted that in a Christian land like America a deed so foul—blacker than hell itself!—had actually been perpetrated. The patience of the North and the Union army gave way to bitterest imprecations; the exultation and applause of the South and Confederate army were succeeded by serious thoughts and sad reflections. But it is the duty of impartial history to record that this bloody, sickening affair was not endorsed by all the rebels.

In a letter dated Okalona, Mississippi, June 14, 1864, to the “Atlanta Appeal,” a rebel gives this endorsement of Forrest’s conduct at Fort Pillow:

“You have heard that our soldiers buried negroes alive at Fort Pillow. This is true. At the first fire after Forrest’s men scaled the walls, many of the negroes threw down their arms and fell as if they were dead. They perished in the pretence, and could only be restored at

¹ Gen. Chalmers has denied, with vehemence, that he ever did any cruel act at Fort Pillow, but the record is against him. Soldiers under brave, intelligent, and humane officers could never be guilty of such cruel and unchristian conduct as these rebels at Pillow. Gen. Chalmers is responsible. As an illustration of the gentle and forgiving spirit of the Negro, it should be recorded here that many supported the candidacy of Gen. Chalmers for Congress, and voted for him at the recent election in Mississippi.

* See Report of Committee on Conduct of War.

the point of the bayonet. To resuscitate some of them, more terrified than the rest, they were rolled into the trenches made as receptacles for the fallen. Vitality was not restored till breathing was obstructed, and then the resurrection began. On these facts is based the pretext for the crimes committed by Sturgis, Grierson, and their followers. You must remember, too, that in the extremity of their terror, or for other reasons, the Yankees and negroes in Fort Pillow neglected to haul down their flag. In truth, relying upon their gun-boats, the officers expected to annihilate our forces after we had entered the fortifications. They did not intend to surrender.

"A terrible retribution, in any event, has befallen the ignorant, deluded Africans."

Gen. Forrest was a cold-blooded murderer; a fiend in human form. But as the grave has opened long since to receive him; and as the cause he represented has perished from the earth, it is enough to let the record stand without comment, and God grant without malice! It is the duty of history to record that there is to be found no apologist for cruelties that rebels inflicted upon brave but helpless Black soldiers during the war for the extirpation of slavery. The Confederate conduct at Pillow must remain a foul stain upon the name of the men who fought to perpetuate human slavery in North America, but failed.

Part 8.

THE FIRST DECADE OF FREEDOM.

CHAPTER XXI.

RECONSTRUCTION¹—MISCONSTRUCTION.

1865-1875.

THE WAR OVER, PEACE RESTORED, AND THE NATION CLEANSED OF A PLAGUE.—SLAVERY GIVES PLACE TO A LONG TRAIN OF EVENTS.—UNSETTLED CONDITION OF AFFAIRS AT THE SOUTH.—THE ABSENCE OF LEGAL CIVIL GOVERNMENT NECESSITATES THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PROVISIONAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT.—AN ACT ESTABLISHING A BUREAU FOR REFUGEES AND ABANDONED LANDS.—CONGRESSIONAL METHODS FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUTH.—GEN. U. S. GRANT CARRIES THESE STATES IN 1868 AND 1872.—BOTH BRANCHES OF THE LEGISLATURES IN ALL THE SOUTHERN STATES CONTAIN NEGRO MEMBERS.—THE ERRORS OF RECONSTRUCTION CHARGEABLE TO BOTH SECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

APPOMATTOX had taken her place in history; and the echo of the triumph of Federal arms was heard in the palaces of Europe. The United States Government had survived the shock of the embattled arms of a gigantic Rebellion; had melted the manacles of four million slaves in the fires of civil war; had made four million bondmen freemen; had wiped slavery from the map of North America; had demonstrated the truth that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land; and that the United States is a NATION, not a league.

The brazen-mouthed, shotted cannon were voiceless; a million muskets and swords hung upon the dusty walls of silent arsenals; and war ceased from the proud altitudes of the mountains of Virginia to where the majestic Atlantic washes the shores of the Carolinas. A million soldiers in blue melted

¹ I am preparing a History of the Reconstruction of the Late Confederate States, 1865-1880. Hence I shall not enter into a thorough treatment of the subject in this work. It will follow this work, and comprise two volumes.

quietly into the modest garb of citizens. The myriad hum of busy shuttles, clanking machinery, and whirling wheels proclaimed the day of peace. Families and communities were restored and bound together by the indissoluble, golden ties of domestic charities. The war was over; peace had been restored; and the nation was cleansed of a plague.

But what was to be done with the millions of Negroes at the South? The war had made them free. That was all. They could leave the plantation. They had the right of locomotion; were property no longer. But what a spectacle! Here were four million human beings without clothing, shelter, homes, and, alas! most of them without names. The galling harness of slavery had been cut off of their weary bodies, and like a worn-out beast of burden they stood in their tracks scarcely able to go anywhere. Like men coming from long confinement in a dark dungeon, the first rays of freedom blinded their expectant eyes. They were almost delirious with joy. The hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows, the pain and waiting, the prayers and tears of the cruel years of slavery gave place to a long train of events that swept them out into the rapid current of a life totally different from the checkered career whence they had just emerged. It required time, patience, and extraordinary wisdom on the part of the Government to solve the problem of this people's existence—of this "Nation born in a day." Their joy was too full, their peace too profound, and their thanksgiving too sincere to attract their attention at once to the vulgar affairs of daily life. One fervent, beautiful psalm of praise rose from every Negro hut in the South, and swelled in majestic sweetness until the nation became one mighty temple canopied by the stars and stripes, and the Constitution as the common altar before whose undimmed lights a ransomed race humbly bowed.

The emancipated Negroes had no ability, certainly no disposition, to reason concerning the changes and disasters which had overtaken their former masters. The white people of the South were divided into three classes. *First*, those who felt that defeat was intolerable, and a residence in this country incongenial. They sought the service of the Imperial cause in war-begrimed Mexico; they went to Cuba, Australia, Egypt, and to Europe. *Second*, those who returned to their homes after the "affair at Appomattox," and sitting down under the portentous clouds of defeat, refused to take any part in the rehabilitation of

their States. *Third*, those who accepted the situation and stood ready to aid in the work of reconstruction.

In the unsettled condition of affairs at the close of hostilities, as there was no legal State governments at the South, necessity and prudence suggested the temporary policy of dividing the South into military districts. A provisional military government in the conquered States was to pursue a pacific, protective, helpful policy. The people of both races were to be fed and clothed. Schools were to be established; agriculture and industry encouraged. Courts were to be established of competent jurisdiction to hear and decide cases among the people. Such a government while military in name was patriarchal in spirit. As early as the spring of 1865, before the war was over, an act was passed by Congress providing for the destitute of the South.

"AN ACT TO ESTABLISH A BUREAU FOR THE RELIEF OF FREEDMEN
AND REFUGEES.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby established in the War Department, to continue during the present war of rebellion, and for one year thereafter, a Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, to which shall be committed, as hereinafter provided, the supervision and management of all abandoned lands, and the control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen from rebel States, or from any district of country within the territory embraced in the operations of the army, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the head of the bureau and approved by the President. The said bureau shall be under the management and control of a commissioner, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, whose compensation shall be three thousand dollars per annum, and such number of clerks as may be assigned to him by the Secretary of War, not exceeding one chief clerk, two of the fourth class, two of the third class, three of the second class, and five of the first class. And the commissioner and all persons appointed under this act shall, before entering upon their duties, take the oath of office prescribed in an act entitled, 'An act to prescribe an oath of office, and for other purposes,' approved July 2, 1862. And the commissioners and the chief clerk shall, before entering upon their duties, give bonds to the Treasurer of the United States, the former in the sum of fifty thousand dollars, and the latter in the sum of ten thousand dollars, conditioned for the faithful discharge of their duties respectively, with securities to be approved as sufficient by the attorney general. which bonds shall be

filed in the office of the First Comptroller of the Treasury, to be by him put in suit for the benefit of any injured party, upon any breach of the conditions thereof.

"SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the Secretary of War may direct such issues of provisions, clothing, and fuel as he may deem needful for the immediate and temporary shelter and supply of destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen, and their wives and children, under such rules and regulations as he may direct.

"SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the President may, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint an assistant commissioner for each of the States declared to be in insurrection, not exceeding ten in number, who shall, under the direction of the commissioner, aid in the execution of the provisions of this act, and he shall give a bond to the Treasurer of the United States in the sum of twenty thousand dollars, in the form and manner prescribed in the first section of this act. Each of said assistant commissioners shall receive an annual salary of two thousand and five hundred dollars, in full compensation for all his services. And any military officer may be detailed and assigned to duty under this act without increase of pay or allowances. The commissioner shall, before the commencement of each regular session of Congress, make full report of his proceedings, with exhibits of the state of his accounts, to the President, who shall communicate the same to Congress, and shall also make special reports whenever required to do so by the President, or either house of Congress. And the assistant commissioners shall make quarterly reports of their proceedings to the commissioner, and also such other special reports as from time to time may be required.

"SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That the commissioner, under the direction of the President, shall have authority to set apart for the use of loyal refugees and freedmen such tracts of land, within the insurrectionary States, as shall have been abandoned, or to which the United States shall have acquired title by confiscation, or sale, or otherwise. And to every male citizen, whether refugee or freedman, as aforesaid, there shall be assigned not more than forty acres of such land, and the person to whom it is so assigned shall be protected in the use and enjoyment of the land for the term of three years, at an annual rent not exceeding six per centum upon the value of said land as it was appraised by the State authorities in the year 1860, for the purpose of taxation, and in case no such appraisal can be found, then the rental shall be based upon the estimated value of the land in said year, to be ascertained in such manner as the commissioner may, by regulation, prescribe. At the end of said term, or at any time during said term, the occupants of any parcels so assigned may purchase the land and receive such title thereto as the United States can convey, upon paying

therefor the value of the land, as ascertained and fixed for the purpose of determining the annual rent as aforesaid.

"SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That all acts and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

"ROBERT C. SCHENCK,
"GEORGE S. BOUTWELL,
"JAMES S. ROLLINS,

"*Managers on part of House.*

HENRY WILSON,
JAMES HARLAN,
W. T. WILLEY,

"*Managers on part of Senate.*"

To have subjected the late rebellious States to military rule for a stated term of years, say a decade or a generation, would have given force to the hasty statement of rebels and their sympathizers in the courts of Europe. It was charged that the United States Government fought to subjugate the Confederate States. The United States did not "begin it," and did not intend, at any time, to lay the mailed hand of military power against the throat of the rights of loyal citizens or loyal States. The *sine qua non* of reconstruction was *loyalty to the Federal Government*. But while this idea was next to the heart of the Government, the sudden and horrible taking off of Abraham Lincoln discovered many master-builders, who built not well or wisely. The early education of Andrew Johnson was not in line with the work of reconstruction. His sympathies were with the South in spite of his position and circumstances. The friends of his early political life were more potent than the friends of a sound, sensible, and loyal policy upon which to build the shattered governments of the South. And by indicating and advocating a policy at variance with the logical events of the war, he was guilty of a political crime, and did the entire nation an irreparable injury.

Congress seemed to be unequal to the task of perfecting a proper plan for reconstructing the Southern States. To couple general amnesty to the rebels with suffrage to the Negroes was a most fatal policy. It has been shown that there was but one class of white men in the South friendly to reconstruction,—numerically, small; and mentally, weak. But it was thought best to do this. To a triple element Congress committed the work of reconstruction. The "*Scalawag*," the "*Carpet-bagger*," and the *Negro*. Who were this trio? The scalawag was the native white man who made up the middle class of the South; the planter above, the Negro below. And between this upper and nether mill-

stone he was destined to be ground to powder, under the old regime. A "nigger-driver," without schools, social position, or money, he was "the poor white trash" of the South. He was loyal during the war, because in the triumph of the Confederacy, with slavery as its corner-stone, he saw no hope for his condition. Those of them who fought under the rebel flag were unwilling conscripts. They had no qualifications for governing—except that they were *loyal*; and this was of no more use to them in this great work, than *piety* in the pulpit when the preacher cannot repeat the Lord's prayer without biting his tongue. The carpet-baggers ran all the way from "good to middling." Some went South with fair ability and good morals, where they lost the latter article and never found it; while many more went South to get all they could and keep all they got. The Negro could boast of numerical strength only. The scalawag managed the Negro, the latter did the voting, while the carpet-bagger held the offices. And when there were "more stalls than horses" the Negroes and scalawags occasionally got an office.

The rebels were still in a swoon.

The States were reconstructed, after a manner, and the governments went forward.

In 1868 Gen. U. S. Grant carried these States. It was like the handle on a jug, all on one side. The rebels took no part; but after a while a gigantic Ku Klux conspiracy was discovered. This organization sought to obstruct the courts, harass the Negroes, and cripple local governments. It spread terror through the South and made a political graveyard of startling dimensions. The writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended; arrests made, trials and convictions secured, and the penitentiary at Albany, New York, crowded with the enemies of law and order. A subsidence followed, and the scalawag-carpetbag-Negro governments began a fresh existence.

In 1872 Gen. Grant carried the Southern States again, meeting with but little resistance. In Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina there were Negro lieutenant-governors. The Negroes were learning rapidly the lesson of rotation in office, and demanded recognition. Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, were represented, in part, by Negroes in the National House of Representatives, and Mississippi in the Senate as well. Both branches of the Legislatures of all the Southern States contained Negro members; while

many of the most important and lucrative offices in the States were held by Negroes.

The wine cup, the gaming-table, and the parlors of strange women charmed many of these men to the neglect of important public duties. The bonded indebtedness of these States began to increase, the State paper to depreciate, the burden of taxation to grow intolerable, bad laws to find their way into the statute-books, interest in education and industry to decline, the farm Negroes to grow idle and gravitate to the infectious skirts of large cities, and the whole South went from bad to worse.

The hand of revenge reached for the shot-gun, and before its deadly presence white leaders were intimidated, driven out, or destroyed. Before 1875 came, the white element in the Republican party at the South was reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. Thus abandoned, the Negro needed the presence of the United States army while he voted, held office, and drew his salary. But even the army lacked the power to inject life into the collapsed governments at the South.

The mistake of reconstruction was twofold: on the part of the Federal Government, in committing the destinies of the Southern States to hands so feeble; and on the part of the South, in that its best men, instead of taking a lively interest in rebuilding the governments they had torn down, allowed them to be constructed with untempered mortar. Neither the South nor the Government could say: "Thou canst not say I did it: shake not thy gory locks at me." Both were culpable, and both have suffered the pangs of remorse.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

THE APPARENT IDLENESS OF THE NEGRO SPORADIC RATHER THAN GENERIC. — HE QUIETLY SETTLES DOWN TO WORK. — THE GOVERNMENT MAKES AMPLE PROVISIONS FOR HIS EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT. — THE MARVELLOUS PROGRESS MADE BY THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH IN EDUCATION. — EARLIEST SCHOOL FOR FREEDMEN AT FORTRESS MONROE IN 1861. — THE RICHMOND INSTITUTE FOR COLORED YOUTH. — THE UNLIMITED DESIRE OF THE NEGROES TO OBTAIN AN EDUCATION. — GENERAL ORDER ORGANIZING A "BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN, AND ABANDONED LANDS." — GEN. O. O. HOWARD APPOINTED COMMISSIONER OF THE BUREAU. — REPORT OF ALL THE RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU FROM 1865-1867 — AN ACT INCORPORATING THE FREEDMAN'S BANK AND TRUST COMPANY. — THE BUSINESS OF THE COMPANY AS SHOWN FROM 1866-1871 — FINANCIAL STATEMENT BY THE TRUSTEES FOR 1872. — FAILURE OF THE BANK. — THE SOCIAL AND FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE COLORED PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH. — THE NEGRO RARELY RECEIVES JUSTICE IN SOUTHERN COURTS — TREATMENT OF NEGROES AS CONVICTS IN SOUTHERN PRISONS. — INCREASE OF THE COLORED PEOPLE FROM 1790-1880. — NEGROES SUSCEPTIBLE OF THE HIGHEST CIVILIZATION.

SURELY some good did come out of Nazareth. The poor, deluded, misguided, confiding Negro finished his long holiday at last, and turning from the dream of "forty acres and a mule," settled down to the stubborn realities of his new life of duties, responsibilities, and privileges. His idleness was sporadic, not generic,—it was simply reaction. He had worked faithfully, incessantly for two centuries and a half; had enriched the South with the sweat of his brow; and in two wars had baptized the soil with his patriotic blood. And when the year of jubilee came he enjoyed himself right royally.

This disposition to frolic on the part of the Negro gave rise to grave concern among his friends, and was promptly accepted as conclusive proof of his unfitness for the duties of a freeman by his enemies. But he soon dispelled the fears of his friends and disarmed the prejudices of his foes.

As already shown there was no provision made for the education of the Negro before the war; every thing had been done to keep him in ignorance. To emancipate 4,000,000 of slaves and absorb them into the political life of the government without detriment to both was indeed a formidable undertaking.

Republics gain their strength and perpetuity from the self-governing force in the people; and in order to be self-governing a people must be educated. Moreover, all good laws that are cheerfully obeyed are but the emphatic expression of public sentiment. Where the great majority of the people are kept in ignorance the tendency is toward the production of two other classes, aristocrats and political "Herders." The former seek to get as far from "the common herd" as possible, while the latter bid off the rights of the poor and ignorant to the highest bidder.

It was quite appropriate for the Government to make speedy provision for plying the mass of ignorant Negroes with school influences. And the liberality of the provision was equalled by the eagerness of the Negroes to learn. Nor should history fail to record that the establishment of schools for freedmen by the Government was the noblest, most sensible act it could have done. What the Negroes have accomplished through these schools is the marvel of the age.

On the 20th of May, 1865, Major-Gen. O. O. Howard was appointed Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau. He gave great attention to the subject of education; and after planting schools for the freedmen throughout a great portion of the South, in 1870—five years after the work was begun—he made a report. It was full of interest. In five years there were 4,239 schools established, 9,307 teachers employed, and 247,333 pupils instructed. In 1868 the average attendance was 89,396; but in 1870 it was 91,398, or 79 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the total number enrolled. The emancipated people sustained 1,324 schools themselves, and owned 592 school buildings. The Freedmen's Bureau furnished 654 buildings for school purposes. The wonderful progress they made from year to year, in scholarship, may be fairly judged by the following, corresponding with the half year in 1869:

	JULY, 1869.	JULY, 1870.
Advanced readers	43,746	43,540
Geography	36,992	39,321
Arithmetic	51,172	52,417
Writing	53,606	58,034
Higher branches	7,627	9,690

There were 74 high and normal schools, with 8,147 students; and 61 industrial schools, with 1,750 students in attendance. In doing this great work—for buildings, repairs,

teachers, etc.,—\$1,002,896.07 was expended. Of this sum the *freedmen raised* \$200,000.00! This was conclusive proof that emancipation was no mistake. Slavery was a twofold cross of woe to the land. It did not only degrade the slave, but it blunted the sensibilities, and, by its terrible weight, carried down under the slimy rocks of society some of the best white people in the South. Like a cankerous malady its venom has touched almost every side of American life.

The white race is in a constant and almost overpowering relation to the other races upon this continent. It is the duty of this great totality of intellectual life and force, to supply adequate facilities for the education of the less intelligent and less fortunate. Of every ten thousand (10,000) inhabitants there are :

	WHITE.	COLORED.	CHINESE.	INDIANS.
In the States . . .	8,711	1,269	15	5
In the Territories . .	8,711	1,017	158	114
In the whole Union	8,711	1,266	16	7

When we turn our attention to the Southern States, we shall find that the white people are in excess of the Colored as follows:

	MAJORITY.
Alabama	45,874
Arkansas	239,946
Delaware	79,427
Florida	4,368
Georgia	93,774
Kentucky	876,442
Maryland	430,106
Missouri	1,485,075
North Carolina	286,820
Tennessee	613,788
Texas	311,225
Virginia	199,248
West Virginia	406,043

while the Colored people are in excess in only three States, having over the whites the following majorities :

	MAJORITY.
Louisiana	2,145
South Carolina	126,147
Mississippi	61,305

This leaves the whites in these sixteen States in a majority of 4,882,539, over the Colored people. There are more than two whites to every Colored in the entire population in these States.

Group the States and territories into three geographical classes, and designate them as Northern, Pacific, and Southern. The first may comprise all the "free States," where slavery never existed; put in the second the three Pacific States and all the territories, except the District of Columbia; and in the third gather all the "slave States" and the District. Now then, in the Northern class, out of every 14 persons who can neither read nor write, 13 are white. In the Pacific class, out of every 23 who can neither read nor write, 20 are white. In the Southern class, out of every 42 who can neither read nor write, 15 are white. Thus it can be seen that the white illiterates of the United States outnumber those of all the other races together. It might be profitable to the gentlemen who, upon every convenient occasion, rail about "the deplorable ignorance of the blacks," to look up this question a little! ¹

The Colored people have made wonderful progress in educational matters since the war. Take a few States for examples of what they are doing. In Georgia, in 1860, there were 458,540 slaves. In 1870 there were 87 private schools, 79 teachers with 3,021 pupils. Of other schools, more public in character, there were 221, with an attendance of 11,443 pupils. In 1876 the Colored school population of this State was 48,643, with 879 schools; and with 55,268 pupils in public and private schools in 1877.

In South Carolina, in 1874, there were 63,415 Colored children attending the public schools; in 1876 there were 70,802, or an increase of 7,387.

In Virginia, in 1870, there were 39,000 Colored pupils in the schools, which were few in number. In 1874 there were 54,941 pupils; in 1876 there were 62,178, or a gain of 7,237. In 1874 there were 539 teachers; in 1876 there were 636, or an increase of 97. In 1874 there were 1,064 schools for Colored youth; in 1876 there were 1,181, or an increase of 117.

In the District of Columbia, in 1871, there were 4,986 Colored children in 69 schools, with 71 teachers. In 1876, of Colored schools in the District, 62 were primary, 13 grammar, and 1 high, with an enrolment of 5,454.

¹ For an account of this problem, see the Appendix to this volume.

388 HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA.

The following statistics exhibit the wonderful progress the Colored people of the South have made during the brief period of their freedom in the department of education. These tables come as near showing the extent, the miraculous magnitude of the work, as is possible.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF EDUCATION AT THE SOUTH.

Table showing comparative population and enrolment of the White and Colored races in the public schools of the recent slave States, with total annual expenditure for the same in 1879.

States.	White.			Colored.			Total expenditure for both races. ^a
	School population.	Enrolment.	Percentage of the school population enrolled.	School population.	Enrolment.	Percentage of the school population enrolled.	
Alabama	214,008	106,950	50	162,551	67,635	42	\$377,033
Arkansas	b174,253	b39,063	22	b62,348	b13,986	22	205,449
Delaware	31,849	23,830	75	3,800	2,842	75	223,638
Florida	c40,606	bc18,169	45	c42,001	bc18,795	45	c134,880
Georgia	c236,319	147,192	62	c197,125	79,435	40	465,748
Kentucky	d476,870	e208,500	48	d62,973	e19,107	30	e1,130,000
Louisiana	c141,130	44,052	31	c133,276	34,476	26	529,065
Maryland	f213,669	138,029	65	f63,591	27,457	43	1,551,558
Mississippi	156,434	105,957	68	205,936	111,796	54	641,548
Missouri	663,135	428,992	65	39,018	20,790	53	3,069,454
North Carolina	271,348	153,534	57	154,841	85,215	55	337,541
South Carolina	e83,813	58,368	70	e144,315	64,095	44	319,320
Tennessee	388,355	208,858	54	126,288	55,829	44	710,652
Texas	b160,482	c111,048	69	b47,842	c35,896	75	837,913
Virginia	280,849	72,306	26	202,852	35,768	18	570,389
West Virginia	198,844	132,751	67	7,279	3,775	52	709,071
District of Columbia	c26,426	16,085	61	c12,374	9,045	73	368,343
Total	3,758,480	2,013,684	...	1,668,410	685,942	...	12,181,602

^a In Delaware and Kentucky the school tax collected from Colored citizens is the only State appropriation for the support of Colored schools; in Maryland there is a biennial appropriation by the Legislature; in the District of Columbia one third of the school moneys is set apart for Colored public schools; and in the other States mentioned above the school moneys are divided in proportion to the school population without regard to race.

^b Estimated by the Bureau.

^c In 1878.

^d For whites the school age is 6-20; for Colored, 6-16.

^e In 1877.

^f Census of 1870.

THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION

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Statistics of institutions for the instruction of the Colored race for 1879.

Name and class of institution.	Location.	Religious denomination.	Instructors.	Students
NORMAL SCHOOLS.				
Rust Normal Institute	Huntsville, Ala.	Meth.	3	235
State Normal School for Colored Students	Huntsville, Ala.		2	51
Lincoln Normal University	Marion, Ala.		25	225
Emerson Institute	Mobile, Ala.	Cong.	6	240
Alabama Baptist Normal and Theological School	Selma, Ala.	Bapt.	6	250
Normal department of Talladega College	Talladega, Ala.	Cong.	6	95
State Normal School for Colored Students	Pine Bluff, Ark.		4	72
Normal department of Atlanta University	Atlanta, Ga.	Cong.	...	2176
Haven Normal School	Waynesboro', Ga.	Meth.	...	125
Normal department of Berea College	Berea, Ky.	Cong.	(6)	(6)
Normal department of New Orleans University	New Orleans, La.	Meth.	...	...
Normal department of Straight University	New Orleans, La.	Cong.	(6)	91
Peabody Normal School	New Orleans, La.		22	235
Baltimore Normal School for Colored Pupils	Baltimore, Md.		4	190
Centenary Biblical Institute	Baltimore, Md.	M. E.	25	275
Natchez Seminary	Natchez, Miss.	Bapt.	4	46
Tougaloo University and Normal School	Tougaloo, Miss.	Cong.	6	96
Lincoln Institute	Jefferson, Mo.		6	139
State Normal School for Colored Students	Fayetteville, N. C.		3	93
Bennett Seminary	Greensboro', N. C.	Meth.	3	125
Lumberton Normal School	Lumberton, N. C.		2	51
St. Augustine's Normal School	Raleigh, N. C.	P. E.	4	61
Shaw University	Raleigh, N. C.	Bapt.	5	192
Institute for Colored Youth	Philadelphia, Pa.	Friends	...	300
Avery Normal Institute	Charleston, S. C.	Cong.	8	322
Normal department of Brainerd Institute	Chester, S. C.	Presb.	3	50
Claffin University, normal department	Orangeburg, S. C.	M. E.	3	167
Fairfield Normal Institute	Winnsboro', S. C.	Presb.	...	390
The Warner Institute	Jonesborough, Tenn.		64	2149
Knoxville College	Knoxville, Tenn.	Presb.	13	240
Freedman's Normal Institute	Maryville, Tenn.	Friends	24	2229
Le Moyne Normal Institute	Memphis, Tenn.	Cong.		2200
Central Tennessee College, normal department	Nashville, Tenn.	M. E.	27	
Nashville Normal and Theological Institute	Nashville, Tenn.	Bapt.	3	114
Normal department of Fisk University	Nashville, Tenn.	Cong.	6	231
Tillotson Collegiate and Normal Institute	Nashville, Tenn.		5	215
State Normal School of Texas for Colored Students	Austin, Tex.		3	158
Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.	Prairie View, Tex.		3	49
St. Stephen's Normal School	Hampton, Va.	Cong.	228	2320
Miner Normal School	Petersburg, Va.	P. E.	8	240
Normal department of Howard University	Washington, D. C.		5	19
Normal department of Wayland Seminary	Washington, D. C.	Non-sect	2	95
		Bapt.	(5)	(5)
Total			181	6,171
INSTITUTIONS FOR SECONDARY INSTRUCTION.				
Trinity School	Athens, Ala.	Cong.	2	162
Dadeville Seminary	Dadeville, Ala.	M. E.	...	...
Lowery's Industrial Academy	Huntsville, Ala.		...	...
Swayne School	Montgomery, Ala.	Cong.	6	470
Burrell School	Selma, Ala.	Cong.	5	448
Talladega College	Talladega, Ala.	Cong.	12	212
Walden Seminary	Little Rock, Ark.	M. E.	...	...
Cookman Institute	Jacksonville, Fla.	M. E.	25	2140
Clark University	Atlanta, Ga.	M. E.	5	167
Storrs School	Atlanta, Ga.	Cong.	5	528

a In 1878.

b Included in university and college reports.

c For two years.

d In addition to the aid given by the American Missionary Association, this institute is aided from the income of Virginia's agricultural college land fund.

e For all departments.

f Reported under schools of theology.

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Statistics of institutions for the instruction of the Colored race for 1879.—

Continued.

Name and class of institution.	Location.	Religious denomination.	Instructors.	Students.
INSTITUTIONS FOR SECONDARY INSTRUCTION —Continued				
Howard Normal Institute	Cuthbert, Ga.	Cong.	3	66
La Grange Seminary	La Grange, Ga.	M. E.	4	140
Lewis High School	Macon, Ga.	Cong.	2	110
Beach Institute	Savannah, Ga.	Cong.	6	338
St. Augustine's School	Savannah, Ga.	P. E. . . . .	...	...
Day School for Colored Children	New Orleans, La.	R. C. . . . .	...	80
St. Augustine's School	New Orleans, La.	R. C.	3	60
St. Mary's School for Colored Girls	New Orleans, La.	R. C. . . . .	...	60
St. Francis's Academy	Baltimore, Md.	R. C. . . . .	...	50
Meridian Academy	Meridian, Miss.	M. E. . . . .	...	...
Natchez Seminary	Natchez, Miss.	Hapt.	4	45
Scotia Seminary	Concord, N. C.	Presb.	8	152
St. Augustine's School	New Berne, N. C.	P. E. . . . .	...	...
Estey Seminary	Raleigh, N. C.	Hapt. . . . .	...	...
Washington School	Raleigh, N. C.	Cong.	3	149
St. Barnabas School	Wilmington, N. C.	P. E. . . . .	...	1100
Williston Academy and Normal School	Wilmington, N. C.	Cong.	26	2126
Albany Enterprise Academy	Albany, Ohio	Non-sect.	4	64
Polytechnic and Industrial Institute	Bluffton, S. C.	Non-sect.	8	265
High School for Colored Pupils	Charleston, S. C.	P. E. . . . .	...	...
Wallingford Academy	Charleston, S. C.	Presb.	6	261
Brainerd Institute	Chester, S. C.	Presb.	5	300
Benedict Institute	Columbia, S. C.	Hapt.	4	142
Brewer Normal School	Greenwood, S. C.	Cong.	21	258
West Tennessee Preparatory School	Mason, Tenn.	Meth.	2	76
Canfield School	Memphis, Tenn.	P. E. . . . .	...	...
West Texas Conference Seminary	Austin, Tex.	M. E. . . . .	...	...
Wiley University	Marshall, Tex.	M. E.	23	2123
Thyne Institute	Chase City, Va.	U. Presb.	3	213
Richmond Institute	Richmond, Va.	Hapt.	3	92
St. Philip's Church School	Richmond, Va.	P. E.	2	100
St. Mary's School	Washington, D. C.	P. E. . . . .	...	...
Total			120	5,297
UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES.				
Atlanta University	Atlanta, Ga.	Cong.	2613	271
Berea College	Berea, Ky.	Cong.	612	6180
Leland University	New Orleans, La.	Hapt.	26	2091
New Orleans University	New Orleans, La.	M. E.	5	92
Straight University	New Orleans, La.	Cong.	611	2260
Shaw University	Holly Springs, Miss.	M. E.	6	273
Alcorn University	Rodney, Miss.	Non-sect.	10	180
Biddle University	Charlotte, N. C.	Presb.	9	151
Wilberforce University	Wilberforce, Ohio	M. E.	15	6150
Lincoln University	Lincoln University, Pa.	Presb.	29	274
Claffin University and College of Agriculture	Orangeburg, S. C.	M. E.	10	165
Central Tennessee College	Nashville, Tenn.	M. E.	13	139
Fisk University	Nashville, Tenn.	Cong.	13	74
Agricultural and Mechanical College	Hempstead, Tex. . . . .	...	...	...
Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute	Hampton, Va.	Cong.	(e)	(e)
Howard University	Washington, D. C.	Non-sect.	5	33
Total			137	1,033

a In 1878.

b For all departments.

c These are preparatory.

d Normal students are here reckoned as preparatory.

e Reported with normal schools.

f This institution is open to both races, and the figures given are known to include some whites.

Statistics of institutions for the instruction of the Colored race for 1879.—
Continued.

Name and class of institution.	Location.	Religious denomination.	Instructors.	Students.
SCHOOLS OF THEOLOGY.				
Alabama Baptist Normal and Theological School	Selma, Ala.	Bapt.	1	...
Theological department of Talladega College	Talladega, Ala.	Cong.	2	14
Institute for the Education of Colored Ministers	Tuscaloosa, Ala.	Presb.	...	...
Atlanta Baptist Seminary	Atlanta, Ga.	Bapt.	3	113
Theological department of Leland University	New Orleans, La.	Bapt.	22	255
Thomson Biblical Institute (New Orleans University)	New Orleans, La.	M. E.	21	216
Theological department of Straight University	New Orleans, La.	Cong.	1	21
Centenary Biblical Institute	Baltimore, Md.	Meth.	26	220
Theological department of Shaw University	Holly Springs, Miss.	Meth.	22	217
Natchez Seminary	Natchez, Miss.	Bapt.	2	31
Theological department of Biddle University	Charlotte, N. C.	Presb.	4	8
Bennett Seminary	Greensboro', N. C.	Meth.	2	6
Theological department of Shaw University	Raleigh, N. C.	Bapt.	2	59
Theological Seminary of Wilberforce University	Wilberforce, Ohio	M. E.	7	16
Theological department of Lincoln University	Lincoln University, Pa.	Presb.	27	222
Baker Theological Institute (Claflin University)	Orangeburg, S. C.	Meth.	2	28
Nashville Normal and Theological Institute	Nashville, Tenn.	Bapt.	6	50
Theological course in Fisk University	Nashville, Tenn.	Cong.	22	212
Theological department of Central Tennessee College	Nashville, Tenn.	M. E.	4	45
Richmond Institute	Richmond, Va.	Bapt.	10	86
Theological department of Howard University	Washington, D. C.	Non-sect.	4	50
Wayland Seminary	Washington, D. C.	Bapt.	29	281
Total			79	762
SCHOOLS OF LAW.				
Law department of Straight University	New Orleans, La.		24	228
Law department of Shaw University	Holly Springs, Miss.		21	26
Law department of Howard University	Washington, D. C.		3	8
Total			8	42
SCHOOLS OF MEDICINE.				
Medical department of New Orleans University	New Orleans, La.		25	28
Medical department of Shaw University	Holly Springs, Miss.		27	24
Meharry medical department of Central Tennessee College	Nashville, Tenn.		9	22
Medical department of Howard University	Washington, D. C.		8	65
Total			23	99
SCHOOLS FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB AND THE BLIND.				
Institution for the Colored Blind and Deaf-Mutes	Baltimore, Md.		1	30
North Carolina Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind (Colored department)	Raleigh, N. C.		215	260
Total			16	120

a In 1878.

b For all departments.

392 HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA.

Summary of statistics of institutions for the instruction of the Colored race for 1879.

States.	Public schools.		Normal schools.			Institutions for secondary instruction.		
	School population.	Enrolment.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.
Alabama	162,551	67,633	6	28	1,096	6	25	1,292
Arkansas	62,348	13,986	1	4	72	1	...	...
Delaware	3,800	2,842	...	...	...	...	...	...
Florida	42,001	16,795	...	...	...	1	5	140
Georgia	197,125	79,435	2	...	301	7	25	1,349
Kentucky	62,973	19,107	1	...	...	...	...	...
Louisiana	133,276	34,476	3	2	126	3	3	200
Maryland	63,501	27,457	2	9	265	1	...	50
Mississippi	205,936	111,796	2	10	142	2	4	45
Missouri	39,018	20,790	1	6	139	...	...	...
North Carolina	154,841	85,215	5	17	542	6	17	527
Ohio	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	64
Pennsylvania	...	...	1	...	300	...	...	...
South Carolina	144,315	64,095	4	14	929	6	24	1,026
Tennessee	126,288	55,829	7	42	1,378	2	2	76
Texas	47,842	35,896	2	6	207	2	1	123
Virginia	202,852	35,768	2	36	560	3	8	405
West Virginia	7,279	3,775	...	...	...	...	...	...
District of Columbia	12,374	9,045	3	7	114	1	...	...
Total	1,668,410	685,942	42	181	6,171	42	120	5,297

Summary of statistics of institutions for the instruction of the Colored race for 1879.—Continued.

States.	Universities and colleges.			Schools of theology.			Schools of law.		
	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.
Alabama	...	...	...	3	3	14	...	...	...
Georgia	1	13	71	...	...	113	...	...	...
Kentucky	1	12	180	...	...	...	...	...	...
Louisiana	3	22	443	...	...	92	1	4	28
Maryland	...	...	...	3	5	20	...	...	...
Mississippi	2	16	453	2	4	48	...	...	6
North Carolina	1	9	151	3	2	73	1	1	...
Ohio	1	15	190	...	...	10	...	...	...
Pennsylvania	1	10	74	1	7	22	...	...	...
South Carolina	1	10	165	1	3	28	...	...	...
Tennessee	2	26	213	3	12	107	...	...	...
Texas	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Virginia	1	...	...	...	10	86	...	...	...
District of Columbia	1	5	33	2	13	134	1	2	8
Total	16	137	1,933	22	79	762	3	8	42

*Summary of statistics of institutions for the instruction of the Colored race
for 1879.—Continued.*

States.	Schools of medicine.			Schools for the deaf and dumb and the blind.		
	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.
Louisiana	1	5	8	1	1	30
Maryland	1	1	4	1	15	90
Mississippi	1	9	22			
North Carolina	1	8	65			
Tennessee	1					
District of Columbia	1					
Total	4	23	99	2	16	120

Table showing the number of schools for the Colored race and enrolment in them by institutions without reference to States.

Class of institutions.	Schools.	Enrolment.
Public schools	14,341	685,042
Normal schools	42	6,171
Institutions for secondary instruction	42	5,297
Universities and colleges	16	1,933
Schools of theology	22	762
Schools of law	3	42
Schools of medicine	4	99
Schools for the deaf and dumb and the blind	2	120
Total	14,472	700,366

^a To these should be added 417 schools, having an enrolment of 20,487 in reporting free States, making total number of Colored public schools 14,758, and total enrolment in them 706,429; this makes the total number of schools, as far as reported, 14,889, and total number of the Colored race under instruction in them 720,853. The Colored public schools of those States in which no separate reports are made, however, are not included; and the Colored pupils in white schools cannot be enumerated.

Virginia has done more intelligent and effective educational work than any other State in the South. The Hon. W. H. Ruffner has no equal in America as a superintendent of public instruction. He is the Horace Mann of the South.

It appears from the reports of the Freedmen's Bureau that the earliest school for freedmen was opened by the American Missionary Association at Fortress Monroe, September, 1861; and before the close of the war, Hampton and Norfolk were leading points where educational operations were conducted; but after the cessation of hostilities, teachers were sent from North-

ern States, and schools for freedmen were opened in all parts of the State.

The Colored normal school at Richmond, and the one at Hampton, were commenced in 1867 and 1868. Captain C. S. Schaeffer, Bureau officer at Christiansburg, commenced his remarkable efforts about the same time in Montgomery County.

School superintendents for each State were appointed by the Freedmen's Bureau, July 12, 1865, and a general superintendent, or "Inspector of Schools," was appointed in September, 1865. These superintendents were instructed "to work as much as possible in conjunction with State officers, who may have had school matters in charge, and to take cognizance of all that was being done to educate refugees and freedmen." In 1866 an act of Congress was passed enlarging the powers of the Bureau, and partially consolidating all the societies and agencies engaged in educational work among the freedmen. In this bill \$521,000 were appropriated for carrying on the work, to which was to be added forfeitures of property owned by the Confederate Government. Up to January 1, 1868, over a million of dollars was expended for school purposes among the freedmen. In Virginia 12,450 pupils are reported for 1867. Mr. Manly, the Virginia superintendent, reports the following statistics for the year 1867-8: Schools, 230; teachers, 290; pupils enrolled, 14,300; in average attendance, 10,320; the cost as follows:

From Charity	\$78,766
From the Freedmen	10,789
From the Bureau	42,844
Total Cost	<u>\$132,399</u>

The amount raised from freedmen was in the form of small tuition fees of from ten to fifty cents a month—a system approved by Mr. Manly.

In the final report to the Freedmen's Bureau, made July 1, 1870, the Virginia statistics are: Schools, 344; teachers, 412; pupils, 18,234; the average attendance, 78 per cent. This year the freedmen paid \$12,286.50 for tuition. Mr. C. S. Schaeffer and Mr. Samuel H. Jones, who remained in Virginia as teachers—the former still at Christiansburg, and the latter, until very lately, at Danville—both acted as assistants to Mr. Manly. A considerable number of school-houses were built in Virginia

by the Bureau, including the splendid normal and high school building in Richmond, erected and equipped at a cost of \$25,000, and afterward turned over to the city. After the conclusion of his superintendency, Mr. Manly continued for several years to do valuable service as principal of this school.

"The Freedmen's Bureau ceased its educational operations in the summer of 1870, and in the autumn of that year our State public schools were opened. So that, counting from the beginning of the mission school at Hampton in 1861, there has been an unbroken succession of schools for freedmen in one region for nineteen years; and at a number of leading points in the State—such as Norfolk, Richmond, Petersburg, Danville, Charlottesville, Christiansburg, etc.—an unbroken line of schools for fourteen years and upwards. These efforts, however, of the Federal Government toward educating the rising generation of Colored people, could not have been designed as any thing more than an experiment, intended first to test and then to stimulate the appetite of those people for learning. And in this view they were entirely successful in both particulars; for the children flocked to the schools, attended well, made good progress in knowledge, and paid a surprising amount of money for tuition.

"But, considered as a serious attempt to educate the children of the freedmen, the movement was wholly inadequate, even when contrasted with the operations of our imperfect State system. The largest number enrolled in the schools supported by the combined efforts of the Bureau, the charitable societies, and the tuition fees, was 18,234, in 1870. The next year we had in our public schools considerably over double this number, and an annual increase ever since, always excepting those two dark years (*tenebrosus* and *tenebrosissimus*), 1878 and 1879."¹

"Two institutions for the education of the Colored race, founded before the beginning of our school system, are still in successful operation, but remain independent of our school system. One of them has some connection with the State by reason of the receipt of one-third of the proceeds of the Congressional land-grant for education. I refer to the well-known Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, and the Richmond Colored Institute. Nothing need be said in reference to the Hampton School, except that its numbers and usefulness are constantly increasing under the continued superintendence of the indomitable Gen. Armstrong. Its reports, which are published every year as State documents in connection with the Report of this department, are so accessible to all, that I will only repeat here the testimony often given,

¹ See the annual reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for Virginia. There were more than 18,234 Colored children in the schools of this State in 1870.

that in my opinion this is the most valuable of all the schools opened on this Continent for Colored people. Its most direct benefit is in furnishing to our State schools a much-needed annual contribution of teachers ; and teachers so good and acceptable that the demand for them is always much greater than the supply.

"The Richmond Institute has more of a theological intent, but it also sends out many good teachers. As a school it has prospered steadily under the excellent management of the Rev. C. H. Corey, D.D.; and it will soon be accommodated in a large new and handsome building. Both these institutions receive their support chiefly from the North."¹

It will be seen that the tables we give refer only to the work done in educating the Negro in the Southern States. Much has been done in the Northern States, but in quite a different manner. The work of education for the Negro at the South had to begin at the bottom. There were no schools at all for this people ; and hence the work began with the alphabet. And there could be no classification of the scholars. All the way from six to sixty the pupils ranged in age ; and even some who had given slavery a century of their existence—mothers and fathers in Israel—crowded the schools established for their race. Some ministers of the Gospel after a half century of preaching entered school to learn how to spell out the names of the twelve Apostles. Old women who had lived out their threescore years and ten prayed that they might live to spell out the Lord's prayer, while the modest request of many departing patriarchs was that they might recognize the Lord's name in print. The sacrifices they made for themselves and children challenged the admiration of even their former owners.

The unlettered Negroes of the South carried into the school-room an inborn love of music, an excellent memory, and a good taste for the elegant—almost grandiloquent—in speech, gorgeous in imagery, and energetic in narration ; their apostrophe and simile were wonderful. Geography and history furnished great attractions, and they developed ability to master them. In mathematics they did not do so well, on account of the lack of training to think consecutively and methodically. It is a mistake to believe this a mental infirmity of the race ; for a very large number of the students in college at the present time do as well in mathematics, geometry, trigonometry, mensuration, and conic

¹ Annual Report of the Hon. W. H. Ruffner, for 1874.

sections as the white students of the same age ; and some of them excel in mathematics.

The majority of the Colored students in the Southern schools qualify themselves to teach and preach ; while the remainder go to law and medicine. Few educated Colored men ever return to agricultural life. There are two reasons for this : First, reaction. There is an erroneous idea among some of these young men that labor is dishonorable ; that an educated man should never work with his hands. Second, some of them believe that a profession gives a man consequence. Such silly ideas should be abandoned—they must be abandoned ! There is a great demand for educated farmers and laborers. It requires an intelligent man to conduct a farm successfully, to sell the products of his labor, and to buy the necessities of life. No profession can furnish a man with brains, or provide him a garment of respectability. Every man must furnish brains and tact to make his calling and election sure in this world, as well as by faith in the world to come. Unfortunately there has been but little opportunity for Colored men or boys to get employment at the trades : but prejudice is gradually giving way to reason and common-sense ; and the day is not distant when the Negro will have a free field in this country, and will then be responsible for what he is not that is good. The need of the hour is a varied employment for the Negro race on this continent. There is more need of educated mechanics, civil engineers, surveyors, printers, artificers, inventors, architects, builders, merchants, and bankers than there is demand for lawyers, physicians, or clergymen. Waiters, barbers, porters, boot-blacks, hack-drivers, grooms, and private valets find but little time for the expansion of their intellects. These places are not dishonorable ; but what we say is, *there is room at the top !* An industrial school, something like Cooper Institute, situated between New York and Philadelphia, where Colored boys and girls could learn the trades that race prejudice denies them now, would be the grandest institution of modern times. It matters not how many million dollars are given toward the education of the Negro ; so long as he is deprived of the privilege of learning and plying the trades and mechanic arts his education will injure rather than help him.¹ We would rather see a Negro boy build an engine than take the highest prize in Yale or Harvard.

¹ For an account of the John F. Slater Bequest of \$1,000,000 for the education of the freedmen, see the Appendix to this volume.

It is quite difficult to get at a clear idea of what has been done in the Northern States toward the education of the Colored people. In nearly all the States on the borders of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers "Colored schools" still exist; and in many instances are kept alive through the spirit of the self-seeking of a few Colored persons who draw salaries in lieu of their continuance. They should be abolished, and will be, as surely as heat follows light and the rising of the sun. In the New England, Middle, and extreme Western States, with the exception of Kansas, separate schools do not exist. The doors of all colleges, founded and conducted by the white people in the North, are open to the Colored people who desire to avail themselves of an academic education. At the present time there are one hundred and sixty-nine Colored students in seventy white colleges in the Northern States; and the presidents say they are doing well.

The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands was established in the spring of 1865 to meet the state of affairs incident upon the closing scenes of the great civil war. The Act creating the Bureau was approved and became a law on the 3d of March, 1865. The Bureau was to be under the management of the War Department, and its officers were liable for the property placed in their hands under the revised regulations of the army. In May, 1865, the following order was issued from the War Department appointing Major-Gen. O. O. Howard Commissioner of the Bureau:

"[GENERAL ORDERS NO. 91.]

"WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
"WASHINGTON, May 12, 1865. }

"Order Organizing Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned
"Lands.

"I. By the direction of the President, Major General O. O. Howard is assigned to duty in the War Department as Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, under the act of Congress entitled 'An act to establish a bureau for the relief of freedmen and refugees,' to perform the duties and exercise all the rights, authority, and jurisdiction vested by the act of Congress in such Commissioner. General Howard will enter at once upon the duties of Commissioner specified in said act.

"II. The Quartermaster General will, without delay, assign and furnish suitable quarters and apartments for the said bureau.

"III. The Adjutant General will assign to the said bureau the number of competent clerks authorized by the act of Congress.

"By order of the President of the United States :

"E. D. Townsend,

"Assistant Adjutant General."

Gen. Howard entered upon the discharge of the vast, varied, and complicated duties of his office with his characteristic zeal, intelligence, and high Christian integrity. Hospitals were founded for the care of the sick, infirm, blind, deaf, and dumb. Rations were issued, clothing distributed, and lands apportioned to the needy and worthy.

From May 30, 1865, to November 20, 1865, inclusive, this Bureau furnished transportation for 1,946 freedmen, and issued to this class of persons in ten States, 1,030,100 rations.

"Congress, when it created the bureau, made no appropriation to defray its expenses ; it has, however, received funds from miscellaneous sources, as the following report will show :

"In several of the States, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, Missouri, and the District of Columbia, the interests of the freedmen were under the control of military officers assigned by the War Department previous to the organization of this bureau. Their accounts became naturally absorbed in the accounts of the bureau, and the following report embraces all the receipts and expenditures in all States now under control of the bureau since January 1, 1865 :"

RECEIPTS.

Amount on hand January 1, 1865, and received since, to October 31, 1865 :

From freedmen's fund	\$466,028 35
From retained bounties	115,236 49
For clothing, fuel, and subsistence	7,704 21
Farms	76,709 12
From rents of buildings	56,012 42
From rents of lands	125,521 00
From Quartermaster's department	12,200 00
From conscript fund	13,498 11
From schools (tax and tuition)	34,486 58
Total received	907,396 28

EXPENDITURES.

Freedmen's fund	\$8,009 14
Clothing, fuel, and subsistence	75,504 05
Farms	40,069 71
Household furniture	2,904 90
Rents of buildings	11,470 88
Labor (by freedmen and other employés)	237,097 62
Repairs of buildings	19,518 46
Contingent expenses	46,328 07
Rents of lands	300 00
Internal revenue	1,379 86
Conscript fund	6,515 37
Transportation	1,445 51
Schools	27,819 60
Total expended	<u>478,363 17.</u>

RECAPITULATION.

Total amount received	\$907,396 28
Total amount expended	<u>478,363 17</u>
Balance on hand October 31, 1865	429,033 11
Deduct the amount held as retained bounties.	<u>115,236 49</u>
Balance on hand October 31, 1865, available to meet liabilities	<u>313,796 62.¹</u>

It was the policy of the Government to help the freedmen on to their feet; to give them a start in the race of self-support and manhood. They received such assistance as was given them with thankful hearts, and were not long in placing themselves upon a safe foundation for their new existence. Out of a population of 350,000 in North Carolina only 5,000 were receiving aid from the Government in the fall of 1865. Each month witnessed a wonderful reduction of the rations issued to the freedmen. In the month of August, 1865, Gen. C. B. Fisk had reduced the number of freedmen receiving rations from 3,785 to 2,984, in Kentucky. In the same month, in Mississippi, Gen. Samuel Thomas, of the 64th U. S. C. I., had reduced the number of persons receiving rations to 669. In his report for 1865, Gen. Thomas said:

¹ See report of the Commissioner.

"The freedmen working land assigned them at Davis's Bend, Camp Hawley, near Vicksburg, De Soto Point, opposite, and at Washington, near Natchez, are all doing well. These crops are maturing fast; as harvest time approaches, I reduce the number of rations issued and compel them to rely on their own resources. At least 10,000 bales of cotton will be raised by these people, who are conducting cotton crops on their own account. Besides this cotton, they have gardens and corn enough to furnish bread for their families and food for their stock till harvest time returns. * * * A more industrious, energetic body of citizens does not exist than can be seen at the colonies now."

Speaking of the industry of the freed people Gen. Thomas added: "I have lately visited a large portion of the State, and find it in much better condition than I expected. In the eastern part fine crops of grain are growing; the negroes are at home working quietly; they have contracted with their old masters at fair wages; all seem to accept the change without a shock."

From June 1, 1865, to September 1, 1866, the Freedmen's Bureau issued to the freed people of the South 8,904,451½ rations, and was able to make the following financial showing of the Refugees' and Freedmen's fund. From November 1, 1865, to October 1, 1866, the receipts and expenditures were as follows:

Amount on hand November 1, 1865 . . .	\$313,796 62
Received from various sources, as follows :	
Freedmen's fund	\$367,659 93
Clothing, fuel, and subsistence	2,074 55
Farms (sales of crops)	109,709 98
Rent of buildings	48,560 87
Rent of lands	113,641 78
Conscript funds	140 95
Transportation	1,053 50
Schools (taxes)	64,145 86
Total on hand and received	\$1,020,784 04

EXPENDITURES.

Freedmen's fund	\$7,411 32
Clothing, fuel, and subsistence	13,870 93
Farms (fencing, seeds, tools, etc.)	7,210 66
Labor (by freedmen and other employés)	426,918 12
Rent of buildings (offices, etc.)	50,186 61
Repairs of buildings	1,957 47

EXPENDITURES.—(*Continued.*)

Contingent expenses	74,295 77
Rent of lands (restored)	9,260 58
Quartermaster's department	11 26
Internal revenue (tax on salaries)	7,965 22
Conscript fund	1,664 01
Transportation	22,387 01
Schools	115,261 56
Total expended	<u>\$738,400 52</u>
Balance on hand October 1, 1866	\$282,383 52

In September, 1866, the Bureau had on hand :

RECAPITULATION.

Balance on hand of freedmen's fund	\$282,383 52
Balance of District destitute fund	18,328 67
Balance of appropriation	6,856,259 30
Total	<u>\$7,156,971 49</u>
Estimated amount due subsistence department	\$297,000 00
Transportation reported unpaid	26,015 94
Transportation estimated due	20,000 00
Estimated amount due medical department	100,000 00
Estimated amount due quartermaster's department	200,000 00
	<u>\$643,015 94</u>
Total balance for all purposes of expenditures	<u>\$6,513,955 55</u>

But the estimate of Gen. Howard for funds to run the Bureau for the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1867, only called for the sum of three million eight hundred and thirty-six thousand and three hundred dollars, as follows :

Salaries of assistant commissioners, sub-assistants, and agents	\$147,500
Salaries of clerks	82,800
Stationery and printing	63,000
Quarters and fuel	200,000

Subsistence stores	1,500,000
Medical department	500,000
Transportation	800,000
School superintendents	25,000
Buildings for schools and asylums, including construction, rental, and repairs	500,000
Telegraphing and postage	18,000
	<hr/>
	\$3,836,300

This showed that the freed people were rapidly becoming self-sustaining, and that the aid rendered by the Government was used to a good purpose.

Soon after Colored Troops were mustered into the service of the Government a question arose as to some safe method by which these troops might save their pay against the days of peace and personal effort. The noble and wise Gen. Saxton answered the question and met the need of the hour by establishing a Military Savings Bank at Beaufort, South Carolina. Soldiers under his command were thus enabled to husband their funds. Gen. Butler followed in this good work, and established a similar one at Norfolk, Virginia. These banks did an excellent work, and so favorably impressed many of the friends of the Negro that a plan for a Freedman's Savings Bank and Trust Company was at once projected. Before the spring campaign of 1865 opened up, the plan was presented to Congress; a bill introduced creating such a bank, was passed and signed by President Lincoln on the 3d of March. The following is the Act:

"AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE FREEDMAN'S SAVINGS AND TRUST
"COMPANY.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled: That Peter Cooper, William C. Bryant, A. A. Low, S. B. Chittenden, Charles H. Marshall, William A. Booth, Gerrit Smith, William A. Hall, William Allen, John Jay, Abraham Baldwin, A. S. Barnes, Hiram Barney, Seth B. Hunt, Samuel Holmes, Charles Collins, R. R. Graves, Walter S. Griffith, A. H. Wallis, D. S. Gregory, J. W. Alvord, George Whipple, A. S. Hatch, Walter T. Hatch, E. A. Lambert, W. G. Lambert, Roe Lockwood, R. H. Manning, R. W. Ropes, Albert Woodruff, and Thomas Denny, of New York; John M. Forbes, William Claflin, S. G. Howe, George L. Stearns, Edward Atkinson, A. A. Lawrence, and John M. S. Williams, of Massa-

chusetts ; Edward Harris and Thomas Davis, of Rhode Island ; Stephen Colwell, J. Wheaton Smith, Francis E. Cope, Thomas Webster, B. S. Hunt, and Henry Samuel, of Pennsylvania ; Edward Harwood, Adam Poe, Levi Coffin, J. M. Walden, of Ohio, and their successors, are constituted a body corporate in the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia, by the name of the FREEDMAN'S SAVINGS AND TRUST COMPANY, and by that name may sue and be sued in any court of the United States.

"SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the persons named in the first section of this act shall be the first Trustees of the Corporation, and all vacancies by death, resignation, or otherwise, in the office of Trustee shall be filled by the Board, by ballot, without unnecessary delay, and at least ten votes shall be necessary for the election of any Trustee. The Trustees shall hold a regular meeting, at least once in each month, to receive reports of their officers on the affairs of the Corporation, and to transact such business as may be necessary ; and any Trustee omitting to attend the regular meetings of the Board for six months in succession, may thereupon be considered as having vacated his place, and a successor may be elected to fill the same.

"SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That the business of the Corporation shall be managed and directed by the Board of Trustees, who shall elect from their number a President and two Vice-Presidents, and may appoint such other officers as they may see fit ; nine of the Trustees, of whom the President or one of the Vice-Presidents shall be one, shall form a quorum for the transaction of business at any regular or adjourned meeting of the Board of Trustees ; and the affirmative vote of at least seven members of the Board shall be requisite in making any order for, or authorizing the investment of, any moneys, or the sale or transfer of any stock or securities belonging to the Corporation, or the appointment of any officer receiving any salary therefrom.

"SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted,* That the Board of Trustees of the Corporation shall have power, from time to time, to make and establish such By-Laws and regulations as they shall judge proper with regard to the elections of officers and their respective functions, and generally for the management of the affairs of the Corporation, provided such By-Laws and regulations are not repugnant to this act, or to the Constitution or laws of the United States.

"SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted,* That the general business and object of the Corporation hereby created shall be, to receive on deposit such sums of money as may, from time to time, be offered therefor, by or on behalf of persons heretofore held in slavery in the United States, or their descendants, and investing the same in the stocks, bonds, Treasury notes, or other securities of the United States.

"SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the Trustees of the Corporation to invest, as soon as practicable, in the securities named in the next preceding section, all sums received by them beyond an available fund, not exceeding one third of the total amount of deposits with the Corporation, at the discretion of the Trustees, which available funds may be kept by the Trustees, to meet current payments of the Corporation, and may by them be left on deposit, at interest or otherwise, or in such available form as the Trustees may direct.

"SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That the Corporation may, under such regulations as the Board of Trustees shall, from time to time, prescribe, receive any deposit hereby authorized to be received, upon such trusts and for such purposes, not contrary to the laws of the United States, as may be indicated in writing by the depositor, such writing to be subscribed by the depositor and acknowledged or proved before any officer in the civil or military service of the United States, the certificate of which acknowledgment or proof shall be endorsed on the writing; and the writing, so acknowledged or proved, shall accompany such deposit and be filed among the papers of the Corporation, and be carefully preserved therein, and may be read in evidence in any court or before any judicial officer of the United States, without further proof; and the certificate of acknowledgment or proof shall be *prima facie* evidence only of the due execution of such writing.

"SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That all sums received on deposit shall be repaid to such depositor when required, at such time, with such interest, not exceeding seven per centum per annum, and under such regulations as the Board of Trustees shall, from time to time, prescribe, which regulations shall be posted up in some conspicuous place in the room where the business of the Corporation shall be transacted, but shall not be altered so as to affect any deposit previously made.

"SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That all trusts upon which, and all purposes for which any deposit shall be made, and which shall be indicated in the writing to accompany such deposit, shall be faithfully performed by the Corporation, unless the performing of the same is rendered impossible.

"SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That when any depositor shall die, the funds remaining on deposit with the Corporation to his credit, and all accumulations thereof, shall belong and be paid to the personal representatives of such depositor, in case he shall have left a last will and testament, and in default of a last will and testament, or of any person qualifying under a last will and testament, competent to act as executor, the Corporation shall be entitled, in respect to the funds so remaining on deposit to the credit of any such depositor, to adminis-

tration thereon in preference to all other persons, and letters or administration shall be granted to the Corporation accordingly in the manner prescribed by law in respect to granting of letters of administration, with the will annexed, and in cases of intestacy.

"SEC. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That in the case of the death of any depositor, whose deposit shall not be held upon any trust created pursuant to the provisions hereinbefore contained, or where it may prove impossible to execute such trust, it shall be the duty of the Corporation to make diligent efforts to ascertain and discover whether such deceased depositor has left a husband, wife, or children, surviving, and the Corporation shall keep a record of the efforts so made, and of the results thereof; and in case no person lawfully entitled thereto shall be discovered, or shall appear, or claim the funds remaining to the credit of such depositor before the expiration of two years from the death of such depositor, it shall be lawful for the Corporation to hold and invest such funds as a separate trust fund, to be applied, with the accumulations thereof, to the education and improvement of persons heretofore held in slavery, or their descendants, being inhabitants of the United States, in such manner and through such agencies as the Board of Trustees shall deem best calculated to effect that object; *Provided*, That if any depositor be not heard from within five years from the date of his last deposit, the Trustees shall advertise the same in some paper of general circulation in the State where the principal office of the Company is established, and also in the State where the depositor was last heard from; and if, within two years thereafter, such depositor shall not appear, nor a husband, wife, or child of such depositor, to claim his deposits, they shall be used by the Board of Trustees as hereinbefore provided for in this section.

"SEC. 12. *And be it further enacted*, That no President, Vice-President, Trustee, officer, or servant of the Corporation shall, directly or indirectly, borrow the funds of the Corporation or its deposits, or in any manner use the same, or any part thereof, except to pay necessary expenses, under the direction of the Board of Trustees. All certificates or other evidences of deposit made by the proper officers shall be as binding on the Corporation as if they were made under their common seal. It shall be the duty of the Trustees to regulate the rate of interest allowed to the depositors, so that they shall receive, as nearly as may be, a rateable proportion of all the profits of the Corporation, after deducting all necessary expenses; *Provided, however*, That the Trustees may allow to depositors to the amount of five hundred dollars or upward one per centum less than the amount allowed others; *And provided, also*, Whenever it shall appear that, after the payment of the usual interest to depositors, there is in the possession of the Corporation an excess of profits over the liabilities amounting to ten per centum upon the de-

posits, such excess shall be invested for the security of the depositors in the Corporation ; and thereafter, at each annual examination of the affairs of the Corporation, any surplus over and above such ten per centum shall, in addition to the usual interest, be divided rateably among the depositors, in such manner as the Board of Trustees shall direct.

"SEC. 13. *And be it further enacted*, That whenever any deposits shall be made by any minor, the Trustees of the Corporation may, at their discretion, pay to such depositor such sum as may be due to him, although no guardian shall have been appointed for such minor, or the guardian of such minor shall not have authorized the drawing of the same ; and the check, receipt, or acquittance of such minor shall be as valid as if the same were executed by a guardian of such minor, or the minor were of full age, if such deposit was made personally by such minor. And whenever any deposits shall have been made by married women, the Trustees may repay the same on their own receipts.

"SEC. 14. *And be it further enacted*, That the Trustees shall not directly or indirectly receive any payment or emolument for their services as such, except the President and Vice-President.

"SEC. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That the President, Vice-President, and subordinate officers and agents of the Corporation, shall respectively give such security for their fidelity and good conduct as the Board of Trustees may, from time to time, require, and the Board shall fix the salaries of such officers and agents.

"SEC. 16. *And be it further enacted*, That the books of the Corporation shall, at all times during the hours of business, be open for inspection and examination to such persons as Congress shall designate or appoint.

"Approved March 3, 1865."

Eleven of these banks were established in 1865, nine in 1866, three in 1868, one in 1869, and the remainder in 1870, after the charter had been amended as follows :

"AN ACT TO AMEND AN ACT ENTITLED 'AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE FREEDMAN'S SAVINGS AND TRUST COMPANY,' APPROVED MARCH THIRD, EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIVE.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the fifth section of the Act entitled 'An Act to Incorporate the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company,' approved March third, eighteen hundred and sixty-five, be, and the same is hereby, amended by adding thereto at the end

thereof the words following : 'and to the extent of one half in bonds or notes, secured by mortgage on real estate in double the value of the loan ; and the corporation is also authorized hereby to hold and improve the real estate now owned by it in the city of Washington, to wit : the west half of lot number three ; all of lots four, five, six, seven, and the south half of lot number eight, in square number two hundred and twenty-one, as laid out and recorded in the original plats or plan of said city : *Provided*, That said corporation shall not use the principal of any deposits made with it for the purpose of such improvement.'

"SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That Congress shall have the right to alter or repeal this amendment at any time.

"Approved May 6, 1870."

The company was organized on the 16th of May, 1865, and the trustees made their first report on the 8th of June, 1865. Deposits up to this date were \$700, besides \$7,956.38 transferred from the Military Savings Bank at Norfolk, Virginia, on the 3d of June. On the 1st of August the first branch office was opened at Washington, D. C., and on the 1st of September it had a balance due its depositors of \$843.84

Other branches were opened during the year at Louisville, Richmond, Nashville, Wilmington, Huntsville, Memphis, Mobile, and Vicksburg. December 14, 1865, the Military Bank at Beaufort, organized October 16, 1865, was, by order of General Saxton, transferred to this company, with its balance of \$170,000. At the end of the first year, March 1, 1866, fourteen branch offices had been opened, and the balance due depositors was \$199,283.42.

The total deposits made by freedmen in them, from their establishment up to July 1, 1870, was \$16,960,336, of which over \$2,000,000 still remained on deposit. The total amount of deposits in the Richmond branch up to that date was \$318,913, and the balance undrawn \$84,537. The average amount deposited by the various depositors was nearly \$284. So far as the facts were obtained, it appeared that about seventy per cent. of the money drawn from these banks was invested in real estate and in business.

By the financial statement of the banking company, for August, 1871, it appears that in the thirty-four banks then in operation the deposits made during that month, which was considered "dull," amounted to \$882,806.67, and that the total amount to the credit of the depositors was \$3,058,232.81. In the

Richmond branch, the deposits for that month were \$17,790.60, and the total amount due depositors was \$123,733.75; all of which was to the credit of Colored people, except \$6,929.19. A branch shortly before had been established in Lynchburg, which showed a balance due depositors of \$7,382.83.

The following table shows the business of the company for the years 1866-1871:

Table Showing the Relative Business of the Company for Each Fiscal Year.

For year ending March 1.	Total amount of deposits.	Total amount of drafts.	Balance due depositors.
1866 . . .	\$305,167 00	\$105,883 58	\$199,283 42
1867 . . .	1,624,853 33	1,258,515 00	366,338 33
1868 . . .	3,582,378 36	2,944,079 36	638,299 00
1869 . . .	7,257,798 63	6,184,333 32	1,073,465 31
1870 . . .	12,605,781 95	10,948,775 20	1,657,006 75
1871 . . .	19,952,647 36	17,497,111 25	2,455,536 11
For year ending March 1.	Deposits each year.	Drafts each year.	Gain each year.
1866 . . .	\$305,167 00	\$105,883 58	\$199,283 42
1867 . . .	1,319,686 33	1,152,631 42	167,054 91
1868 . . .	1,957,525 03	1,685,564 36	271,960 67
1869 . . .	3,675,420 27	3,240,253 96	435,166 31
1870 . . .	5,347,983 32	4,764,441 88	583,341 44
1871 . . .	7,347,165 41	6,548,336 05	798,829 36

The total amount of deposits received from the organization of the company to October 1, 1871—six years
from the opening of the first branch—was . . . \$25,977,435 48
Total drafts during the same period were . . . 22,850,926 47
Leaving due depositors October 1, 1871 . . . 3,126,509 01
The *total assets* of company on same day amounted to . . . 3,157,206 17
The interest paid during this time amounted to . . . 180,565 35

In 1872 the trustees made the following interesting statement:

THE FREEDMAN'S SAVINGS AND TRUST COMPANY.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE MONTH OF AUGUST, 1872.

BRANCHES.	Deposits for the month.	Drafts for the month.	Total amount of Deposits.	Total amount of Drafts.	Balance due Depositors.
Atlanta, Georgia . . .	\$9,410 68	\$11,242 30	\$245,200 27	\$223,020 17	\$22,180 10
Augusta, Georgia . . .	10,771 99	9,217 94	367,653 16	284,406 14	83,247 02
Baltimore, Maryland . .	29,755 52	18,644 57	1,278,042 32	996,371 98	281,670 34
Beaufort, South Carolina .	189,600 74	184,924 40	2,991,873 30	2,944,441 88	49,431 42
Charleston, South Carolina,	67,668 83	84,464 53	3,100,641 05	2,795,176 24	305,465 41
Columbus, Mississippi . .	2,426 15	4,364 34	132,056 46	121,776 67	10,250 79
Columbia, Tennessee . .	2,552 55	2,086 05	34,088 97	15,738 76	18,350 21
Huntsville, Alabama . . .	7,343 59	10,127 61	416,617 72	364,382 51	52,235 21
Jacksonville, Florida . .	67,292 09	57,307 54	3,312,424 55	3,234,445 72	77,978 83
Lexington, Kentucky . . .	14,383 85	11,221 13	238,680 22	188,308 76	50,371 46
Little Rock, Arkansas . .	7,871 27	9,506 37	172,392 10	154,914 42	17,477 68
Louisville, Kentucky . . .	18,311 01	17,535 74	1,057,587 71	914,504 61	143,083 10
Lynchburg, Virginia . . .	3,104 48	1,242 56	36,880 98	18,354 87	18,526 11
Macon, Georgia	6,808 98	7,061 52	197,050 01	156,308 75	40,741 26
Memphis, Tennessee . . .	20,045 40	27,197 06	979,096 09	840,218 91	129,877 18
Mobile, Alabama	11,136 05	18,645 62	1,039,097 05	923,424 30	105,672 75
Montgomery, Alabama . . .	8,522 90	8,679 60	238,106 08	213,861 71	24,244 37
Natchez, Mississippi . . .	25,548 53	15,005 17	649,256 70	612,985 74	36,270 96
Nashville, Tennessee . . .	15,731 46	17,098 58	739,691 88	625,166 40	114,525 48
New Berne, North Carolina,	38,113 81	37,775 73	1,057,688 32	1,001,645 74	56,042 58
New Orleans, Louisiana . .	193,145 48	207,878 53	2,393,584 08	2,127,056 95	222,527 13
New York, New York . . .	133,209 58	74,461 61	1,673,249 34	1,227,449 57	445,799 79
Norfolk, Virginia	16,771 88	17,757 38	1,048,762 05	916,047 59	132,714 46
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,	11,451 12	9,887 40	357,924 89	278,641 10	79,283 79
Raleigh, North Carolina . .	5,663 28	4,660 16	231,685 82	202,032 44	29,653 38
Richmond, Virginia	64,112 51	53,900 72	1,082,152 71	912,933 45	169,219 26
Savannah, Georgia	30,951 23	27,066 33	1,031,173 38	869,321 30	137,852 02
Shreveport, Louisiana . . .	20,688 72	21,105 59	299,428 39	264,707 78	34,720 61
St. Louis, Missouri	26,323 93	20,599 02	615,876 74	526,400 86	89,475 88
Tallahassee, Florida	4,589 45	4,526 75	361,614 57	329,618 33	31,996 24
Vicksburg, Mississippi . . .	61,691 73	60,068 28	2,962,235 58	2,823,700 87	138,534 71
Washington, Dist. Colum'a,	323,555 79	296,321 26	7,438,918 17	6,406,092 39	1,032,825 78
Wilmington, N'th Carolina,	10,714 10	12,632 65	457,360 75	407,512 51	49,848 24
Alexandria, Virginia	1,929 91	685 80	14,091 77	1,626 35	12,465 42
	\$1,461,207 52	\$1,364,899 95	\$38,245,163 80	\$34,000,685 77	\$4,244,478 03

Total amount of deposits for the month \$1,461,207 56

Total amount of drafts for the month 1,364,899 95

Gain for the month 96,307 61

Total amount of deposits \$38,245,163 80

Total amount of drafts 34,000,685 77

Total amount due depositors \$4,244,478 03

This first experiment of the new citizen in saving his funds was working admirably. Each report was more cheering than the preceding one. The deposits were generally made by day laborers, house servants, farmers, mechanics, and washerwomen. Two facts were established, viz.: that the Negroes of the South were working; and that they were saving their earnings. Northern as well as Southern whites were agreeably surprised.

But bad management doomed the institution to irreparable ruin. The charter was violated in the establishment of branch banks ; " persons who were never held in bondage and their descendants " were allowed to deposit funds in the bank ; money was loaned upon valueless securities and meaningless collaterals, and in the fall of 1873, having been kept open for a long time on money borrowed on collateral securities belonging to its customers, the bank failed !

During the brief period of its existence about \$57,000,000 had been deposited. The liabilities of the institution at the time of the failure, as corrected to date, were \$3,037,483, of which \$73,774.34 were special deposits and preferred claims. The number of open accounts at the time of the failure were 62,000. The *nominal* assets at the time of the failure were \$2,693,095.20. And in the almost interminable list of over-drafts amounting to \$55,567.63, there appeared but one solitary surety !

On the 20th of June, 1874, Congress passed an act permitting the very men who had destroyed the bank to nominate three Commissioners, who, upon the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, should wind up the affairs of this insolvent institution. Section 7 of the Act reads as follows :

" SEC. 7. That whenever it shall be deemed advisable by the trustees of said corporation to close up its entire business, then they shall select three competent men, not connected with the previous management of the institution and approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, to be known and styled commissioners, whose duty it shall be to take charge of all the property and effects of said Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, close up the principal and subordinate branches, collect from the branches all the deposits they have on hand, and proceed to collect all sums due said company, and dispose of all the property owned by said company, as speedily as the interests of the corporation require, and to distribute the proceeds among the creditors pro rata, according to their respective amounts ; they shall make a pro rata dividend whenever they have funds enough to pay twenty per centum of the claims of depositors. Said commissioners, before they proceed to act, shall execute a joint bond to the United States, with good sureties, in the penal sum of one hundred thousand dollars, conditioned for the faithful discharge of their duties as commissioners aforesaid, and shall take an oath to faithfully and honestly perform their duties as such, which bonds shall be executed in presence of the Secretary of the Treasury, be approved by him, and by him safely kept ; and whenever said trus-

tees shall file with the Secretary of the Treasury a certified copy of the order appointing said commissioners, and they shall have executed the bonds and taken the oath aforesaid, then said commissioners shall be invested with the legal title to all of said property of said company, for the purposes of this act, and shall have full power and authority to sell the same, and make deeds of conveyance to any and all of the real estate sold by them to the purchasers. Said commissioners may employ such agents as are necessary to assist them in closing up said company, and pay them a reasonable compensation for their services out of the funds of said company; and the said commissioners shall retain out of said funds a reasonable compensation for their trouble, to be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency, and not exceeding three thousand dollars each per annum. Said commissioners shall deposit all sums collected by them in the Treasury of the United States until they make a pro rata distribution of the same."

There are several legal questions that history would like to ask. 1. Did not the trustees of the Freedman's Savings Bank and Trust Company violate their charter in establishing branch banks? 2. Were not the trustees personally liable for receiving deposits from persons who were neither "heretofore held in slavery" nor the descendants of such persons? 3. Were not persons "heretofore held in slavery" and "their descendants" preferred creditors? 4. Had Congress the authority to go outside of the Federal bankruptcy laws and create such special machinery for the settlement of a collapsed bank? This matter may come before Congress in a new shape some time in the future.

The three commissioners, at a salary of \$3,000 per annum, were charged with the settlement of the affairs of the bank. They were Jno. A. J. Creswell, Robert Purvis, and R. H. T. Leipold. Mr. Creswell was retained by the United States before the Alabama Claims Commission at a salary of \$10,000 per annum; while Mr. Leipold was a lawyer with considerable practice. But neither one of these gentlemen ever entered a court on behalf of the company. In a little more than five years they used up out of the assets of the company, \$40,000 for their salaries; paid for salaries to agents, \$64,000, and \$31,000 for attorneys' fees, aggregating \$135,000—nearly one half of the amount distributed among depositors for the same length of time.

The more the commissioners examined, the greater the liabilities of the company grew. On the 1st of October, 1875, a divi-

dend of 20 per cent. was declared; on the 1st of February, 1878, a dividend of 10 per cent. was declared; on the 21st of August, 1880, they declared another dividend of 10 per cent.; and on the 14th of April, 1881, a circular was sent out as a crumb of comfort to the anxious, defrauded, and outraged depositors. It is not enough for history to pronounce the failure of this bank an irreparable calamity to the Colored people of the South; it should be branded as a *crime*! There was no more necessity for the failure of this bank than for the failure of the United States Treasury. Its management was criminal; and Congress should yet seek out and punish the guilty; and the depositors should be indemnified out of the United States Treasury. Justice and equity demand it.

The failure of the Freedman's Bank worked great mischief among the Colored people in the South. But hardy, persistent, earnest, and hopeful, they turned again to the work of making and saving money. They have been more prudent than their circumstances, in some instances, would seem to warrant. In Georgia the Colored people have made wonderful progress in business matters.

Polls.	No. of Acres of Land.	Value of Land.	City or Town Property.	Amount of Money and Solvent Debts of all Kinds.	Household and Kitchen Furniture.
88,522	541,199	\$1,348,758	\$1,094,435	\$73,253	\$448,713
Horses, Mules, Hogs, Sheep, and Cattle.	Plantation and Mechanical Tools.	Value of all other Property, not before Enumerated, except Annual Crops, Provisions, etc.	Aggregate Value of Whole Property.	Total Amount of Tax Assessed on Polls and Property.	
\$1,704,230	\$143,258	\$369,751	\$5,182,398	\$106,660.39	

Increase in number of acres since return of 1878 39,309
 Increase in wealth since return of 1878 \$57,523

In Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, North and South Carolina, and in Maryland, Colored men have possessed themselves of

excellent farms and moderate fortunes. In Baltimore a company of Colored men own a ship dock, and transact a large business. Some of the largest orange plantations in Florida are owned by Colored men. On most of the plantations, and in many of the large towns and cities Colored mechanics are quite numerous. The Montgomeries who own the plantation, once the property of Jefferson Davis, extending for miles along the Mississippi, are probably the best business men in the South. In Louisiana, P. P. Deslonde, A. Dubuclet, Hon. T. T. Allain, and State Senator Young are men who, although taking a lively interest in politics, have accumulated property and saved it.

There is nothing vicious in the character of the Southern Negro. He is gentle, affectionate, and faithful. If it has appeared, through false figures, that he is a criminal, there is room for satisfactory explanation. In 1870, out of a population, of persons of color, in all the States and Territories, of 4,880,009, there were only 9,400 who were receiving aid on the 1st of June, 1870; and only 8,056 in all the prisons of America. Nine tenths of these were South, and could neither read nor write.

During the Rebellion, when every white male from fifteen to seventy was out fighting to sustain the Confederacy—when the Southern Government was robbing the cradle and the grave for soldiers—the wives and children of the Confederates were committed to the care and keeping of their slaves. And what is the verdict of history? That these women were outraged and their children brained? No! But that during all those years of painful anxiety, of hope and fear, of fiery trial and severe privation, those faithful Negroes toiled, not only to support the wives and children of the men who were fighting to make slavery national and perpetual, but fed the entire rebel army, and never laid the weight of a finger upon the head of any of the women or children entrusted to their care! To this virtue of fidelity to their worst enemies they added still another, loyalty to the Union flag and escaping Union soldiers. All night long they would direct the lonely, famishing, fainting, and almost delirious Union soldier in a safe way, and then when the night and morning met they would point their pilgrim friends to the North Star, hide them and feed them during the day, and then return to the plantation to care for the loved ones of the men who starved Union soldiers and hunted them down with bloodhounds! This is the brightest gem that history can place upon

the brow of the Negro; and in conferring it there is no one found to object.

Since the war the crime among Colored people is to be accounted for upon two grounds, viz.: ignorance, and a combination of circumstances over which they had no control. It was one thing for the Negro to understand the cruel laws of slavery, but when he found himself a freeman he was not able to know what was an infraction of the law. They did not know what in law constituted a *tort*, or a civil action from a sled. The violent passions pampered in slavery, the destruction of the home, the promiscuous mingling of the sexes, a conscience enfeebled by disuse, made them easy transgressors. The Negro is not a criminal generically; he is an accidental criminal. The judiciary and juries of the South are responsible for the alarming prison statistics which stand against the Negro. It takes generations for men to overcome their prejudices. With a white judge and a white jury a Negro is guilty the moment he makes his appearance in court. It is seldom that a Negro can get judgment against a white person under the most favorable circumstances. The Negroes who appear in courts are of the poorer and more ignorant class. They have no funds with which to employ counsel, and have but few intelligent lawyers to come to their rescue. In cases of theft, especially of poultry, pigs, sheep, fruit, etc., it is next to impossible to convince a white judge or jury that the defendant is not guilty. They reason that because the half-fed, overworked slave appropriated articles of food, as a freeman the Negro was not changed. They ascribed a general habit, growing out of trying circumstances, to the Negro as a slave that he soon learned to regard as morally wrong when a freeman.

But the most effective agency in filling Southern prisons with Negroes has been, and is, the chain-gang system—the farming out of convict labor. Just as great railway, oil, and telegraph companies in the North have been capable of controlling legislation, so the corporations at the South which take the prisoners of the State off of the hands of the Government, and then speculate upon the labor of the prisoners, are able to control both court and jury. It has been the practice, and is now, in some of the Southern States, to pronounce long sentences upon able-bodied young Colored men, whose offences, in a Northern court, could not be visited with more than a few months' confinement and a trifling fine. The object in giving Negro men a long term of

years, is to make sure the tenure of the soulless corporations upon the convicts whose unhappy lot it is to fall into their iron grasp. In some of the Southern States a strong and healthy Negro convict brings thirty-seven cents a day to the State, while he earns a dollar for the corporations above his expenses. The convicts are cruelly treated—especially in Georgia and Kentucky;—their food is poor, their quarters miserable, and their morals next to the brute creation. In many of these camps men and women are compelled to sleep in the same bunks together, with chains upon their limbs, in a promiscuous manner too sickening and disgusting to mention. When a prisoner escapes he is hunted down by fiery dogs and cruel guards; and often the poor prisoner is torn to pieces by the dogs or beaten to death by the guards. No system of slavery was ever equal in its cruel and dehumanizing details to this convict system, which, taking advantage of race prejudice on the one hand and race ignorance on the other, with cupidity and avarice as its chief characteristics, has done more to curse the South than all things else since the war.

It was predicted by persons hostile to the rights and citizenship of the Negro, that a condition of freedom would not be in harmony with his character; that it would destroy him, and that he would destroy the country and party which tried to make him agree to a state of independent life; that having been used to the "kind treatment" (?) of his master he would find himself unequal to the responsibilities of freedom; and that his migratory disposition would lead him into a climate too cold for him, where he would be welcomed to an inhospitable grave.

It is true that a great many Negroes died during the first years of their new life. The joy of emancipation and the excitement that disturbed business swept the Negroes into the large cities. Like the shepherds who left their flocks on the plains and went into Bethlehem to see the promised redemption, these people sought the centres of excitement. The large cities were overrun with them. The demand for unskilled labor was not great. From mere spectators they became idlers, helpless and offensive to industrious society. Ignorant of sanitary laws, imprudent in their daily living, changing from the pure air and plain diet of farm life to the poisonous atmosphere and rich, fateful food of the city, many fell victims to the sudden change from bondage to freedom, from darkness to light, and from the flesh-pots, garlic, and onions of their Egyptian bondage to the milk and honey of the Canaan of their deliverance.

But this was in accordance with an immutable law of nature. Every year a large number of birds perish in an attempt to change their home ; every spring-time many flowers die at their birth. The law of the survival of the fittest is impartial and inexorable. The Creator said centuries ago "the soul that sinneth shall surely die," and the law has remained until the present time. Those who sinned ignorantly or knowingly died the death ; but those who obeyed the laws of health, of man, and of God, lived to be useful members of society.

But this was the exception to the rule. The Negro race in America is not dying out. The charge is false. The wish was father to the thought, while no doubt many honest people have been misled by false figures. Nearly all white communities at the South had more than enough of physicians ; and science and culture were summoned to the aid of the white mother in the hour of childbirth. The record of births was preserved with pride and official accuracy ; and thus there was a record upon which to calculate the increase. But, on the contrary, among the Negroes there were no physicians and no record of births. The venerable system of midwifery prevailed. In burying their dead, however, this people were compelled to obtain a burial permit from the Board of Health. Thus the statistics were all on one side—all deaths and no births. Looking at these statistics it did seem that the race was dying out. But the Government steps in and takes the census every decade, and, thereby, the world is enabled, upon reliable figures, to estimate the increase or decrease of the Colored race. The subjoined table exhibits the increase of the Colored people for nine decades.

	Year.	Colored.	Colored gain per cent.	
1st census.	1790	757,208		
2d "	1800	1,002,037	32.3	1st decade.
3d "	1810	1,377,808	37.5	2d "
4th "	1820	1,771,656	28.6	3d "
5th "	1830	2,328,642	31.5	4th "
6th "	1840	2,873,648	23.4	5th "
7th "	1850	3,638,808	26.6	6th "
8th "	1860	4,441,830	22.1	7th "
9th "	1870	4,880,009	9.9 ¹	8th "
10th "	1880	6,580,793	34.8	9th "

¹ There is no disguising the fact that the ninth census was incorrect. No doubt it was the worst we have ever had.

So here is a remarkable fact, that from 757,208 in 1790 the Negro race has grown to be 6,580,793 in 1880! The theory that the race was dying out under the influences of civilization at a greater ratio than under the annihilating influences of slavery was at war with common-sense and the efficient laws of Christian society. Emancipation has taken the mother from field-work to house-work. The slave hut has been supplanted by a pleasant house; the mud floor is done away with; and now, with carpets on the floor, pictures on the wall, a better quality of food properly prepared, the influence of books and papers, and the blessings of a preached Gospel, the Negro mother is more prolific, and the mortality of her children reduced to a minimum. The Negro is not dying out. On the contrary he has shown the greatest recuperative powers, and against the white population of the United States as it stands to-day—if it were not fed by European immigrants,—within the next hundred years the Negroes would outnumber the whites 12,000,000! Or at an increase of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. the Negro population in 1980 would be 117,000,000! providing the ratio of increase continues the same between the races.

And in addition to the fact that the Negro, like the Irishman, is prolific, is able to reproduce his species, it should be recorded that the Negro intellect is growing and expanding at a wonderful rate. The children of ten and twelve years of age are more apt to-day than those of the same age ten years ago. And the children of the next generation will have no superiors in any of the schools of the country.

CHAPTER XXIII.

REPRESENTATIVE COLORED MEN.

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.—THE LEGAL DESTRUCTION OF SLAVERY AND A CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION.—FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT GRANTING MANHOOD SUFFRAGE TO THE AMERICAN NEGRO.—PRESIDENT GRANT'S SPECIAL MESSAGE UPON THE SUBJECT.—UNIVERSAL REJOICING AMONG THE COLORED PEOPLE.—THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—THE NEGRO IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE COUNTRY.—FREDERICK DOUGLASS.—HIS BIRTH, ENSLAVEMENT, ESCAPE TO THE NORTH, AND LIFE AS A FREEMAN.—BECOMES AN ANTI-SLAVERY ORATOR.—GOES TO GREAT BRITAIN.—RETURNS TO AMERICA.—ESTABLISHES THE "NORTH STAR."—HIS ELOQUENCE, INFLUENCE, AND BRILLIANT CAREER.—RICHARD THEODORE GREENER.—HIS EARLY LIFE, EDUCATION, AND SUCCESSFUL LITERARY CAREER.—JOHN P. GREEN.—HIS EARLY STRUGGLES TO OBTAIN AN EDUCATION.—A SUCCESSFUL ORATOR, LAWYER, AND USEFUL LEGISLATOR.—OTHER REPRESENTATIVE COLORED MEN.—REPRESENTATIVE COLORED WOMEN.

THE Government could not escape the logic of the position it took when it made the Negro a soldier, and invoked his aid in putting down the slave-holders' Rebellion. As a soldier he stood in line of promotion: the Government destroyed the Confederacy when it placed muskets in the hands of the slaves; and at the close of the war had to legally render slavery forever impossible in the United States. The bloody deduction of the great struggle had to be made a living, legal verity in the Constitution, and hence the Thirteenth Amendment.

"ARTICLE XIII.

"SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

This was the consummation of the ordinance of 1787, carried to its last analysis, applied in its broadest sense. It drove the last nail in the coffin of slavery, and blighted the fondest hope of the friends of secession.

But there was need for another amendment to the Constitution conferring upon the Colored people manhood suffrage. On the 27th of February, 1869, the Congress passed a resolution recommending the Fifteenth Amendment for ratification by the Legislatures of the several States. On the 30th of March, 1870, President U. S. Grant sent a special message to Congress, calling the attention of that body to the proclamation of the Secretary of State in reference to the ratification of the Amendment by twenty-nine of the States.

SPECIAL MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT GRANT ON RATIFICATION OF THE
FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

"To the Senate and House of Representatives :

"It is unusual to notify the two houses of Congress, by message, of the promulgation, by proclamation of the Secretary of State, of the ratification of a constitutional amendment. In view, however, of the vast importance of the XVth Amendment to the Constitution, this day declared a part of that revered instrument, I deem a departure from the usual custom justifiable. A measure which makes at once four millions of people voters, who were heretofore declared by the highest tribunal in the land not citizens of the United States, nor eligible to become so, (with the assertion that, 'at the time of the Declaration of Independence, the opinion was fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race, regarded as an axiom in morals as well as in politics, that black men had no rights which the white man was bound to respect,') is indeed a measure of grander importance than any other one act of the kind from the foundation of our free government to the present day.

"Institutions like ours, in which all power is derived directly from the people, must depend mainly upon their intelligence, patriotism, and industry. I call the attention, therefore, of the newly-enfranchised race to the importance of their striving in every honorable manner to make themselves worthy of their new privilege. To the race more favored heretofore by our laws I would say, withhold no legal privilege of advancement to the new citizen. The framers of our Constitution firmly believed that a republican government could not endure without intelligence and education generally diffused among the people. The 'Father of his Country,' in his farewell address, uses this language: 'Promote, then, as a matter of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of the government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.' In his first annual message to Con-

gress the same views are forcibly presented, and are again urged in his eighth message.

"I repeat that the adoption of the XVth Amendment to the Constitution completes the greatest civil change and constitutes the most important event that has occurred since the nation came into life. The change will be beneficial in proportion to the heed that is given to the urgent recommendations of Washington. If these recommendations were important then, with a population of but a few millions, how much more important now, with a population of forty millions, and increasing in a rapid ratio.

"I would therefore call upon Congress to take all the means within their constitutional powers to promote and encourage popular education throughout the country; and upon the people everywhere to see to it that all who possess and exercise political rights shall have the opportunity to acquire the knowledge which will make their share in the government a blessing and not a danger. By such means only can the benefits contemplated by this amendment to the Constitution be secured.

"U. S. GRANT.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 30, 1870."

CERTIFICATE OF MR. SECRETARY FISH RESPECTING THE
RATIFICATION OF THE XVTH AMENDMENT TO THE
CONSTITUTION, MARCH 30, 1870.

"HAMILTON FISH, SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

"To all to whom these presents may come, greeting :

"Know ye that the Congress of the United States, on or about the 27th day of February, in the year 1869, passed a resolution in the words and figures following, to wit :

"A RESOLUTION proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of both houses concurring.) That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said legislatures, shall be valid as part of the Constitution, namely :

"ARTICLE XV.

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

" And, further, that it appears, from official documents on file in this department, that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, proposed as aforesaid, has been ratified by the legislatures of the States of North Carolina, West Virginia, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Maine, Louisiana, Michigan, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, New York, New Hampshire, Nevada, Vermont, Virginia, Alabama, Missouri, Mississippi, Ohio, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Nebraska, and Texas; in all, twenty-nine States.

" And, further, that the States whose legislatures have so ratified the said proposed amendment constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States.

" And, further, that it appears, from an official document on file in this department, that the legislature of the State of New York has since passed resolutions claiming to withdraw the said ratification of the said amendment which had been made by the legislature of that State, and of which official notice had been filed in this department.

" And, further, that it appears, from an official document on file in this department, that the legislature of Georgia has by resolution ratified the said proposed amendment.

" Now, therefore, be it known that I, Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of the 2d section of the act of Congress, approved the 20th day of April, 1818, entitled "An act to provide for the publication of the laws of the United States, and for other purposes," do hereby certify, that the amendment aforesaid has become valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution of the United States.

" In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

" Done at the city of Washington, this 30th day of March, in the year of our Lord, 1870, and of the independence of the
[SEAL.] United States, the ninety-fourth.

" HAMILTON FISH."

The Emancipation Proclamation itself did not call forth such genuine and wide-spread rejoicing as the message of President Grant. The event was celebrated by the Colored people in all the larger cities North and South. Processions, orations, music and dancing proclaimed the unbounded joy of the new citizen. In Philadelphia Frederick Douglass, Bishop Jabez P. Campbell, I. C. Wears, and others delivered eloquent addresses to enthusiastic audiences. Mr. Douglass deeply wounded the religious feelings of his race by declaring: "I shall not dwell in any

hackneyed cant by thanking God for this deliverance which has been wrought out through our common humanity." A hundred pulpits, a hundred trenchant pens sprang at the declaration with fiery indignation ; and it was some years before the bold orator was able to make himself tolerable to his people. There was little of the spirit of tolerance among the Colored people at the time, and upon such an occasion the remark was regarded as imprudent, to say the least.

A new era was opened up before the Colored people. They were now for the first time in possession of their full political rights. On the 25th of February, 1870, Hiram R. Revels took his seat as United States Senator from Mississippi. On the 9th of January, 1861, Mississippi passed her ordinance of secession, and Jefferson Davis resigned his seat as United States Senator. Within a brief decade a civil war had raged for four and a half years ; and after the seceding Mississippi had passed through the refining fires of battle and had been purged of slavery, she sent to succeed the arch traitor a *Negro*,¹ a representative of the race that Mr. Davis intended to be the corner-stone of his new government!!² It was God's work, and marvellous in the eyes of the world. But this was not all. Just one year from the day and hour Senator Revels took his seat in the United States Senate, on the 24th of February, 1871, Jefferson F. Long, a *Negro*, was sworn in as a member of the House of Representatives from Georgia, the State of Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Confederate States!! And then, as if to add glory to glory, the American Government despatched E. D. Bassett, a Colored man from Pennsylvania, as Minister Resident and Consul-General to Hayti! And with almost the same stroke of his pen, President Grant sent J. Milton Turner, a Colored man from Missouri, as Resident Minister and Consul-General to Liberia! Mr. Bassett came from Philadelphia where the Declaration of Independence was written and proclaimed, and where the noble Dr. Franklin had stood against the slavery compromises of the Constitution! Philadelphia, then, the birthplace of American Independence, had the honor of furnishing the first

¹ Hiram R. Revels was the successor of Mr. Jefferson Davis. He was a Methodist preacher from Mississippi. It was our privilege to be present in the Senate when he was sworn in and took his seat.

² This idea had been put forth in a speech by Alexander H. Stephens just after he had been chosen Vice-President of the Confederate States.

Negro who was to illustrate the lofty sentiment of the equality of *all* men before the law. And the republic that Mr. Bassett went to had won diplomatic relations with all the civilized powers of the earth through the matchless valor and splendid statesmanship of Toussaint L'Ouverture. This was a black republic that had a history and a name among the peoples of the world.

Mr. Turner went from Missouri, the first State to violate the ordinance of 1787, and to establish slavery "northwest of the Ohio" River. He went to a republic on the West Coast of Africa that had been built by the industry, intelligence, and piety of Negroes who had flown from the accursed influences of American slavery. The slave-ships had disappeared from the coast, and commercial fleets from all lands came to trade with the citizens of a free republic whose ministers were welcomed in every court of Europe, and whose official acts were clothed with the authority and majesty of "*the Republic of Liberia!*"

In this same period Frederick Douglass was made a Presidential Elector for the State of New York; and thus helped cast the vote of that great commonwealth for U. S. Grant as President, in 1872. In the chief city of this State the first Federal Congress met, and on the first day of its first session spent the entire time in discussing the slavery question. Through the streets of this same city Mr. Douglass had to skulk and hide from slave-catchers on his way from the hell of slavery to the land of freedom. In this city, a few years later, he was hounded by a pro-slavery mob,—but at last he represented the popular will of its noblest citizens when they had chosen him to act for them in the Electoral College.

Born a slave, some time during the present century, on the eastern shore, Maryland, in the county of Talbot, and in the district of Tuckahoe, Frederick Douglass was destined by nature and God to be a giant in the great moral agitation for the extinction of slavery and the redemption of his race. He came of two extremes—representative Negro and representative Saxon. Tall, large-boned, colossal frame, compact head, broad, expressive face adorned with small brown, mischievous eyes, nose slightly Grecian, chin square set, and thin lips, Frederick Douglass would attract attention upon the streets of any city in Europe or America. His life as a slave was studded with painful experiences. Early separation from his mother, neglect, and then cruel

treatment gave to the holy cause of freedom one of its ablest champions, and to slavery one of its most invincible opponents.

Transferred from Talbot County to Baltimore, Maryland, where he spent seven years, Mr. Douglass began to extend the horizon of his intellectual vision, and to come face to face with the hideous monster of slavery in the moments of reflection upon his condition in contrast with that of a fairer race about him. Inadvertently his mistress began to teach him characters of letters; but she was stopped by the advice of her husband, because it was thought inimical to the interest of the master to teach his slave. But having lighted the taper of knowledge in the mind of the slave boy, it was forever beyond human power to put it out. The incidents and surroundings of young Douglass peopled his brain with ideas, gave wings to his thoughts and order to his reasoning. The word of reproof, the angry look, and the precautions to prevent him from acquiring knowledge rankled in his young heart and covered his moral sky with thick clouds of despair. He reasoned himself right out of slavery, and ran away and went North.

David Ruggles, a Colored gentleman of intelligence, took charge of Mr. Douglass in New York, and sent him to New Bedford, Massachusetts. Having married in New York a free Colored woman from Baltimore named "Anna," he was ready now to enter upon the duties of the new life as a freeman. He found in one Nathan Johnson, an intelligent and industrious Colored man of New Bedford, a warm friend, who advanced him a sum of money to redeem baggage held for fare, and gave him the name which he has since rendered illustrious.

The intellectual growth of Mr. Douglass from this on was almost phenomenal. He devoured knowledge with avidity, and retained and utilized all he got. He used information as good business men use money. He made every idea bear interest; and now setting the music of his soul to the words he acquired, he soon earned a reputation as a gifted conversationalist and an impressive orator.

In the summer of 1841 an anti-slavery convention was held at Nantucket, Massachusetts, under the direction of William Lloyd Garrison. Mr. Douglass had attended several meetings in New Bedford, where he had listened to a defence of his race and a denunciation of its oppressors. And when he heard of the forthcoming convention at Nantucket he resolved to take a little

respite from the hard work he was performing in a brass foundry, and attend. Previous to this he had felt the warm heart of Mr. Garrison beating for the slave through the columns of the "Liberator"; had received a copy each week for a long time, had mastered its matchless arguments against slavery, and was, therefore, possessed with an idea of the anti-slavery cause. At Nantucket he was sought out of the vast audience and requested by William C. Coffin, of New Bedford, where he had heard the fervid eloquence of the young man as an exhorter in the Colored Methodist Church, to make a speech. The hesitancy and diffidence of Mr. Douglass were overcome by the importunate invitation to speak. He spoke: and from that hour a new sphere opened to him; from that hour he began to exert an influence against slavery which for a generation was second only to that of Mr. Garrison. He was engaged as an agent of the Anti-Slavery Society led by Mr. Garrison. He was taken in charge by George Foster, and in his company made a lecturing tour of the eastern tier of counties in the old Bay State. The meetings were announced a few days ahead of the lecturer. He was advertised as a "fugitive slave," as "a chattel," as "a thing" that could talk and give an interesting account of the cruelties of slavery. As a narrator he had few equals among the most polished white gentlemen of all New England. His white friends were charmed by the lucidity and succinctness of his account of his life as a slave, and always insisted upon his narrative. But he was more than a narrator, more than a story-teller; he was an orator, and in dealing with the problem of slavery proved himself to be a thinker. The old story of his bondage became stale to him. His friends' advice to keep on telling the same story could no longer be complied with; and dashing out of the beaten path of narration he began a career as an orator that has had no parallel on this continent. He found no adequate satisfaction in relating the experiences of a slave; his soul burned with a holy indignation against the institution of slavery. Having increased his vocabulary of words and his information concerning the purposes and plans of the Anti-Slavery Society, he was prepared to make an assault upon slavery. Instead of being the pupil of the anti-slavery friends who had furnished him a great opportunity, his close reasoning, blighting irony, merciless invective, and matchless eloquence made him the peer of any anti-slavery orator of his times. His appearance on the anti-

slavery platform was sudden. He appeared as a new star of magnificent magnitude and surpassing beauty. All eyes were turned toward the "fugitive slave orator." His eloquence so astounded the people that few would believe he had ever felt the cruel touch of the lash. Moreover, he had withheld from the public, the State and place of his nativity and the circumstances of his escape. He had done this purposely for prudential reasons. In those days there was no protection that protected a fugitive slave against the slave-catcher assisted by the United States courts. To reveal his master's name and recount the exciting circumstances under which he had made his escape from bondage, Mr. Douglass felt was but to invite the slave-hounds to Massachusetts and endanger his liberty. But there were many good friends hard by who were ready to pay the market value of Mr. Douglass if a price were placed upon his flesh and blood. They urged him, therefore, to write out an account of his life as a slave,—to be specific; and to boldly mention names of places and persons. In 1845 a pamphlet written by Mr. Douglass, embodying the experiences of a "fugitive slave," was published by the Anti-Slavery Society. It breathed a fiery zeal into the apathy of the North, and drew the fire of the Southern press and people. For safety his friends sent him abroad. During the voyage, in accepting an invitation to deliver a lecture on slavery, he gave offence to some pro-slavery men who desired very much to feed his body to the inhabitants of the deep. But a resolute captain and a few friends were able to reduce the wrath of the Southerners to a minimum. The occurrence on shipboard duly found its way into the public journals of London; and the Southern gentlemen in an attempt to justify their conduct in a card drew upon themselves the wrath of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and gave Mr. Douglass an advertisement such as he could never have secured otherwise.

Mr. Douglass spent nearly two years in Europe lecturing and writing in the cause of anti-slavery. He made a profound impression and helped the anti-slavery cause amazingly.

During his absence he wrote an occasional letter to the editor of the "*Liberator*," and the first is, for composition, vigorous English, symbols of thought, similes, and irony, superior to any letter he ever wrote before or since. It bore date of January 1, 1846.

"MY DEAR FRIEND GARRISON : Up to this time I have given no direct expression of the views, feelings, and opinions which I have formed, respecting the character and condition of the people of this land. I have refrained thus, purposely. I wish to speak advisedly, and in order to do this, I have waited till, I trust, experience has brought my opinions to an intelligent maturity. I have been thus careful, not because I think what I say will have much effect in shaping the opinions of the world, but because whatever of influence I may possess, whether little or much, I wish it to go in the right direction, and according to truth. I hardly need say that, in speaking of Ireland, I shall be influenced by no prejudices in favor of America. I think my circumstances all forbid that. I have no end to serve, no creed to uphold, no government to defend ; and as to nation, I belong to none. I have no protection at home, or resting-place abroad. The land of my birth welcomes me to her shores only as a slave, and spurns with contempt the idea of treating me differently ; so that I am an outcast from the society of my childhood, and an outlaw in the land of my birth. 'I am a stranger with thee, and a sojourner, as all my fathers were.' That men should be patriotic, is to me perfectly natural ; and as a philosophical fact, I am able to give it an *intellectual* recognition. But no further can I go. If ever I had any patriotism, or any capacity for the feeling, it was whipped out of me long since, by the lash of the American soul-drivers.

"In thinking of America, I sometimes find myself admiring her bright blue sky, her grand old woods, her fertile fields, her beautiful rivers, her mighty lakes, and star-crowned mountains. But my rapture is soon checked, my joy is soon turned to mourning. When I remember that all is cursed with the infernal spirit of slave-holding, robbery, and wrong ; when I remember that with the waters of her noblest rivers, the tears of my brethren are borne to the ocean, disregarded and forgotten, and that her most fertile fields drink daily of the warm blood of my outraged sisters, I am filled with unutterable loathing, and led to reproach myself that any thing could fall from my lips in praise of such a land. America will not allow her children to love her. She seems bent on compelling those who would be her warmest friends, to be her worst enemies. May God give her repentance, before it is too late, is the ardent prayer of my heart. I will continue to pray, labor, and wait, believing that she cannot always be insensible to the dictates of justice, or deaf to the voice of humanity.

"My opportunities for learning the character and condition of the people of this land have been very great. I have travelled almost from the Hill of Howth to the Giant's Causeway, and from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear. During these travels, I have met with much in the character and condition of the people to approve, and much to con-

demn ; much that has thrilled me with pleasure, and very much that has filled me with pain. I will not, in this letter, attempt to give any description of those scenes which have given me pain. This I will do hereafter. I have enough, and more than your subscribers will be disposed to read at one time, of the bright side of the picture. I can truly say, I have spent some of the happiest moments of my life since landing in this country. I seem to have undergone a transformation. I live a new life. The warm and generous coöperation extended to me by the friends of my despised race ; the prompt and liberal manner with which the press has rendered me its aid ; the glorious enthusiasm with which thousands have flocked to hear the cruel wrongs of my down-trodden and long-enslaved fellow-countrymen portrayed ; the deep sympathy for the slave, and the strong abhorrence of the slaveholder, everywhere evinced ; the cordiality with which members and ministers of various religious bodies, and of various shades of religious opinion, have embraced me, and lent me their aid ; the kind hospitality constantly proffered me by persons of the highest rank in society ; the spirit of freedom that seems to animate all with whom I come in contact, and the entire absence of every thing that looked like prejudice against me, on account of the color of my skin—contrasted so strongly with my long and bitter experience in the United States, that I look with wonder and amazement on the transition. In the southern part of the United States, I was a slave, thought of and spoken of as property ; in the language of the LAW, '*held, taken, reputed, and adjudged to be a chattel in the hands of my owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators, and assigns, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever.*' (Brev. Digest, 224.) In the northern states, a fugitive slave, liable to be hunted at any moment like a felon, and to be hurled into the terrible jaws of slavery—doomed by an inveterate prejudice against color to insult and outrage on every hand, (Massachussetts out of the question)—denied the privileges and courtesies common to others in the use of the most humble means of conveyance—shut out from the cabins of steamboats—refused admission to respectable hotels—caricatured, scorned, scoffed, mocked, and maltreated with impunity by any one, (no matter how black his heart,) so he has a white skin. But now behold the change ! Eleven days and a half gone, and I have crossed three thousand miles of the perilous deep. Instead of a democratic government, I am under a monarchical government. Instead of the bright, blue sky of America, I am covered with the soft, grey fog of the Emerald Isle. I breathe, and lo ! the chattel becomes a man. I gaze around in vain for one who will question my equal humanity, claim me as his slave, or offer me an insult. I employ a cab—I am seated beside white people—I reach the hotel—I enter the same door—I am shown into the same parlor—I dine at the same table—and no one is offended.

No delicate nose grows deformed in my presence. I find no difficulty here in obtaining admission into any place of worship, instruction, or amusement, on equal terms with people as white as any I ever saw in the United States. I meet nothing to remind me of my complexion. I find myself regarded and treated at every turn with the kindness and deference paid to white people. When I go to church, I am met by no upturned nose and scornful lip to tell me, '*We don't allow niggers in here!*'

"I remember, about two years ago, there was in Boston, near the south-west corner of Boston Common, a menagerie. I had long desired to see such a collection as I understood was being exhibited there. Never having had an opportunity while a slave, I resolved to seize this, my first, since my escape. I went, and as I approached the entrance to gain admission, I was met and told by the door-keeper, in a harsh and contemptuous tone, '*We don't allow niggers in here!*' I also remember attending a revival meeting in the Rev. Henry Jackson's meeting-house, at New Bedford, and going up the broad aisle to find a seat, I was met by a good deacon, who told me, in a pious tone, '*We don't allow niggers in here!*' Soon after my arrival in New Bedford, from the South, I had a strong desire to attend the Lyceum, but was told, '*They don't allow niggers in here!*' While passing from New York to Boston, on the steamer 'Massachusetts,' on the night of the 9th of December, 1843, when chilled almost through with the cold, I went into the cabin to get a little warm. I was soon touched upon the shoulder, and told, '*We don't allow niggers in here!*' On arriving in Boston, from an anti-slavery tour, hungry and tired, I went into an eating-house, near my friend, Mr. Campbell's, to get some refreshments. I was met by a lad in a white apron, '*We don't allow niggers in here!*' A week or two before leaving the United States, I had a meeting appointed at Weymouth, the home of that glorious band of true abolitionists, the Weston family, and others. On attempting to take a seat in the omnibus to that place, I was told by the driver (and I never shall forget his fiendish hate), '*I don't allow niggers in here!*' Thank heaven for the respite I now enjoy! I had been in Dublin but a few days, when a gentleman of great respectability kindly offered to conduct me through all the public buildings of that beautiful city; and a little afterward, I found myself dining with the lord mayor of Dublin. What a pity there was not some American democratic christian at the door of his splendid mansion, to bark out at my approach, '*They don't allow niggers in here!*' The truth is, the people here know nothing of the republican negro hate prevalent in our glorious land. They measure and esteem men according to their moral and intellectual worth, and not according to the color of their skin. Whatever may be said of the aristocracies here, there is none based on the color of a man's skin.

This species of aristocracy belongs preëminently to 'the land of the free, and the home of the brave.' I have never found it abroad, in any but Americans. It sticks to them wherever they go. They find it almost as hard to get rid of, as to get rid of their skins.

"The second day after my arrival at Liverpool, in company with my friend, Buffum, and several other friends, I went to Eaton Hall, the residence of the Marquis of Westminster, one of the most splendid buildings in England. On approaching the door, I found several of our American passengers, who came out with us in the 'Cambria,' waiting for admission, as but one party was allowed in the house at a time. We all had to wait till the company within came out. And of all the faces, expressive of chagrin, those of the Americans were preëminent. They looked as sour as vinegar, and as bitter as gall, when they found I was to be admitted on equal terms with themselves. When the door was opened, I walked in, on an equal footing with my white fellow-citizens, and from all I could see, I had as much attention paid me by the servants that showed us through the house, as any with a paler skin. As I walked through the building, the statuary did not fall down, the pictures did not leap from their places, the doors did not refuse to open, and the servants did not say, '*We don't allow niggers in here.*'

"A happy new-year to you, and all the friends of freedom."

During the time of his visit in Europe a few friends, under the inspiration of one Mrs. Henry Richardson, raised money, purchased Mr. Douglass, and placed his freedom papers in his hands. The documents are of quaint historic value.

"The following is a copy of these curious papers, both of my transfer from Thomas to Hugh Auld, and from Hugh to myself :

"Know all men by these Presents, That I, Thomas Auld, of Talbot county, and state of Maryland, for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred dollars, current money, to me paid by Hugh Auld, of the city of Baltimore, in the said state, at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents, the receipt whereof, I, the said Thomas Auld, do hereby acknowledge, have granted, bargained, and sold, and by these presents do grant, bargain, and sell unto the said Hugh Auld, his executors, administrators, and assigns, ONE NEGRO MAN, by the name of FREDERICK BAILY, or DOUGLASS, as he calls himself—he is now about twenty-eight years of age—to have and to hold the said negro man for life. And I, the said Thomas Auld, for myself, my heirs, executors, and administrators, all and singular, the said FREDERICK BAILY, *alias* DOUGLASS, unto the said Hugh Auld, his executors, administrators, and assigns, against me, the said Thomas Auld, my executors, and adminis-

trators, and against all and every other person or persons whatsoever, shall and will warrant and forever defend by these presents. In witness whereof, I set my hand and seal, this thirteenth day of November, eighteen hundred and forty-six.

THOMAS AULD.

"Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of Wrightson Jones.

"JOHN C. LEAS."

"The authenticity of this bill of sale is attested by N. Harrington, a justice of the peace of the state of Maryland, and for the county of Talbot, dated same day as above.

"To all whom it may concern : Be it known, that I, Hugh Auld, of the city of Baltimore, in Baltimore county, in the state of Maryland, for divers good causes and considerations, me thereunto moving, have released from slavery, liberated, manumitted, and set free, and by these presents do hereby release from slavery, liberate, manumit, and set free, MY NEGRO MAN, named FREDERICK BAILY, otherwise called DOUGLASS, being of the age of twenty-eight years, or thereabouts, and able to work and gain a sufficient livelihood and maintenance ; and him the said negro man, named FREDERICK BAILY, otherwise called FREDERICK DOUGLASS, I do declare to be henceforth free, manumitted, and discharged from all manner of servitude to me, my executors, and administrators forever.

"In witness whereof, I, the said Hugh Auld, have hereunto set my hand and seal, the fifth of December, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-six.

HUGH AULD.

"Sealed and delivered in presence of T. Hanson Belt.

"JAMES N. S. T. WRIGHT."

Mr. Douglass had returned to America, but the truths he proclaimed in England, Ireland, and Scotland, echoed adown their mountains, and reverberated among their hills. The Church of Scotland and the press of England were distressed with the problem of slavery. The public conscience had been touched, and there was "no rest for the wicked." Mr. Douglass had received his name—Douglass—from Nathan Johnson, of New Bedford, Massachusetts, because he had just been reading about the virtuous Douglass in the works of Sir Walter Scott. How wonderful then, in the light of a few years, that a fugitive slave from America, bearing one of the most powerful names in Scotland should lean against the pillars of the *Free Church of Scotland*, and meet and vanquish its brightest and ablest teachers (the friends of slavery, unfortunately), Doctors Cunningham and Candlish !

It will be remembered that Mr. Garrison had built his school upon the fundamental idea that slavery was constitutional; and that in order to secure the overthrow of the institution he was compelled to do his work outside of the Constitution; and to effect the good desired, the Union should be dissolved. With these views Mr. Douglass had coincided at first, and into the ranks of this party he had entered. But upon his return from England he changed his residence and views about the same time, and established his home and a newspaper in Rochester, New York State. Mr. Douglass gave his reasons for leaving the Garrisonian party as follows:

"About four years ago, upon a reconsideration of the whole subject, I became convinced that there was no necessity for dissolving the 'union between the northern and southern states'; that to seek this dissolution was no part of my duty as an abolitionist; that to abstain from voting, was to refuse to exercise a legitimate and powerful means for abolishing slavery; and that the constitution of the United States not only contained no guarantees in favor of slavery, but, on the contrary, it is, in its letter and spirit, an anti-slavery instrument, demanding the abolition of slavery as a condition of its own existence, as the supreme law of the land."¹

It was charged by some persons that for financial reasons Mr. Douglass changed his views and residence; that the Garrisonians were poor; but that Gerrit Smith was rich; and that he assisted Mr. Douglass in establishing the "North Star," a weekly paper. But Mr. Douglass was a man of boldness of thought and independence of character; and whatever the motives were which led him away from his early friends he at least deserved credit for possessing the courage necessary to such a change. But Mr. Douglass was not the only anti-slavery man who imagined that the Constitution was an anti-slavery instrument. This was the error of Charles Sumner. Slavery was as legal as the right of the Government to coin money. As has been shown already, it was recognized and protected by law when the British sceptre ruled the colonies; it was recognized by all the courts during the Confederacy; it was acknowledged as a legal fact by the Treaty of Paris of 1782, and of Ghent in 1814; the gentlemen who framed the Constitution fixed the basis of representation in Congress upon three fifths of the slaves; and gave the owners of

¹ *My Bondage and My Freedom*, p. 396.

slaves a fugitive slave law, at the birth of the nation, by which to hunt their slaves in all the States and Territories of North America. But Mr. Douglass lived long enough to see that he was wrong and Mr. Garrison right ; that the dissolution of the Union was the only way to free his race. In his way he did his part as faithfully and as honestly as any of his brethren in either one of the anti-slavery parties.

Having established a reputation as an orator in England and America ; and having lifted over the tangled path of his fugitive brethren the unerring, friendly "North Star," he now turned his attention to debating. It was a matter of regret that two such powerful and accomplished orators as Frederick Douglass and Samuel Ringgold Ward should have taken up so much precious time in splitting hairs on the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of slavery. Perhaps it did good. It certainly did the men good. It was an education to them, and exciting to their audiences. Mr. Douglass's forte was in oratory ; in exposing the hideousness of slavery and the wrongs of his race. Mr. Ward—a *protégé* of Gerrit Smith's—was scholarly, thoughtful, logical, and eloquent. Mr. Douglass was generally worsted in debate, but always triumphant in oratory. A careful study of Mr. Douglass's speeches from the time he began his career as a public speaker down to the present time reveals wonderful progress in their grammatical and synthetical structure. He grew all the time. On the 12th of May, 1846, he delivered a speech at Finsbury Chapel, Moorfields, England, from which the following is extracted :

' All the slaveholder asks of me is silence. He does not ask me to go abroad and preach *in favor* of slavery ; he does not ask any one to do that. He would not say that slavery is a good thing, but the best under the circumstances. The slaveholders want total darkness on the subject. They want the hatchway shut down, that the monster may crawl in his den of darkness, crushing human hopes and happiness, destroying the bondman at will, and having no one to reprove or rebuke him. Slavery shrinks from the light ; it hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest its deeds should be reproved. To tear off the mask from this abominable system, to expose it to the light of heaven, aye, to the heat of the sun, that it may burn and wither it out of existence, is my object in coming to this country. I want the slaveholder surrounded, as by a wall of anti-slavery fire, so that he may see the condemnation of himself and his system glaring down in letters of light. I want him to feel that

he has no sympathy in England, Scotland, or Ireland ; that he has none in Canada, none in Mexico, none among the poor wild Indians ; that the voice of the civilized, aye, and savage world is against him. I would have condemnation blaze down upon him in every direction, till, stunned and overwhelmed with shame and confusion, he is compelled to let go the grasp he holds upon the persons of his victims, and restore them to their long-lost rights."

This was in 1846. On the 5th of July, 1852, at Rochester, New York, he, perhaps, made the most effective speech of his life. The poet Sheridan has written : " Eloquence consists in the man, the subject, and the occasion." None of these conditions were wanting. There was the man, the incomparable Douglass ; the wrongs of slavery was his subject ; and the occasion was the 4th of July.

" FELLOW-CITIZENS :—Pardon me, and allow me to ask, why am I called upon to speak here to-day ? What have I, or those I represent, to do with your national independence ? Are the great principles of political freedom and of natural justice embodied in that Declaration of Independence, extended to us ? and am I, therefore, called upon to bring our humble offering to the national altar, and to confess the benefits, and express devout gratitude for the blessings resulting from your independence to us ?

" Would to God, both for your sakes and ours, that an affirmative answer could be truthfully returned to these questions ! Then would my task be light, and my burden easy and delightful. For who is there so cold, that a nation's sympathy could not warm him ? Who so obdurate and dead to the claims of gratitude, that would not thankfully acknowledge such priceless benefits ? Who so stolid and selfish, that would not give his voice to swell the hallelujahs of a nation's jubilee, when the chains of servitude had been torn from his limbs ? I am not that man. In a case like that, the dumb might eloquently speak, and the ' lame man leap as an hart.'

" But, such is not the state of the case. I say it with a sad sense of the disparity between us. I am not included within the pale of this glorious anniversary ! Your high independence only reveals the immeasurable distance between us. The blessings in which you this day rejoice, are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity, and independence, bequeathed by your fathers, is shared by you, not by me. The sunlight that brought life and healing to you, has brought stripes and death to me. This Fourth of July is *yours*, not *mine*. You may rejoice, I must mourn. To drag a man in fetters into the grand illuminated temple of liberty, and call upon him to join you

in joyous anthems, were inhuman mockery and sacrilegious irony. Do you mean, citizens, to mock me, by asking me to speak to-day? If so, there is a parallel to your conduct. And let me warn you that it is dangerous to copy the example of a nation whose crimes, towering up to heaven, were thrown down by the breath of the Almighty, burying that nation in irrecoverable ruin! I can to-day take up the plaintive lament of a peeled and woe-smitten people.

“‘By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion. How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.’

“Fellow-citizens, above your national, tumultuous joy, I hear the mournful wail of millions, whose chains, heavy and grievous yesterday, are to-day rendered more intolerable by the jubilant shouts that reach them. If I do forget, if I do not faithfully remember those bleeding children of sorrow this day, ‘may my right hand forget her cunning, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!’ To forget them, to pass lightly over their wrongs, and to chime in with the popular theme, would be treason most scandalous and shocking, and would make me a reproach before God and the world. My subject, then, fellow-citizens, is **AMERICAN SLAVERY**. I shall see this day and its popular characteristics from the slave's point of view. Standing there, identified with the American bondman, making his wrongs mine, I do not hesitate to declare, with all my soul, that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this Fourth of July. Whether we turn to the declarations of the past, or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future. Standing with God and the crushed and bleeding slave on this occasion, I will, in the name of humanity which is outraged, in the name of liberty which is fettered, in the name of the Constitution and the Bible, which are disregarded and trampled upon, dare to call in question and to denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, every thing that serves to perpetuate slavery—the great sin and shame of America! ‘I will not equivocate; I will not excuse’; I will use the severest language I can command; and yet not one word shall escape me that any man, whose judgment is not blinded by prejudice, or who is not at heart a slaveholder, shall not confess to be right and just.”

His speech in England was labored, heavy, and some portions of it ambitious. But here are measured sentences, graceful transitions, truth made forcible, and the oratory refined. Thus he went on from good to better, until the managers of leading lecture-courses of the land felt that the season would not be a success without Frederick Douglass. He began to venture into deeper water; to expound problems not exactly in line with the only theme that he was complete master of. His attempts at wit usually missed fire. He could not be funny. He was in earnest from the first moment the light broke into his mind in Baltimore. He was rarely eloquent except when denouncing slavery. He was not at his best in abstract thought: too much logic dampened his enthusiasm; and an attempt at elaborate preparation weakened his discourse. He was majestic when speaking of the insults he had received or the wrongs his race were suffering. Martin Luther said during the religious struggle in Germany for freedom of thought: "Sorrow has pressed many sweet songs out of me." It was the sorrows of the child-heart of Douglass the chattel, and the sorrows of the great man-heart of Douglass the human being, that gave the world such remarkable eloquence. There were but two chords in his soul that could yield a rich sound, viz.: sorrow and indignation. Sorrow for the helpless slave, and indignation against the heartless master, made him grand, majestic, and eloquent beyond comparison.

Although he was going constantly he saved his means, and raised a family of two girls—one dying in her teens, an affliction he took deeply to heart—and three boys. When the war was on at high tide, and Colored soldiers required, he gave all he had, three stalwart boys, while he made it very uncomfortable for the Copperheads at home. At the close of the war he moved to Washington and became deeply interested in the practical work of reconstruction. He was appointed one of the Commissioners to visit San Domingo, when General Grant recommended its annexation to the United States; was a trustee of Howard University and of the Freedman's Savings Bank and Trust Company. Unfortunately he accepted the presidency of the latter institution after nearly all the thieves had got through with it, and was its official head when the crash and ruin came.

Mr. Douglass's home¹ life has been pure and elevated. He

¹ While this history is passing through the press, the sad intelligence comes of the death, after a painful illness, of his beloved wife. All through her life she was justly proud of her husband and children; and she leaves a precious memory.

has done well by his boys; and has aided many young men to places of usefulness and profit. He strangely and violently opposed the exodus of his race from the South, and thereby incurred the opposition of the Northern press and the anathemas of the Colored people. It was not just the thing, men said—white and black,—for a man who had been a slave in the South, and had come North to find a market for his labor, to oppose his brethren in their flight from economic slavery and the shot-gun policy of the South. His efforts to state and justify his position before the Colored people of New York were received with an impatient air and tolerated even for the time with ill grace. Before the Social Science Congress at Saratoga, New York, he met Richard T. Greener, a young Colored man, in a discussion of this subject. But Mr. Greener, a son of Harvard College, with a keen and merciless logic, cut right through the sophistries of Mr. Douglass; and although the latter gentleman threw bouquets at the audience, and indulged in the most exquisite word-painting, he was compelled to leave the field a vanquished disputant.

President Hayes appointed Mr. Douglass United States Marshall for the District of Columbia, an office which he held until President Garfield made him Recorder of Deeds for the same district. He has accumulated a comfortable little fortune, has published three books, edited two newspapers, passed through a checkered and busy life; and to-day, full of honors and years, he stands confessedly as the first man of his race in North America. Not that he is the greatest in every sense; but considering "the depths from whence he came," the work he has accomplished, the character untarnished,—his memory and character, like the granite shaft, will have an enduring and undying place in the gratitude of humanity throughout the world.

Among the representative young men of color in the United States—and now, happily in the process of time, their name is legion—Richard Theodore Greener has undisputed standing. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1844, but spent most of his life in Massachusetts. His father and grandfather were men of unusual intelligence, social energy, and public spirit. Richard T. early manifested an eagerness to learn and a capacity to retain and utilize. He enjoyed better surroundings in childhood than the average Colored child a generation ago; and always accustomed to hear the English correctly spoken, he had in himself all

the required conditions to acquire a thorough education. Having obtained a start in the common schools, he turned to Oberlin College, Lorain County, Ohio,—at that time an institution toward which the Colored people of the country were very partial, and whose anti-slavery professors they loved with wonderful tenderness. For some of these professors, in the *Oberlin-Wellington Rescue Case*, had preferred imprisonment in preference to obedience to the unholy fugitive-slave law. The years of 1862–3 were spent at Oberlin, and Mr. Greener showed himself an excellent student. His ambition was to excel in every thing. Not exactly satisfied with the course of studies at Oberlin, he went to Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts. This institution was a feeder for Harvard, and using uniform text-books he was placed in line and harmony with the course of studies to be pursued at Cambridge. He entered Harvard College in the autumn of 1865, and graduated with high honors in 1870.¹ He was the first of his race to enter this famous university, and while there did himself credit, and honored the race from which he sprang. All his performances were creditable. He won a second prize for reading aloud in his freshman year; in his sophomore year he won the first prize for the Boylston Declamation, notwithstanding members of the junior and senior classes contested. During his junior year he did not contest, preferring to tutor two of the competitors who were successful. In his senior year he won the two highest prizes, viz: the First Bowdoin for a Dissertation on “The Tenures of Land in Ireland,” and the “Boylston Prize for Oratory.”

The entrance, achievements, and graduation of Mr. Greener received the thoughtful and grateful attention of the press of Europe and America; while what he did was a stimulating example to the young men of his race in the United States.

At the time of his graduation there was a great demand for and a wide-spread need of educated Colored men as teachers. The Institute for Colored Youth, in Philadelphia, had been but recently deprived of its principal, Prof. E. D. Bassett, who had been sent as Resident Minister and Consul-General to the Re-

¹ Mr. Greener was turned back one year upon the ground of alleged imperfection in mathematics; but it was done in support of an old theory, long since exploded, that the Negro has no capacity for the solution of mathematical problems. We know this to be the case. But the charming nature and natural pluck of young Greener brought him out at last without a blemish in any of his studies.

public of Hayti. Mr. Greener was called to take the chair vacated by Mr. Bassett. He was principal of this institution from Sept., 1870, to Dec., 1872. From Philadelphia he was called to fill a similar position in Sumner High School, at Washington, D. C. He did not remain long in Washington. His fame as an educator had grown until he was celebrated as a teacher throughout the country. He was offered and accepted the Chair of Metaphysics and Logic in the University of South Carolina, situate at Columbia. He remained here until 1877, when the Hampton Government found no virtue in a Negro as a teacher in an institution of the fame and standing of this university. In 1877 he was made Dean of the Law Department of Howard University, Washington, D. C., and held the position until 1880. He graduated from the Law School of the University of South Carolina, and has practised in Washington since his residence there. In addition to his work as teacher, lawyer, and orator, Prof. Greener was associate editor of the *New National Era* at Washington, D. C., and his editorial *Young Men to the Front*, gave him a reputation as a progressive and aggressive leader which he has sustained ever since with marked ability.

As a political speaker he began while in college, in 1868, and has continued down to the present time. He is a pleasant speaker, and acceptable and efficient in a campaign. As an orator and writer he excels. His early style was burdened, like that of the late Charles Sumner, with a too-abundant classical illustration and quotation; but during the last five years his illustrations are drawn largely from the English classics and history. His ablest effort at oratory was his oration on *Charles Sumner, the Idealist, Statesman, and Scholar*. It was by all odds the finest effort of its kind delivered in this country. It was eminently fitting that a representative of the race toward whose elevation Mr. Sumner contributed his splendid talents, and a graduate from the same College that honored Sumner, and from the State that gave him birth and opportunity, should give the true analysis of his noble life and spotless character.

In the "National Quarterly Review" for July, 1880, Prof. Greener replied to an article from the pen of Mr. James Parton on *Antipathy to the Negro*, published in the "North American Review." Prof. Greener's theme was *The Intellectual Position of the Negro*. The following paragraphs give a fair idea of the style of Mr. Greener:

"The writer himself appears not to feel such an antipathy to us that it must need find expression ; for his liberality is well known to those who have read his writings for the past fifteen years. Nor is there any apparent ground for its appearance because of any new or startling exhibitions of *antipathia* against us noticeable at the present time. No argument was needed to prove that there has been an unreasonable and unreasoning prejudice against negroes as a class, a long-existing antipathy, seemingly ineradicable, sometimes dying out it would appear, and then bursting forth afresh from no apparent cause. If Mr. Parton means to assert that such prejudice is ineradicable, or is increasing, or is even rapidly passing away, then is his venture insufficient, because it fails to support either of these views. It does not even attempt to show that the supposed antipathy is general, for the author expressly, and, we think, very properly, relegates its exercise to those whom he calls the most ignorant—the 'meanest' of mankind.

"If his intention was to attack a senseless antipathy, hold it up to ridicule, show its absurdity, analyze its constituent parts, and suggest some easy and safe way for Americans to rid themselves of unchristian and un-American prejudices, then has he again conspicuously failed to carry out such purpose. He asserts the existence of antipathies, but only by inference does he discourage their maintenance, although on other topics he is rather outspoken whenever he cares to express his own convictions.

"On this question Mr. Parton is, to say the least, vacillating, because he fails to exhibit any platform upon which we may combat those who support early prejudices and justify their continuance from the mere fact of their existence. We never expect Mr. Gayarré and Mr. Henry Watterson to look calmly and dispassionately at these questions from the negro's point of view. The one gives us the old argument of De Bow's *Review*, and the other deals out the *ex parte* views of the present leaders of the South. The one line of argument has been answered over and over again by the old anti-slavery leaders ; the pungent generalizations of the latter, the present generation of negroes can answer whenever the opportunity is afforded them.

"But Mr. Parton was born in a cooler and calmer atmosphere, where men are accustomed to give a reason for the faith that is in them, and hence it is necessary, in opening any discussion such as he had provoked, that he should assign some ground of opposition or support—Christian, Pagan, utilitarian, constitutional, optimist, or pessimist.

"The very apparent friendliness of his intentions makes even a legitimate conclusion from him seem mere conjecture, likely to be successfully controverted by any subtle thinker and opponent. No definite conclusion is, indeed, reached with regard to the first query (Jefferson's fourteenth) with which Mr. Parton opens his article : Whether the

white and black races can live together on this continent as equals. He lets us see at the close, incidentally only, what his opinion is, and it inclines to the negative. But throughout the article he is in the anomalous and dubious position of one who opens a discussion which he cannot end, and the logical result of whose own opinion he dares not boldly state. The illustrations of the early opinions of Madison and Jefferson only show how permanent a factor the negro is in American history and polity, and how utterly futile are all attempts at his expatriation. Following Mr. Parton's advice, the negro has always prudently abstained from putting 'himself against inexorable facts.' He is careful, however, to make sure of two things,—that the alleged facts are verities and that they are inexorable. Prejudice we acknowledge as a fact; but we know that it is neither an ineradicable nor an inexorable one. We find fault with Mr. Parton because he starts a trail on antipathy, evidently purposeless, and fails to track it down either systematically or persistently, but branches off, *desipere in loco*, to talk loosely of 'physical antipathy,' meaning what we usually term natural antipathy; and at last, emerging from the 'brush,' where he has been hopelessly beating about from Pliny to Mrs. Kemble, he gains a partial 'open' once more by asserting a truism—that it is the 'ignorance of a despised class' (the lack of knowledge we have of them) which nourishes these 'insensate antipathies.' Here we are at one with Mr. Parton. Those who know us most intimately, who have associated with us in the nursery, at school, in college, in trade, in the tenderer and confidential relations of life, in health, in sickness, and in death, as trusted guides, as brave soldiers, as magnanimous enemies, as educated and respected men and women, give up all senseless antipathies, and feel ashamed to confess they ever cherished any prejudice against a race whose record is as unsullied as that of any in the land."

The following passages from a most brilliant speech at the Dinner of the Harvard Club of New York, exhibit a pure, perspicuous, and charming style:

"What Sir John Coleridge in his 'Life of Keble' says of the traditions and influences of Oxford, each son of Harvard must feel is true also of Cambridge. The traditions, the patriotic record, and the scholarly attainments of her alumni are the pride of the College. Her contribution to letters, to statesmanship, and to active business life, will keep her memory perennially green. Not one of the humblest of her children, who has felt the touch of her pure spirit, or enjoyed the benefits of her culture, can fail to remember what she expects of her sons wherever they may be: to stand fast for good government, to maintain

the right, to uphold honesty and character, to be, if nothing else, good citizens, and to perform, to the extent of their ability, every duty assumed or imposed upon them,—democratic in their aristocracy, catholic in their liberality, impartial in judgment, and uncompromising in their convictions of duty. [Cheers and applause.]

“Harvard’s impartiality was not demonstrated solely by my admission to the College. In 1770, when Crispus Attucks died a patriot martyr on State Street, she answered the rising spirit of independence and liberty by abolishing all distinctions founded upon color, blood, and rank. Since that day, there has been but one test for all. Ability, character, and merit,—these are the sole passports to her favor. [Applause.]

“When, in my adopted State, I stood on the battered ramparts of Wagner, and recalled the fair-haired son of Harvard who died there with his brave black troops of Massachusetts,—

“ ‘him who, deadly hurt, agen
Flashed on afore the charge’s thunder,
Tippin’ with fire the bolt of men,
Thet rived the Rebel line asunder,’—

I thanked God, with patriotic pleasure, that the first contingent of negro troops from the North should have been led to death and fame by an alumnus of Harvard; and I remembered, with additional pride of race and college, that the first regiment of black troops raised on South Carolina soil were taught to drill, to fight, to plough, and to read by a brave, eloquent, and scholarly descendant of the Puritans and of Harvard, Thomas Wentworth Higginson. [Great applause and cheers.]

“Is it strange, then, brothers, that I there resolved for myself to maintain the standard of the College, so far as I was able, in public and in private life? I am honored by the invitation to be present here to-night. Around me I see faces I have not looked upon for a decade. Many are the intimacies of the College, the society, the buskin, and the oar which they bring up, from classmates and college friends. I miss, as all Harvard men must miss to-night, the venerable and kindly figure of Andrew Preston Peabody, the student’s friend, the consoler of the plucked, the encourager of the strong, Mæcenas’s benign almoner, the felicitous exponent of Harvard’s Congregational Unitarianism. I miss, too, another of high scholarship, of rare poetic taste, of broad liberality—my personal friend, Elbridge Jefferson Cutler, loved alike by students and his fellow-members of the Faculty for his conscientious performance of duty and his genial nature.

“Mr. President and brothers, my time is up. I give you ‘Fair Harvard,’ the exemplar, the prototype of that ideal America, of which the greatest American poet has written,—

" ' Thou, taught by Fate to know Jehovah's plan,
 Thet man's devices can't unmake a man,
 An' whose free latch-string never was drawn in
 Against the poorest child of Adam's kin.' "

" [Great applause.] "

Prof. Greener rendered legal services in the case of Cadet Whittaker at West Point, and in the trial at New York City, where, as associate counsel with ex-Gov. Chamberlain,—an able lawyer and a magnificent orator,—he developed ability and industry as an attorney, and earned the gratitude of his race.

Prof. Greener entered Harvard as a member of the Baptist Church; but the transcendentalism and rationalism of the place quite swept him from his spiritual moorings. In a recent address before a literary society in Washington, D. C., he is represented to have maintained that Mohammedanism was better for the indigenous races of Africa than Christianity. Dr. John William Draper made a similar mistake in his "*Conflict between Religion and Science!*" The learned doctor should have written "Conflict between the Church and Science." Religion is not and never was at war with science. Prof. Greener should have written, "Mohammedanism better for the Africans than Snake Worship." This brilliant young man cannot afford to attempt to exalt Mohammedanism above the cross of our dear Redeemer, and expect to have leadership in the Negro race in America. Nor can he support the detestable ideas and execrable philosophy of Senator John P. Jones, which seek to shut out the Chinaman from free America. The Negro must stand by the weak in a fight like this, remembering the pit from which he was dug. But Prof. Greener is young as well as talented; and seeing his mistake, will place himself in harmony with not only the rights of his race, but those of humanity everywhere.

Blanche K. Bruce was born a slave on a plantation in Prince Edward County, Virginia, March 1, 1841, and in the very month and week of the anniversary of his birth he was sworn in as United States Senator from Mississippi. Reared a slave there was nothing in his early life of an unusual nature. He secured his freedom at the end of the war, and immediately sought the opportunities and privileges that would, if properly used, fit him for his new life as a man and a citizen. He went to Oberlin College where, in the Preparatory Department, he applied himself to his studies, attached himself to his classmates by charming per-

sonal manners, and gentlemanly deportment. He realized that there were many splendid opportunities awaiting young men of color at the South; and that profitable positions were going begging.

Mr. Bruce made his appearance in Mississippi at an opportune moment. The State was just undergoing a process of reconstruction. He appeared at the capital, Jackson, with seventy-five cents in his pocket; was a stranger to every person in the city. He mingled in the great throng, joined in the discussions that took place by little knots of politicians, made every man his friend to whom he talked, and when the State Senate was organized secured the position of Sergeant-at-arms. He attracted the attention of Gov. Alcorn, who appointed him a member of his staff with the rank of colonel. Col. Bruce was not merely Sergeant-at-arms of the Senate, but was a power behind that body. His intelligence, his knowledge of the character of the legislation needed for the people of Mississippi, and the excellent impression he made upon the members, gave him great power in suggesting and influencing legislation.

The sheriffs of Mississippi were not elected in those days; and the Governor had to look a good ways to find the proper men for such positions. His faith in Col. Bruce as a man and an officer led him to select him to be sheriff of Bolivar County. Col. Bruce discharged the delicate duties of his office with eminent ability, and attained a popularity very remarkable under the circumstances.

During this time, while other politicians were dropping their money at the gaming-table and in the wine cup, Col. Bruce was saving his funds, and after purchasing a splendid farm at Floraville, on the Mississippi River, he made cautious and profitable investments in property and bonds. His executive ability was marvellous, and his successful management of his own business and that of the people of the county made him friends among all classes and in both political parties. He was appointed tax-collector for his county, a position that was calculated to tax the most accomplished financier and business man in the State. But Col. Bruce took to the position rare abilities, and managed his office with such matchless skill, that when the term of Henry R. Pease expired, he was chosen United States Senator from Mississippi on the third of February, 1875, for the constitutional term of six years. He took his seat on the 4th of March, 1875.

He did nothing in the line of oratory while in the Senate. That was not his forte. He was an excellent worker, a faithful committee-man, and finally was chairman of the Committee on the Freedman's Savings Bank, etc. Mr. Bruce was chairman of the Committee on Mississippi Levees, where he performed good work. He presided over the Senate with dignity several times. To the charge that he was a "silent Senator," it may be observed that it was infinitely better that he remained silent, than in breaking the silence to exhibit a mental feebleness in attempting to handle problems to which most of the Senators had given years of patient study. His conduct was admirable; his discretion wise; his service faithful, and his influence upon the honorable Senate and the country at large beneficial to himself and helpful to his race.

In the convention of the Republican party at Chicago, in 1880, he was a candidate for Vice-President. In the spring of 1881, after the close of his senatorial career the President nominated him to be Register of the United States Treasury, and the nomination was confirmed without reference, after a complimentary speech from his associate, Senator L. Q. C. Lamar. He has appeared as a political speaker on several occasions. As nature did not intend him for this work, his efforts appear to be the products of hard labor, but nevertheless excellent; his estimable and scholarly wife (*née* Miss Wilson, of Cleveland, Ohio) has been a great blessing to him;—a good wife and a helpful companion. From a penniless slave he has risen to the position of writing his name upon the currency of the country. Register Bruce is a genial gentleman, a fast friend, and an able officer.

John Mercer Langston was born a slave in Virginia; is a graduate of Oberlin College and Theological Institution, and as a lawyer, college president, foreign minister, and politician, has exerted a wide influence for the good of his race. As Secretary of the Board of Health for the District of Columbia, and as President of the Howard University, he displayed remarkable executive ability and sound business judgment. He is one of the bravest of the brave in public matters, and his influence upon young Colored men has been wide-spread and admirable. He is now serving as Resident Minister and Consul-General to Hayti; and ranks among the best diplomats of our Government.

In Massachusetts, Charles L. Mitchell, George L. Ruffin, John J. Smith, J. B. Smith, and Wm. J. Walker have been members

of the Legislature. In Illinois, a Colored man has held a position in the Board of Commissioners for Cook County—Chicago; and one has been sent to the Legislature. In Ohio, two Colored men have been members of the Legislature, one from Cincinnati and the other from Cleveland. Gov. Charles Foster was the first Executive in any of the Northern States to appoint a Colored man to a responsible position; and in this, as in nearly every other thing, Ohio has taken the lead. The present member (John P. Green) of the Legislature of Ohio representing Cuyahoga County, is a young man of excellent abilities both as a lawyer and as an orator. John P. Green was born at New Berne, North Carolina, April 2, 1845, of free parents. His father died in 1850, and his widow was left to small resources in raising her family. But being an excellent seamstress she did very well for her five-year-old son, while she had an infant in her arms.

In 1857 Mrs. Green moved to Ohio and located at Cleveland. Her son John was now able and willing to assist his mother some; and so as an errand-boy he hired himself out for \$4 per month. He obtained about a year and one half of instruction in the common schools, and did well. In 1862 he became a waiter in a hotel, and spent every leisure moment in study. He succeeded in learning something of Latin and Algebra, without a teacher.

Mr. Green had acquired an excellent style of composition, and to secure funds with which to complete his education, he wrote and published a pamphlet containing *Essays on Miscellaneous Subjects*, by a self-educated Colored youth. He sold about 1,500 copies in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York, and then entered the Cleveland Central High School. He completed a four years' classical course in two years, two terms, and two months. He graduated at the head of a class of twenty-three. He entered the law office of Judge Jesse P. Bishop, and in 1870 graduated from the Cleveland Law School. He turned his face Southward, and having settled in South Carolina, began the practice of law, which was attended with great success. But the climate was not agreeable to his health, and in 1872 he returned to the scenes of his early toils and struggles. He became a practising attorney in Cleveland, and in the spring of 1873 was elected a justice of the peace for Cuyahoga County by a majority of 3,000 votes. He served three terms as a justice, and in eight years of service as such decided more than 12,000 cases. As a justice he has had no equal

for many years. In 1877 he was nominated for the Legislature, but was defeated by sixty-two votes. In 1881 he was again before the people for the Legislature, and was elected by a handsome majority.

Mr. Green is rather a remarkable young man; and with good health and a fair field he is bound to make a success. He will bear comparison with any of his associates in the Legislature; and, as a clear, impressive speaker, has few equals in that body.

There are yet at least one hundred representative men of color worthy of the places they hold in the respect and confidence of their race and the country. Their number is rapidly increasing; and ere many years there will be no lack of representative Colored men.¹

Colored women had fewer privileges of education before the war, and indeed since the war, than the men of their race, yet, nevertheless, many of these women have shown themselves capable and useful.

FRANCES ELLEN HARPER

was born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1825. She was not permitted to enjoy the blessings of early educational training, but in after-years proved herself to be a woman of most remarkable intellectual powers. She applied herself to study, most assiduously; and when she had reached woman's estate was well educated.

She developed early a fondness for poetry, which she has since cultivated; and some of her efforts are not without merit. She excels as an essayist and lecturer. She has been heard upon many of the leading lecture platforms of the country; and her efforts to elevate her sisters have been crowned with most signal success.

MARY ANN SHADD CAREY,

of Delaware, but more recently of Washington, D. C., as a lecturer, writer, and school teacher, has done and is doing a great deal for the educational and social advancement of the Colored people.

FANNY M. JACKSON—

at present Mrs. Fanny M. Jackson Coppin—was born in the District of Columbia, in 1837. Though left an orphan when

¹ Biography is quite a different thing from history; and the Colored men who may imagine themselves neglected ought to remember that this is a *History of the Negro Race*. We have mentioned these men as representative of several classes.

quite a child, Mrs. Sarah Clark, her aunt, took charge of her, and gave her a first-class education. She prosecuted the gentlemen's course in Oberlin College, and graduated with high honors.

Deeply impressed with the need of educated teachers for the schools of her race, she accepted a position at once in the Institute for Colored Youth, at Philadelphia, Pa. And here for many years she has taught with eminent success, and exerted a pure and womanly influence upon all the students that have come into her classes.

Without doubt she is the most thoroughly competent and successful of the Colored women teachers of her time. And her example of race pride, industry, enthusiasm, and nobility of character will remain the inheritance and inspiration of the pupils of the school she helped make the pride of the Colored people of Pennsylvania.

LOUISE DE MORTIE,

of Norfolk, Virginia, was born of free parents in that place, in 1833, but being denied the privileges of education, turned her face toward Massachusetts.

In 1853 she took up her residence in Boston. She immediately began to avail herself of all the opportunities of education. A most beautiful girl, possessed of a sweet disposition and a remarkable memory, she won a host of friends, and took high standing as a pupil.

In 1862 she began a most remarkable career as a public reader. An elocutionist by nature, she added the refinement of the art; and with her handsome presence, engaging manners, and richly-toned voice, she took high rank in her profession. Just as she was attracting public attention by her genius, she learned of the destitution that was wasting the Colored orphans of New Orleans. Thither she hastened in the spirit of Christian love; and there she labored with an intelligence and zeal which made her a heroine among her people. In 1867 she raised sufficient funds to build an asylum for the Colored orphans of New Orleans. But just then the yellow fever overtook her in her work of mercy, and she fell a victim to its deadly touch on the 10th of October, 1867, saying so touchingly, "I belong to God, our Father," as she expired.

Although cut off in the morning of a useful life, she is of blessed memory among those for whose improvement and eleva-

tion she gave the strength of a brilliant mind and the warmth of a genuine Christian heart.

MISS CHARLOTTE L. FORTUNE—

now the wife of the young and gifted clergyman, Rev. Frank J. Grimke,—is a native of Pennsylvania. She comes of one of the best Colored families of the State. She went to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1854, where she began a course of studies in the "Higginson High School." She proved to be a student of more than usual application, and although a member of a class of white youths, Miss Fortune was awarded the honor of writing the Parting Hymn for the class. It was sung at the last examination, and was warmly praised by all who heard it.

Miss Fortune became a contributor to the columns of the "Anti-Slavery Standard" and "Atlantic Monthly." She wrote both prose and poetry, and did admirably in each.

EDMONIA LEWIS,

the Negro sculptress, is in herself a great prophecy of the possibilities of her sisters in America. Of lowly birth, left an orphan when quite young, unable to obtain a liberal education, she nevertheless determined to be somebody and do something.

Some years ago, while yet in humble circumstances, she visited Boston. Upon seeing a statue of Benjamin Franklin she stood transfixed before it. It stirred the latent genius within the untutored child, and produced an emotion she had never felt before. "I, too, can make a stone man," she said. Almost instinctively, she turned to that great Apostle of Human Liberty, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and asked his advice. The kind-hearted agitator gave her a note to Mr. Brackett, the Boston sculptor. He received her kindly, heard her express the desire and ambition of her heart, and then giving her a model of a human foot and some clay, said: "Go home and make that. If there is any thing in you it will come out." She tried, but her teacher broke up her work and told her to try again. And so she did, and triumphed.

Since then, this ambitious Negro girl has won a position as an artist, a studio in Rome, and a place in the admiration of the lovers of art on two continents. She has produced many meritorious works of art, the most noteworthy being *Hagar in the Wilderness*; a group of the *Madonna with the Infant Christ* and

two adoring Angels ; Forever Free ; Hiawatha's Wooing ; a bust of *Longfellow, the Poet ;* a bust of *John Brown ;* and a medallion portrait of *Wendell Phillips*. The *Madonna* was purchased by the Marquis of Bute, Disraeli's Lothair.

She has been well received in Rome, and her studio has become an object of interest to travellers from all countries.

Of late many intelligent young Colored women have risen to take their places in society, and as wives and mothers are doing much to elevate the tone of the race and its homes. Great care must be given to the education of the Colored women of America ; for virtuous, intelligent, educated, cultured, and pious wives and mothers are the hope of the Negro race. Without them educated Colored men and the miraculous results of emancipation will go for nothing.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

ITS ORIGIN, GROWTH, ORGANIZATION, AND EXCELLENT INFLUENCE. — ITS PUBLISHING HOUSE, PERIODICALS, AND PAPERS. — ITS NUMERICAL AND FINANCIAL STRENGTH. — ITS MISSIONARY AND EDUCATIONAL SPIRIT. — WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY.

THE African Methodist Episcopal Church of America has exerted a wider and better influence upon the Negro race than any other organization created and managed by Negroes. The hateful and hurtful spirit of caste and race prejudice in the Protestant Church during and after the American Revolution drove the Negroes out. The Rev. Richard Allen, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He gathered a few Christians in his private dwelling, during the year 1816, and organized a church and named it "*Bethel*." Its first General Conference was held in Philadelphia during the same year with the following representation :

Rev. Richard Allen, Jacob Tapsico, Clayton Durham, James Champion, and Thomas Webster, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania ; Daniel Coker, Richard Williams, Henry Harden, Stephen Hill, Edward Williamson, and Nicholas Gailliard, of Baltimore, Maryland ; Peter Spencer, of Wilmington, Delaware ; Jacob Marsh, Edward Jackson, and William Andrew, of Attleborough, Pennsylvania ; Peter Cuff, of Salem, New Jersey.

The minutes of the Conference of 1817 were lost, but in 1818 there were seven itinerants: Baltimore Conference—Rev. Daniel Coker, Richard Williams, and Rev. Charles Pierce ; Philadelphia Conference—Bishop Allen, Rev. William Paul Quinn, Jacob Tapsico, and Rev. Clayton Durham.

The Church grew mightily, increasing in favor with God and man. The zeal of its ministers was wonderful, and the spirit of missions and consecration to the work wrought miracles for the cause. In 1826 the strength of the Church was as follows :

Bishops	2
Annual conferences	2
Itinerant preachers	17
Stations	2
Circuits	10
Missions	5
Total number of members	7,927
Amount of salary for travelling preachers	\$1,054.50
Amount of incidental expenses	\$97.25

The grand total amount of money raised in 1826 for all purposes was \$1,151.75. In 1836 there were :

Bishops	3
Conferences	4
Travelling preachers	27
Stations	7
Circuits	18
Missions	2
Churches	86
Probable value of church property	\$43,000.00
Total salary of pastors	\$1,126.29
Amount raised for general purposes	\$259.59

Total amount of money raised in 1836 for all purposes, \$1,385.88. The total number of members in 1836 was 7,594. This was a decrease of 333 members, and is to be accounted for in the numerous sales of slaves in the Baltimore Conference, as the decrease was in that conference. In 1846 there were :

Bishops	4
Annual conferences	6
Travelling preachers	40
Stations	16
Circuits and missions	25
Churches	198
Probable value of church property	\$90,000.00
Total amount raised to support ministers	\$6,267.43½
Amount raised for general purposes	\$963.59½

The grand total amount of money raised in 1846 for all purposes was \$7,231.03.

There were supported in the Church in 1846 three educational societies and three missionary societies.

In 1866 there were :

Annual conferences	10
Bishops	4
Travelling preachers	185
Stations	50
Circuits	39
Missions	96
Churches	285
Probable value of church property	\$823,000.00
Number of Sunday-school teachers and officers,	21,000
“ “ volumes in libraries	17,818
“ “ members	50,000

The amount of money expended to assist the widows and orphans was \$5,000. The amount paid this year for the support of the pastors was \$83,593. The amount expended for Sunday-school work was \$3,000.

The receipts of the Church in 1876 were as follows :

Amount of contingent money raised	\$2,976 85
Amount raised for the support of pastors	201,984 06
Amount raised for the support of presiding elders	23,896 66
Amount of Dollar Money for general educa- tional purposes, etc.	28,009 97
Amount raised to support Sunday-schools for the year 1876	17,415 33
Amount raised for the missionary society,	3,782 72
Amount raised in one year for building churches	169,558 60
Total amount raised for all purposes,	<u>\$447,624 19</u>

STATISTICS OF MEMBERS.

Ministers.

Number of bishops	6
“ “ travelling preachers	1,418
“ “ local preachers	3,168
“ “ exhorters	2,546
Total ministerial force in 1876	<u>7,138</u>
Ministerial force in 1816	8
Ministerial gain in 60 years	<u>7,130</u>

Members and Probationers.

Number of members	172,806
" " probationers	<u>33,525</u>
Total number of members and probationers	206,331

SUMMARY OF MEMBERS.

Total number of ministers	7,138
Total number of members and probationers .	<u>206,331</u>
Grand total membership	213,469

CHURCH PROPERTY.

Number of churches	1,833
" " parsonages	218

VALUE OF CHURCH PROPERTY.

Value of churches	\$3,064,911 00
" " parsonages	<u>138,800 00</u>
Total value of church property	\$3,203,711 00

ANNUAL CONFERENCES.

Number of annual conferences	25
--	----

SUNDAY-SCHOOLS.

Number of Sunday-schools	2,309
" " superintendents	2,458
" " teachers and officers	8,085
" " pupils	87,453
" " volumes in libraries	129,066

MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

Number of parent home and foreign societies .	11
" " annual conference societies	24
" " local societies	250

WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY IN 1876.

Number of students enrolled—males	375
" " " " —females	225
" " professors—males	3
" " " " —females	7

The total receipts of Wilberforce University for the year was \$4,547.89.

The assets of Wilberforce University in 1876 were as follows:

Endowment notes	\$18,000 00
College property	39,000 00
Bequest of Chief-Justice Chase	10,000 00
Nine semi-annual and annual notes	900 00
Bills receivable	125 00
Horse, wagon, etc.	200 00
Cash in bank	1,000 00
Total assets	\$69,225 00

The liabilities were only \$2,973.42, leaving the handsome amount of \$66,251.58 of assets over the liabilities of the institution.

The General Conference of 1880 met in St. Louis, Mo., on the third day of May. The following are some of the facts, as we glean from the reports:

The Financial Secretary, Rev. J. C. Embry, reported that for the fiscal year ending April 24, 1880, he had received \$32,336.31 for general purposes alone, and in the four years from April 24, 1876, to April 24, 1880, he had received \$99,999.42 for the general expenses of the Church.

The General Business Manager, Dr. H. M. Turner, reported the receipts in the Book Concern to be \$50,133.76. This was the largest amount of business ever reported by the Concern.

The receipts of the two departments were \$150,133.18. The total amount raised in 1826 was \$1,151.75. The gain since that time has been \$148,981.43.

RECEIPTS.

Amount of contingent money	\$27,897 36
“ “ dollar money	33,400 00
“ “ missionary money	25,248 08
“ “ ladies' mite missionary money	2,296 06
“ for Sunday-school purposes	115,694 40
“ “ pastors' support	1,282,465 16
“ “ pastors' travelling expenses	36,608 16
“ “ presiding elders' travelling exps.	7,338 20
“ “ presiding elders' support	106,817 20
	<hr/>
	\$1,637,764 62

RECEIPTS.—(*Continued.*)

Amount brought up	\$1,637,764 62
Amount for educational purposes	6,125 46
“ “ building and repairing churches	596,824 48
“ “ charitable and benevolent purposes	20,937 02
Total annual collection	<u>\$2,261,651 58</u>
The amount for four years	9,046,606 24
The General Business Manager's report	51,000 00
Grand total for four years	<u>\$9,097,606 24</u>

STATISTICS OF MEMBERS.

Travelling Preachers.

Number of bishops	9
“ “ general officers	4
“ “ travelling licentiates	434
“ “ travelling elders	445
“ “ travelling deacons	<u>940</u>
Total number of travelling preachers	1,832

Local Preachers.

Number of superannuated preachers	21
“ “ local preachers and exhorters	7,719
“ “ “ elders	42
“ “ “ deacons	<u>146</u>
Total number of local preachers	7,928

Members and Probationers

Number of members	306,044
“ “ probationers	<u>85,000</u>
Total number of members and probationers,	391,044

SUMMARY OF MEMBERS.

Total number of travelling preachers	1,832
“ “ “ local preachers	7,928
“ “ “ members and probationers	<u>391,044</u>
Grand total membership	400,804

SUNDAY-SCHOOLS.

Number of Sunday-schools	2,345
“ “ teachers and officers	15,454
“ “ pupils	154,549
“ “ volumes in library	193,358

CHURCH PROPERTY.

Number of school-houses	88
“ “ churches	2,051
“ “ parsonages	395

VALUE OF CHURCH PROPERTY.

Value of school-houses	\$26,400 00
“ “ churches	2,884,251 00
“ “ parsonages	162,603 20
Total value of church property	\$3,073,254 20

PAPER.

Number of subscriptions to “Christian Recorder”	5,380
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In 1818 a publishing department was added to the work of the Church. But its efficiency was impaired on account of the great mass of its members being in slave States or the District of Columbia, where the laws prohibited them from attending school, and deprived them of reading books or papers. In 1817 the Rev. Richard Allen published a book of discipline; and shortly after this a Church hymn-book was published also. Beyond this there was but little done in this department until 1841, when the New York Conference passed a resolution providing for the publication of a monthly magazine. But the lack of funds compelled the projectors to issue it as a quarterly. For nearly eight years this magazine exerted an excellent influence upon the ministers and members of the Church. Its coming was looked forward to with a strange interest. It contained the news in each of the conferences; its editorials breathed a spirit of love and fellowship; and thus the members were brought to a knowledge of the character of the work being accomplished.

At length the prosperity of the magazine seemed to justify the publication of a weekly paper. Accordingly a weekly journal, named the “Christian Herald,” made its appearance and ran its course for the space of four years. In 1852, by order of the Gen-

eral Conference, the paper was enlarged and issued as the "Christian Recorder," which has continued to be published up to the present time. In addition to this a "Child's Recorder" is published as a monthly. About 50,000 copies of both are issued every month.

The managers and editors in this department have been :

From 1818 to 1826—Right-Reverend Richard Allen, First Bishop of the A. M. E. Church, served in the capacity of Bishop and General Book Steward.

From 1826 to 1835—Rev. Jos. M. Corr. He was the first regularly appointed General Book Steward, and served until October, 1836, at which time he died.

From 1835 to 1848—Rev. Geo. Hogarth.

From 1848 to 1852—Rev. Augustus R. Green.

From 1852 to 1854—Rev. M. M. Clark, Editor; Rev. W. T. Catto, General Book Steward, and Rev. W. H. Jones, Travelling Agent.

From 1854 to 1860—Rev. J. P. Campbell (now Bishop) served in the capacity of General Book Steward and Editor.

From 1860 to 1868—Rev. Elisha Weaver served the most of the time as both Manager and Editor.

From 1868 to 1869—Rev. Joshua Woodlin, Manager, and Rev. B. T. Tanner, Editor. During the year 1869 Rev. Joshua Woodlin resigned.

From 1869 to 1871—Rev. A. L. Stanford served until above date, when he also resigned, and Dr. B. T. Tanner was left to act in the capacity of Editor and Manager until May, 1872.

From 1872 to 1876—Rev. W. H. Hunter, Business Manager, and Rev. B. T. Tanner reappointed Editor.

From 1876 to 1880—Rev. H. M. Turner, Business Manager, and Rev. B. T. Tanner again reappointed Editor.

1880—Rev. Theo. Gould, Business Manager, and Rev. B. T. Tanner was for the fourth term appointed Editor.

In addition to the work done here on the field, this Church has been blessed with a true missionary spirit. It has pushed its work into "the regions beyond." In 1844 *The Parent Home and Foreign Missionary Society* was organized by the General Conference. Its first corresponding secretary was appointed in 1864, John M. Brown, Washington, D.C.; 1865 to 1868, John M. Brown; 1868 to 1872, James A. Handay, Baltimore, Maryland; 1872, Rev. W. J. Gaines, Macon, Georgia; 1873, Rev. T. G.

Stewart, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; 1874 to 1876, Rev. G. W. Brodie; 1876 to 1878, Rev. Richard H. Cain, Columbia, S. C.; 1878 to 1881, Rev. James M. Townsend, Richmond, Indiana.

The following is the last report of the present missionary secretary:

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts.

Collected for general work (including \$300 from the W. M. M. Society)	\$2,630 35
Collected on the field in Hayti	1,221 54
Women's Mite Society (in addition to the above \$300)	364 31
Collected for domestic missions	3,743 87
Total receipts	<u>\$7,960 07</u>

Expenditures.

Total expended on salaries, travelling expenses, printing, etc.	\$7,773 10
Balance in Women's M. M. treasury	48 97
Balance in general treasury	138 00
	<u>\$7,960 07</u>

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES M. TOWNSEND.

The work of education has been fostered and pushed forward by this Church. Wilberforce University is owned and managed by the Church, and is doing a noble work for both sexes. More than one thousand students have received instruction in this institution, and some of the ablest preachers in the denomination are proud of Wilberforce as their *Alma Mater*. The following gentlemen constitute the faculty:

WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY.

FACULTY.

REV. B. F. LEE, B.D., *President,*
Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy and Systematic Theology.

Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Homiletics, and Pastoral Theology.

J. P. SHORTER, A.B.,
Professor of Mathematics and Secretary of the Faculty.

W. S. SCARBOROUGH, A.M.,
Professor of Latin and Greek.

ROSWELL F. HOWARD, A.B., B.L.,
Professor of Law.

HON. JOHN LITTLE,
Professor of Law.

MRS. S. C. BIERCE,
*Principal of Normal Department, Instructor in French, and
Natural Sciences.*

MRS. ALICE M. ADAMS,
Lady Principal, Matron, and Instructor in Academic Department.

MISS GUSSIE E. CLARK,
Teacher of Instrumental Music.

ASSISTANT TEACHERS.

CARRIE E. FERGUSON,
Teacher of Penmanship.

D. M. ASHBY,
G. S. LEWIS,
Teachers of Arithmetic.

ANNA H. JONES,
Teacher of Reading.

REV. T. H. JACKSON, D.D.,
General Agent.

In the summer of 1856 the Cincinnati Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church decided to establish in that place a university for the education of Colored youth. Its Board of Trustees consisted of twenty white and four Colored men. Mr. Alfred J. Anderson, Rev. Lewis Woodson, Mr. Ishmael Keith, and Bishop Payne were the Colored members. Among the former were State Senator M. D. Gatch and the late Salmon P. Chase. It was dedicated in October, 1856, when the Rev. M. P. Gaddis took charge. He held the position of Principal for one year, when he was succeeded by Professor J. R. Parker, who worked faithfully and successfully until 1859. Rev. R. T. Rust, D.D., became President upon the retirement of Mr. Parker, and

accomplished a noble work. He raised the educational standard of the school, attracted to its support and halls friends and pupils, and gained the confidence of educators and laymen within the outside of his denomination. Unfortunately, his faithful labors were most abruptly terminated by the war of the Rebellion. The college doors were closed in 1862 for want of funds; the main friends of the institution having cast their lot with the Confederate States. It should be remembered that up to this time this college was in the hands of the white Methodist Church. The Colored Methodists bought the land and buildings on the 10th of March, 1863, for the sum of \$10,000. The land consisted of fifty-two acres, with an abundance of timber, fine springs, and a commodious college building with a dozen beautiful cottages. And the growth of the institution under the management of Colored men is a credit to their Church and race.

Bishop D. H. Payne, D.D., was elected to the presidency of the university, which position he has filled with rare fidelity and ability for the last thirteen years. In 1876 Rev. B. F. Lee, a former graduate of the college, was elected to occupy the presidential chair. It was not a position to be sought after since it had been filled for thirteen years by the senior bishop of the Church, but Mr. Lee was the choice of his official brethren and so was elected. President Lee is a native of New Jersey. He is about the medium height, well knit, of light complexion, dark hair and beard of the same color that covers a face handsomely moulded. He is plainly a man of excellent traits of character; he is somewhat bald and has a finely-cut head, broad and massive. He moves quickly, and impresses one as a man who is armed with a large amount of executive tact. His face is of a thoughtful cast, and does not change much when he laughs. There were many difficulties to hinder his administration when he took charge, but he surmounted them all. Under his administration the institution has grown financially and numerically.

The following report shows the financial condition of the college at the present time.

RECEIPTS.

June 20, 1880.

Balance in Treasury,	Avery Fund	.	\$10,000	00
"	"	Rust Prize Fund	.	100 00
"	"	cash	.	63 82
Total balance			.	\$10,163 82

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH. 463

RECEIPTS.—(Continued.)

Balance	\$10,163 82
Received from Financial Secretary	200 00
" " tuition	1,604 49
" " dormitories	525 80
" " Unitarian Associa- tion	600 00
Received from loans	100 00
Received from interest from Avery Fund	800 00
Received from interest from Rust Fund	8 00
Received from General Agent	150 00
" " contributions	232 00
" " Philadelphia Con- ference	52 95
Received from Illinois Conference	30 00
" " bequest of John Pfaff	602 08
Received from miscellaneous	407 64
	<hr/>
	\$5,312 96
Total receipts	<hr/> <u>\$15,476 78</u>

EXPENDITURES.

To salaries	\$3,166 15
" building and grounds	243 25
" furnishing building	177 37
" notes paid with interest	285 86
" lectures	600 00
" fuel	116 64
" Powers' Fund interest	114 90
" incidental	296 17
" insurance	219 00
" miscellaneous	144 21
	<hr/>
Total expenditures	\$5,363 55
Balance in bank—Avery Fund se- curities	\$10,000 00
Balance in bank—Rust Fund se- curities	100 00
Balance in bank—cash	13 23
	<hr/>
	\$10,113 23
	<hr/> <u>\$15,476 78</u>

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS, FROM 1865 TO 1881.

1865 to 1866	. . . . .	\$ 10,677 82
1866 to 1867	. . . . .	6,717 88
1867 to 1868	. . . . .	9,000 00
1868 to 1869	. . . . .	5,403 83
1869 to 1870	. . . . .	9,498 24
1870 to 1871	. . . . .	28,672 22
1871 to 1872	. . . . .	7,270 31
1872 to 1873	. . . . .	4,452 30
1873 to 1874	. . . . .	6,129 77
1874 to 1875	. . . . .	4,962 50
1875 to 1876	. . . . .	7,805 36
1876 to 1877	. . . . .	13,757 66
1877 to 1878	. . . . .	14,429 15
1878 to 1879	. . . . .	4,944 37
1879 to 1880	. . . . .	6,942 98
1880 to 1881	. . . . .	5,312 96
Total	. . . . .	<u>\$145,977 35</u>

The following-named persons are the bishops of the Church : James A. Shorter, Daniel A. Payne, A. W. Wayman, J. P. Campbell, John M. Brown, T. M. D. Ward, H. M. Turner, William F. Dickerson, and R. H. Cain.

The African Methodist Episcopal Church will remain through the years to come as the best proof of the Negro's ability to maintain himself in an advanced state of civilization. Commencing with nothing—save an unfaltering faith in God,—this Church has grown to magnificent proportions. Her name has gone to the ends of the earth. In the Ecumenical Council of the Methodists in London, 1881, its representatives made a splendid impression ; and their addresses and papers took high rank.

This Church has taught the Negro how to govern and how to submit to government. It has kept its membership under the influence of wholesome discipline, and for its beneficent influence upon the morals of the race, it deserves the praise and thanks of mankind.¹

¹ We have to thank the Rev. B. W. Arnett, B.D., the Financial Secretary, for the valuable statistics used in this chapter. He is an intelligent, energetic, and faithful minister of the Gospel, and a credit to his Church and race.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

FOUNDING OF THE M. E. CHURCH OF AMERICA IN 1768 — NEGRO SERVANTS AND SLAVES AMONG THE FIRST CONTRIBUTORS TO THE ERECTION OF THE FIRST CHAPEL IN NEW YORK. — THE REV. HARRY HOSIER THE FIRST NEGRO PREACHER IN THE M. E. CHURCH IN AMERICA. — HIS REMARKABLE ELOQUENCE AS A PULPIT ORATOR. — EARLY PROHIBITION AGAINST SLAVE-HOLDING IN THE M. E. CHURCH — STRENGTH OF THE CHURCHES AND SUNDAY-SCHOOLS OF THE COLORED MEMBERS IN THE M. E. CHURCH. — THE REV. MARSHALL W. TAYLOR, D.D. — HIS ANCESTORS. — HIS EARLY LIFE AND STRUGGLES FOR AN EDUCATION. — HE TEACHES SCHOOL IN KENTUCKY. — HIS EXPERIENCES AS A TEACHER — IS ORDAINED TO THE GOSPEL MINISTRY AND BECOMES A PREACHER AND MISSIONARY TEACHER — HIS SETTLEMENT AS PASTOR IN INDIANA AND OHIO. — IS GIVEN THE TITLE OF DOCTOR OF DIVINITY BY THE TENNESSEE COLLEGE. — HIS INFLUENCE AS A LEADER, AND HIS STANDING AS A PREACHER.

PHILLIP EMBURY, Barbara Heck, and Capt. Thomas Webb were the germ from which, in the good providence of God, has sprung the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America. The first chapel was erected upon leased ground on John Street, New York City, in 1768. The ground was purchased in 1770. Subscriptions were asked and received from all classes of people for the building, from the mayor of the city down to African female servants known only by their Christian names. Here the Colored people became first identified with American Methodism. From this stock have sprung all who have been subsequently connected with it. Meetings were held, prior to the erection of John Street Church, in the private residence of Mrs. Heck, and in a rigging-loft, sixty by eighteen feet, in William Street, which was rented in 1767. Here Capt. Webb and Mr. Embury preached thrice a week to large audiences. The original design to erect a chapel must be credited to Mrs. Heck, the foundress of American Methodism. Mr. Richard Owen, a convert of Robert Strawbridge, the founder of Methodism in Baltimore, was the first native Methodist preacher on the continent. The first American Annual Conference was held in Philadelphia, Pa., twenty-nine years after Mr. Wesley held his first conference in England, with ten members,

precisely the same number there were in his. They were Thos. Rankin, President ; Richard Boardman, Joseph Pilmoor, Francis Asbury, Richard Wright, George Shadford, Thomas Webb, John King, Abraham Whiteworth, and Joseph Yearbry. It began Wednesday the 14th and closed Friday the 16th of July, 1773. All the members were foreigners, and in the Revolution many of them were subject to unjust suspicions of sympathy with England, in consequence of this fact alone. The aggregate statistical returns for this conference showed 1,160, which was much less than Mr. Rankin supposed to be the strength of Methodism in America.

On the 2d of September, 1784, Rev. Thomas Coke, D.D., LL.D., a presbyter in the Church of England, was ordained by John Wesley, A.M., Superintendent or Bishop of the Methodist Societies in America. He was charged with a commission to organize them into an Episcopal Church, and to ordain Mr. Francis Asbury an Associate Bishop. He sailed for America at 10 o'clock A.M., September 18th, and landed at New York, Wednesday, November 3, 1784. Mr. Coke at once set out on a tour of observation, accompanied by Harry Hosier, Mr. Asbury's travelling servant, a Colored minister. Hosier was one of the notable characters of that day. He was the first American Negro preacher of the M. E. Church in the United States. In 1780 Mr. Asbury alluded to him as a companion, suitable to preach to the Colored people. Dr. Rush, allowing for his illiteracy—for he could not read—pronounced him the greatest orator in America. He was small in stature and very black ; but he had eyes of remarkable brilliancy and keenness ; and singular readiness and aptness of speech. He travelled extensively with Asbury, Coke, and Whiteworth. He afterward travelled through New England. He excelled all the whites in popularity as a preacher ; sharing with them in their public services, not only in Colored but also in white congregations. When they were sick or otherwise disabled they could trust the pulpit to Harry without fear of unfavorably disappointing the people. Mr. Asbury acknowledges that the best way to obtain a large congregation was to announce that Harry would preach. The multitude preferred him to the Bishop himself. Though he withstood for years the temptations of extraordinary popularity, he fell, nevertheless, by the indulgent hospitalities which were lavished upon him. He became temporarily the victim of wine ; but possessed

moral strength enough to recover himself. Self-abased and contrite, he started one evening down the neck below Southwark, Philadelphia, determined to remain till his backslidings were healed. Under a tree he wrestled in prayer into the watches of the night. Before the morning God restored to him the joys of His salvation. Thenceforward he continued faithful. He resumed his public labors. In the year 1810 he died in Philadelphia. "Making a good end," he was borne to the grave by a great procession of both Colored and white admirers, who buried him as a hero—one overcome, but finally victorious.

It is said that on one occasion, in Wilmington, Del., where Methodism was long unpopular, a number of the citizens, who did not ordinarily attend Methodist preaching, came together to hear Bishop Asbury. Old Asbury Chapel was, at that time, so full that they could not get in. They stood outside to hear the Bishop, as they supposed; but in reality they heard Harry. Before they left the place, they complimented the speaker by saying: "If all Methodist preachers could preach like the Bishop we should like to be constant hearers." Some one present replied: "That was not the Bishop, but his servant." This only raised the Bishop higher in their estimation, as their conclusion was, if such be the servant what must the master be? The truth was, that Harry was a more popular speaker than Asbury, or almost any one else in his day.¹

So we find in the very inception of Methodism in the United States the Colored people were conspicuously represented in its membership, contributing both money, labor, and eloquence to its grand success.

The great founder of Methodism was an inveterate foe of human slavery, which he pronounced "the sum of all villainies," and in this particular the Methodist societies in their earliest times reflected his sentiments. The early preachers were especially hostile to slavery. In 1784 it was considered and declared to be contrary to the Golden Law of God, as well as every principle of the Revolution. They required every Methodist to execute and record, within twelve months after notice by the preacher, a legal instrument emancipating all slaves in his possession at specified ages. Any person who should not concur in this requirement had liberty to leave the Church within one year; otherwise the preacher was to exclude him. No person holding

¹ Stevens's Hist. of M. E. Church, pp. 174, 175; also Lednum, p. 282.

slaves could be admitted to membership, or to the Lord's Supper, until he complied with this law. But it was to be applied only where the law of the State permitted.' These rules provoked great hostility, and were suspended within six months.

The Church had, however, put the stamp of condemnation upon it. And ever in a more or less active but always consistent manner opposed it, until its final extirpation was accomplished, though not until the Church had been several times divided in favor of and against it.

The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America was organized in what is historically known as the Christmas Conference, which convened in Baltimore at ten o'clock Friday morning, December 24, 1784, Bishop Thomas Coke, presiding. Rev. Francis Asbury was there consecrated a bishop. In 1786 a resolution emphatically enjoining it upon the preachers to leave nothing undone for the spiritual benefit and salvation of the Colored people was adopted. The Church is a limited Episcopacy. The bishops are elected by the General Conference. They fix the appointments of all the preachers, but the conference arranges their duration. The bishops hold office during good behavior. The General Conference is the Legislative, and the bishops, presiding elders, pastors, annual, district, and quarterly conferences, with the leaders' and stewards' meetings, and the general and local trustees, are the Executive Department. The ministerial orders are two: elder and deacon. The offices of the ministry and rank are in the order named,—bishop, sub-bishop, pastor, and sub-pastors. The ministry are classified as Effective, Supernumerary, Superannuate, and Local. The property of each congregation is deeded in trust for them to a Board of Local Trustees, who may sell, buy, or improve it for the use of said congregation. The stewards are officers whose labors are partly temporal and partly spiritual. They are entrusted with the raising of supplies, benevolence, and the support of the ministry. Exhorters are prayer-meeting leaders and general helpers in the work of the circuits.

Methodism began in a college and has been a great patron of education. It has been largely devoted to the educational and religious culture of the Colored people in the South and in

¹ And there was not a single State where this rule could be applied. Slavery ruled the land.

Africa. There are sixteen conferences of Colored members in the M. E. Church—fifteen in the United States and one in Liberia. For the Liberian Conference two Colored bishops have been consecrated, viz.: Francis Burns and ex-President Thomas Wright Roberts, both deceased. The present bishops are all white, one of whom annually visits Africa. The same is true of conferences in Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, India, China, and Japan. The agency by which the Church prosecutes this work is the Missionary, Church Extension, Freedmen's Aid, Education, and Sunday-school Union societies. Books and periodicals are amply supplied by its own publishing house, which is the largest religious publishing house in the world.

In the sixteen conferences there are 225,000 members, 200,000 Sunday-school scholars, 3,500 day scholars, one medical, three law, and seven theological colleges, and twelve seminaries. There is \$500,000 in school and \$2,000,000 in church and parsonage property owned by the Colored membership! The Colored members elect their own representatives to the General Conference, and are fully represented in all the work of the Church.

At the present time the Rev. Marshall W. Taylor, D. D., and the Rev. Wm. M. Butler are the most prominent men in the Church. Marshall William Boyd (alias) Taylor was born July 1, 1846, at Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, of poor, uneducated, but respectable parents. He was the fourth in a family of five children, three of whom were boys, viz.: George Summers, Francis Asbury, and himself; and two girls, Mary Ellen and Mary Cathrine. He is of Scotch-Irish and Indian descent on his father's side. Hon. Samuel Boyd, of New York; Joseph Boyd, of Virginia; and Lieut.-Gov. Boyd, of Kentucky, were blood-relations of his, and all descended from the "Clan Boyd" of Scotland. His mother was of African and Arabian stock. His grandmother, on his mother's side, Phillis Ann, was brought from Madagascar when a little girl, and became the slave of Mr. Alexander Black, a Kentucky farmer, who at his death willed his slaves free. His mother, Nancy Ann, thus obtained her freedom, and by the terms of the will she was put to the millinery trade, which she fully mastered, and meantime obtained an elementary knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic. She married Albert Summers, and bore to him two children, viz.: George Summers and Mary Catharine. He ran away to prevent being sold, and she afterward married Samuel Boyd, to whom she bore three

children, viz., Francis Asbury, Marshall William, and Mary Ellen. His father, Samuel, was the son of Hon. Samuel Boyd, of New York. He was noted for his independence of character; was a valuable but unruly slave. He was allowed an opportunity to purchase his freedom, and this he began to do, and had paid \$250, three fourths of the price, when his master sold him to Tennessee. He promptly ran away from his new master, but unwilling to forsake his family, went back to Kentucky. His master pursued and overtook him at Lexington, where he had stopped. He refused to go back to Tennessee, and once more was permitted to select a master, and finally to again contract for his freedom, which he this time succeeded in obtaining. In consequence of his mother's emancipation, Marshall was free when he first saw the light of day. By occupation his father was a hemp-breaker, rope-maker, and farmer. The last he elected to follow after he was free. He employed his boys as farmers, but his mother strenuously opposed it, wishing better opportunities than could be thus afforded for their education. She at length succeeded in carrying her point.

In religion his father at first inclined to the Baptists, of which Church he became a deacon in the congregation of Rev. Mr. Ferrill, of Pleasant Green Church, Lexington. Later he became dissatisfied with the Baptists, and united with the African Methodists at Frankfort, Ky. He finally went back to the Baptist Church and died in that faith.

Marshall's mother, and all her people, so far as known, were Methodists. His early training and first and only religious impressions were Methodistic, which Church, after his conversion, he joined. His father had no knowledge of letters, so that all his home instruction came from his mother. Her text-books were the Bible, Methodist Catechism, and Webster's Elementary Spelling Book. And in these young Marshall became very proficient. He afterward attended school daily to Rev. John Tibbs, an African Methodist preacher, who came from Cincinnati to Lexington to teach free children and such of the slaves as would be permitted to attend. Some masters granted this permission, but the greater number refused it. Finally, some "*poor white*" fellows, unable to own slaves themselves, mobbed the teacher, rode him on a rail, tarred, feathered, and drove him from town. They were called black Indians. It was impossible to secure another teacher in Lexington for a day school, but Mr. George Perry, an

intelligent free Colored man, had the courage to teach Sunday-school, in the Branch Methodist Church. It is now called Asbury M. E. Church. Marshall attended, as did his mother and brothers. In 1854 the family moved to Louisville, looking for a school. Finding none there, they continued their journey about fifty miles above there on the Ohio River, and landed at Ghent, a little village in Carroll County, Ky., opposite Vevey, Indiana. They indulged a hope that the children would be allowed to attend the public schools at Vevey, but they were doomed in this expectation. They spent two years at Ghent. Marshall and his brother obtained instruction during this period from the little white children who attended school, after hours, using "an old hay loft back of a Mr. Sanders's Tavern" for a recitation-room, and paying their teachers with cakes and candies bought with odd pennies gathered here and there.

On the 1st of August, 1856, there was an Emancipation celebration at Dayton, Ohio. Frederick Douglass was advertised to speak, and other eminent Abolitionists were expected to participate. Marshall's mother attended it. Soon after her return several slaves mysteriously disappeared from the vicinity of Ghent. Among them was a very valuable family belonging to Esquire Craig, of the village. Suspicion fastened on the old lady who had been off among the "Abolitionists." She was indicted by the Grand Jury, and thirty-six men filed into her cabin, and while she lay sick in bed, read the indictment to her. They ordered her to leave the place. She refused to go, claimed her innocence, but to no purpose. "They chased Francis with guns and dogs on the public streets in daylight; shaddowed the cabin and gave unmistakable evidence of a diabolical purpose." She soon after returned to Louisville.

Young Marshall became a messenger in the law firm of J. B. Kincaid and John W. Barr. Here his chances were good, both of these gentlemen aiding him in his studies. He did his work after school hours at the office, and attended a school which was kept in the "Centre Street Colored Methodist Church," until it closed.

Rev. Henry Henderson, a Colored Methodist preacher, now opened a school in Centre Street, and Marshall was duly enrolled among his pupils. On his retirement, Mrs. Elizabeth Cumings, a highly cultured and pious lady, taught a private school on Grayson, between Sixth and Seventh streets. He now went to

her. She died soon after, when he was sent to a Mr. William H. Gibson, who had already opened a school on Seventh, between Jefferson and Green streets, in an old carpenter shop. Here he continued until 1861.

In 1866 Mr. Taylor opened a Freedmen's School at Hardinsburg, Breckenridge Co., Ky. This was in an old church, the property of the M. E. Church South. It had been donated for church purposes by George Blanford. If used otherwise it was to revert to the donor. A Negro school was obnoxious to the community. His was the first there had ever been in the village, and notwithstanding the white people had long since abandoned the property to the Colored people this question was now raised in order to break up the school. It did not succeed, as they easily proved that the original intent of the donor was not violated, since Colored people still used the property as a church. Failing in this the school was tormented by ruffians. Pepper was rolled up in cotton, set on fire, and hurled into the room to set every one coughing. Finally threats of personal violence were made if he did not leave, but Mr. Taylor armed himself, defied the enemies of freedom, and stayed. At last, on Christmas evening, Dec. 25, 1867, the house was blown up with powder. The arrangement was to set off the blast with a slow match so as to catch the house full of people, there being a school exhibition that night. The explosion took place at 11:30 P.M., but owing to the excitement occasioned by the novelty of such a thing as a "Negro School Exhibition," the crowd had gathered much earlier than announced. The programme was completed before 11 P.M., and by this accident the school and teacher were saved. The old wreck still remains a monument to color prejudice.

By the aid of the Freedmen's Bureau another school-house was soon built, and the school proceeded. This was followed by a meeting-house. The white people, whose sentiments were now rapidly turning, subscribed liberally toward it.

In 1868 an educational convention was held at Owensboro, in Davies Co., Ky., of which Mr. Taylor was elected president. He soon after wrote a manual for Colored schools, which was generally used in that section. In 1869 he attended the first Colored political convention ever held in Kentucky, at Major Hall in Frankfort. He was one of the Educational Committee, and submitted a report. This year he was also a member of a convention at Jackson Street Church, Louisville, which inaugu-

rated the movement for the Lexington M. E. Conference. He was licensed as a local preacher this year by Rev. Hanson Tolbert at Hardinsburg, and was assisted in the study of theology by Rev. R. G. Gardiner, J. H. Lennin, and Dr. R. S. Rust. He went to Arkansas as a missionary teacher and preacher at the call of Rev. W. J. Gladwin, and remained there one year. He organized several societies of the Church, taught school at Midway, Forrest City, and Wittsburg; took part in the political campaign of that year; and was nominated, but declined to run, for Representative from Saint Frances County.

He preached in Texas, Indian Territory, and Missouri; was put in peril by the Ku Klux at Hot Springs; took the chills and returned to Ky., in 1871. He was then appointed to the Litchfield Circuit, Southwestern Kentucky. In 1872 he united with the Lexington Conference of M. E. Church on trial. He was ordained a deacon by Bishop Levi Scott at Maysville, Ky., and sent to Coke Chapel, Louisville, Ky., and Wesley Chapel, Jeffersonville, Indiana. He remained in this charge three years, during which time he published the monthly "Kentucky Methodist," and wrote extensively for the press. He was elected assistant secretary, editor of the printed minutes of the conference, and finally secretary. In 1875 he was sent as pastor to Indianapolis, Ind. He was ordained elder by Bishop Wiley at Lexington in 1876, and returned to Indianapolis. He took an active part in the political campaign of 1876, and was sent to Union Chapel, Cincinnati, 1877-8. In 1879 the faculty of Central Tennessee College, at Nashville, Tennessee, conferred upon him the title and credentials of a Doctor of Divinity. He wrote the life of Rev. Geo. W. Downing.

In 1879 Dr. Taylor was appointed Presiding Elder of the Ohio District, Lexington Conference. In 1880 he was sent as fraternal delegate from the M. E. to the A. M. E. General Conference at St. Louis; he having been previously elected lay delegate to the General Conference of the M. E. Church in Brooklyn, New York, in 1879. He was the youngest member of that body. Upon his motion fraternal representatives were sent to the various Colored denominations of Methodists. He was appointed in 1881 as a delegate from the M. E. Church to the Ecumenical Conference at London, England. He was the caucus nominee of the Colored delegates to the General Conference in Cincinnati in 1880 for bishop. He was always opposed to caste discriminations in

Church, State, or society. He has opposed Colored conferences and a Colored bishop as tending to perpetuate discriminations. He does not oppose the election of Colored men, but wishes that every honor may fall upon them because of merit and not on account of their color. He has become famous as an eloquent preacher, safe teacher, ready speaker, and earnest worker; always aiming to do the greatest good to the greatest number. Certainly the Methodist Episcopal Church has reason to be proud of Marshall W. Taylor.

In this Church there are many other worthy and able Colored preachers. The relations they sustain to the eloquent, scholarly, and pious white clergymen of the denomination are pleasant and beneficial. It is an education. And the fact that the best pulpits of white men are opened to the Colored preachers is a prophecy that race antagonisms in the Christian Church, so tenacious and harmful, are to perish speedily.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE COLORED BAPTISTS OF AMERICA.

THE COLORED BAPTISTS AN INTELLIGENT AND USEFUL PEOPLE. — THEIR LEADING MINISTERS IN MISSOURI, OHIO, AND IN NEW ENGLAND. — THE BIRTH, EARLY LIFE, AND EDUCATION OF DUKE WILLIAM ANDERSON. — AS FARMER, TEACHER, PREACHER, AND MISSIONARY. — HIS INFLUENCE IN THE WEST. — GOES SOUTH AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR. — TEACHES IN A THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE AT NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE. — CALLED TO WASHINGTON. — PASTOR OF 19TH STREET BAPTIST CHURCH. — HE OCCUPIES VARIOUS POSITIONS OF TRUST. — BUILDS A NEW CHURCH. — HIS LAST REVIVAL. — HIS SICKNESS AND DEATH. — HIS FUNERAL AND THE GENERAL SORROW AT HIS LOSS. — LEONARD ANDREW GRIMES, OF BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS. — HIS PIETY, FAITHFULNESS AND PUBLIC INFLUENCE FOR GOOD. — THE COMPLETION OF HIS CHURCH. — HIS LAST DAYS AND SUDDEN DEATH. — GENERAL SORROW. — RESOLUTIONS BY THE BAPTIST MINISTERS OF BOSTON. — A GREAT AND GOOD MAN GONE.

THE Baptist Church has always been a purely democratic institution. With no bishops or head-men, except such as derive their authority from the consent of the governed, this Church has been truly independent and self-governing in its spirit. Its only Head is Christ, and its teachers such as are willing to take "the Word of God as the Man of their Counsel." From the time of the introduction of the Baptist Church into North America down to the present time, the Colored people have formed a considerable part of its membership. The generous, impartial, and genuine Christian spirit of Roger Williams had a tendency, at the beginning, to keep out of the Church the spirit of race prejudice. But the growth of slavery carried with it, as a logical result, the idea that the slave's presence in the Christian Church was a rebuke to the system. For conscience' sake the slave was excluded, and to oblige the feelings of those who transferred the spirit of social caste from gilded drawing-rooms to cushioned pews, even the free Negro was conducted to the organ-loft.

The simplicity of the Negro led him to the faith of the Baptist Church; but being denied fellowship in the white congregations, he was compelled to provide churches for himself. In Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Mississippi the

Colored Baptists were numerous. In the other States the Methodists and Catholics were numerous. There were few ministers of note at the South; but New England, the Middle States, and the West produced some very able Baptist preachers. The Rev. Richard Anderson, of St. Louis, Missouri, was a man of exalted piety, consummate ability, and of almost boundless influence in the West. He was the pastor of a large church, and did much to mould and direct the interests of his people throughout Missouri. He was deeply revered by his own people, and highly respected by the whites. When he died, the entire city of St. Louis was plunged into profound mourning, and over three hundred carriages—many belonging to the wealthiest families in the city—followed his body to the place of interment.

In Ohio the Rev. Charles Satchell, the Rev. David Nickens, the Rev. W. P. Newman, the Rev. James Poindexter, and the Rev. H. L. Simpson were the leading clergymen in the Colored Baptist churches. Cincinnati has had for the last half century excellent Baptist churches, and an intelligent and able ministry. There are several associations embracing many live churches.

In Kentucky the Colored Baptists are very numerous, and own much valuable property; but Virginia seems to have more Baptists among its great population of Colored people than any other State in the South. There are a dozen or more in Richmond, including the one presided over by the famous John Jasper. One of them has, it is said, three thousand members (?). But the District of Columbia has more Colored churches for its area and population than any other place in the United States. There are at least twenty-five Baptist churches in the District, and some of them have interesting histories. The Nineteenth Street Baptist Church is as an intelligent a society of Christian people of color as there is to be found in any city in the country. Its pulpit has always been occupied by the ablest ministers in the country. The Revs. Sampson White, Samuel W. Madden, and Duke W. Anderson were men of education and marked ability. And there is little doubt but what Duke W. Anderson was the ablest, most distinguished clergyman of color in the United States. And for his work's sake he deserves well of history.

Duke William Anderson was born April 10, 1812, in the vicinity of Lawrenceville, Lawrence County, in the State of Illinois, of a Negro mother by a white father. His father, lately from North

Carolina, fell under Gen. Harrison fighting the Indians. Like so many other great men he was born in an obscure place—a wigwam. At the time of his father's death he was quite a young baby. He was now left to the care of a mother who, in many respects, was like her husband, bold and courageous for the truth, and yet as gentle as a child. It is peculiarly trying and difficult for a mother who has all the comforts of modern city life, to train and educate her boys for the duties of life; and if so, how much more trying and difficult must it have been for a mother on the North-western frontiers, seventy years ago, to train her boys?

Destitute of home and its comforts, without friends or money; no farm, school, or church, Mrs. Anderson began to train her two boys, John Anderson and D. W. Anderson. Of the former, little or nothing is known, save that he was the only brother of D. W. Anderson.

True to the instincts of her motherly heart, Mrs. Anderson was determined to remain upon the spot purchased and consecrated by the blood of her lamented husband. She could not divorce herself from the approximate idea and object of her husband's life and death. He had turned from the comforts of a happy home; had chosen hardships rather than ease that he might realize the dream of his youth, and the object of his manly endeavors—the right of suffrage to all. Her children could not build their play-house of Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, or Southey. All the instruction Duke William obtained came from his mother. She was very large and healthy. Her complexion was of perfect black. She was possessed of excellent judgment, patience, and industry. She stored the young mind of her boy with useful agricultural knowledge, of which she possessed a large amount.

An education does not consist in acquiring lessons, obtaining a simple, abstract, objective knowledge of certain sciences. It is more than this. It consists, also, in being able to apply and use rightly a given amount of knowledge. And though D. W. Anderson was never permitted to enter college, yet, what he got he got thoroughly, and used at the proper time to the best advantage.

Nature was his best teacher. While yet a very young boy he was awed by her splendors, and attracted by the complicated workings of her manifold laws. He began to study the innumerable mysteries which met him in every direction. He heard

God in the rippling water, in the angry tempest, in the sighing wind, and in the troops of stars which God marshals upon the plains of heaven. In the study of nature he exulted. He sat in her velvet lap, sported by her limpid waters, acquainted himself perfectly with her seasons, and knew the coming and going of every star.

God was training this man for the great mission which he afterward so faithfully performed. No soul that was ever filled with such grand and humane ideas as was that of Duke William Anderson can be crushed. He knew no boundaries for his soul,—except God on one side and the whole universe on the other. He was as free in thought and feeling as the air he inhaled, or the birds in the bright sky over his head. His soul had for many years communed with the God of nature; had been taught by the mighty workings of truth, feeling, and genius within, and by the world without, that he was not to be confined to earth forever, but that beyond the deep blue sky, into which he so much longed to peer, there dwelt the Creator of all things, and there the home of the good! Like the “wise men of the East,”—knowing no other God but the God of nature,—his primitive ideas of religion were naturally based upon nature. In that wild and barren territory nature was impressive, desolate, and awful. The earth, air, and sky incited him to thought and stimulated his imagination. Every appearance, every phenomenon—the storm, the thunder,—speak the prophecies of God. He was filled with great thoughts and driven by grand ideas.

It is difficult to compute the value of the mother to the child. It is the mother who loves, because she has suffered. And this seems to be the great law of love. Not a triumph in art, literature, or jurisprudence—from the story of Homer to the odes of Horace, from the times of Bacon and Leibnitz to the days of Tyndall and Morse—that has not been obtained by toil and suffering! The mother of Anderson, having suffered so much in her loneliness and want, knew how to train her boy,—the joy of her life. And he in return knew how to appreciate a mother’s love. He remembered that to her he owed every thing,—his life, his health, and his early training. He remembered that in childhood she had often, around their little camp-fire, enchanted his youthful mind by the romance of the sufferings and trials of herself and husband. And now finding himself a young man he was determined to change the course of their life.

No work so thoroughly develops the body and mind, and is so conducive to health, as farming; and, perhaps, none so independent. Anderson was naturally healthy and strong, so that farming agreed with him. By this he made a comfortable living, and soon demonstrated to his aged mother that she had not labored in vain, nor spent her strength for naught.

For a number of years he farmed. His motto was "excelsior" in whatever he engaged, and in farming he realized success.

As the father of Duke William Anderson had fallen under the U. S. flag, it became the duty of the Government to care for his widow and orphans. Accordingly, Duke William was sent to an Illinois school where he received the rudiments of a Western education. A Western education did not consist in reading poetry, or in examining Hebrew roots, but in reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, geography, and history. There were no soft seats, no beautifully frescoed walls, dotted with costly maps, or studded with beautiful pictures; not a school with a dozen beautiful rooms, heated by hot air. In those days a Western school-house was erected by the side of some public highway, remote from the town. It was constructed of logs,—not of the logs that have lost their roughness by going through the saw-mill, but logs cut by the axe of the hardy frontiersman. The axe was the only tool needed to fit the timber for the building. The building was about twelve feet in height, and about sixteen by twenty. The cracks were often left open, and sometimes closed by chips and mud. The floor was made of split logs with the flat side up. At one end of the building was a fireplace and chimney occupying the whole end of the house. At each end of the fireplace were laid two large stones upon which to rest the ends of the logs of wood, under all of which were laid closely large pieces of flat stones covered with an inch or two of mud. At the other end of the building was a door. It was constructed of thinly split pieces of logs held together by pieces of hickory withes which crossed each end of the door. This door was hung upon wooden hinges, one part of which, instead of being fastened to the door by screws, was fastened by little wooden pegs. The step at the door was a short piece of log flattened a little on the top and braced on the under side by small stones and pieces of chips. The roof was made of long pieces of split timber, the flat side out and the edges smoothed by the axe in order to make them lie snugly.

Such was the school-house in which D. W. Anderson was educated. And it may be that the plain school in which he was educated loaned him that modesty, plainness, and unostentatious air, which were among the many remarkable traits in his character. The circumstances and society by which boys are surrounded help to mould their character and determine their future. To a healthy and vigorous body was coupled a clear and active mind. He loved knowledge, and was willing to buy it at any price—willing to make any sacrifice. He was an industrious student, and possessed great power of penetration and acquisition. And every thing he read he remembered. The greatest difficulty with students is that they fail to apply themselves. A man may have the ability to accomplish a given amount of work and yet that work can never be accomplished except by the severest effort. It is one thing to possess a negative power, but it is quite another thing to possess a positive power. In this world we are set over against all external laws and forces. We are to assume the offensive. We are to climb up to the stars by microscopes. We are to measure this earth by our mathematics. We are to penetrate its depths and lift to the sun its costly treasures. We are to acquaint ourselves with the workings of the manifold laws which lie about us. If we would know ourselves, understand our relation to God, we must see after the requisite knowledge. Suppose that Duke William Anderson had despaired of ever receiving an education; sat down by the way in life and said: "There is no use of troubling myself, I cannot get what I desire. I am destined to be ignorant and weak all the days of my life; and if there is any good thing for me it will come to me. I will sit here and wait." Would the world ever have known of Anderson? His life would have shed no perfume; his name, would have been unknown and his grave would have been forgotten.

But it was that courage which never knows defeat, it was that devotion that never wavers, it was that assiduity, and it was that patience that is certain to triumph, which bore him on to a glorious end, as a summer wind bears up a silver cloud. At the age of seventeen he began to teach school. What Colored man would have essayed to teach school on the frontiers fifty years ago? But D. W. Anderson was born to rule. He was of commanding presence, full of confidence and earnestness. He entered upon his new duties full of hope and joy. This was something new.

There was a great deal of difference between handling the hoe and the pen. He found that there was a great difference between the farm and the school-house. But he was one of those boys who do every thing with all their might, and he was at once at home, and soon became master of his new situation.

Three laborious years were occupied in teaching. And they were years of profit to teacher as well as to pupil. He labored hard to be thorough ; and he greatly improved and finished his own education during his teaching.

About this time young Anderson met, courted, and married Miss Ruth Ann Lucas.

Anderson soon made all necessary arrangements, and the nuptial ceremony was solemnized by the village parson on the 30th of September, 1830. With his bride he now settled down at home. For some years he lived the life of a farmer. His mother was riveted to the spot where her devoted husband fell at the hands of a besotted Indian. But her son was of a progressive spirit. He longed to leave the old home for one more comfortable. How strange that the old should sit by the grave of the past, while the young never weary of chasing some vague fancy !

He bought a tract of land, cleared it, and opened up a farm. He planted a large orchard ; became the owner of seven horses and all the implements necessary to farming.

By his own industry and perseverance he had now acquired a neat little home ; on his farm he raised enough produce for the consumption of his family, and still there was a large quantity left for the market. Apples, potatoes, wheat, corn, and other commodities brought him handsome returns.

On this farm were born five children, four of whom lived to adult age. The oldest child, Luther Morgan, was born October 10, 1831. The second child, Mary Catharine, was born in 1833. The third, George Washington, was born in 1835. The fourth, Elizabeth, was born in 1837. And the fifth and last child was born on the night of September 4, 1839, when, also, the mother and child died.

This sad event filled a hitherto happy home with gloom, and bowed a strong heart with grief. Anderson was a man possessed of a very tender nature, though he was manly and resolute. His heart was fixed upon his wife, and this sad providence smote him heavily.

During all these years, from his youth up, he had been very

profane. He knew no Sabbath, worshipped no God, and was himself the highest law. He was filled with a grand religious sentiment, and only needed the grace of God to bring it out, and the love of God to show him where he stood.

The object of his youthful affection was gone. The faithful woman who had walked for nineteen years by his side was no more; her eyes were closed to mortal things, and she had ceased to be. He followed her body to the grave, and there dropped a silent tear for her to whom he had given his heart. It was the first funeral of any one related to him, and its lessons were sharply cut into his heart.

He returned to a desolate home, where the sad faces of motherless children told that one whom they loved, and who had made home happy, was gone.

His mind now turned to religious matters. He began to think of the home beyond, of Jesus, who died for sinners, and wondered if he would ever be able to see the loved one beyond the tide of death. As he dreamed of immortality, longed for heaven, and wondered if Jesus were his Saviour, he was filled with a deep sense of sin. He felt more deeply a sense of sin. He felt more and more that he was unworthy of the Saviour's love; and if he had his just dues, he would be "assigned a portion among the lost."

For a long time he was bowed down under the weight of his sins, and at length he found peace through the blood of Christ. He was renewed. The avaricious man became liberal, the implacable enemy became the forgiving friend, and the man of cursing a man of prayer. But it was impossible for him to cease to grieve; so he thought he would sell the farm and seek another home. The farm was sold, the horses and tools, and every thing converted into money. The children were bound out, and all arrangements were perfected to seek another home.

He paid a visit to Alton, Illinois, where he spent two or three years. In those days Alton was the city *par excellence* of Illinois, and toward it flowed the tide of emigration. So favorably was he impressed with Alton, that he was determined to make it his home. Accordingly, he began to make preparations for moving the children. In the meanwhile he formed the acquaintance of a widow lady in Alton with whom he became very much pleased. She was a tall, handsome-looking yellow woman, of cultivated manners, and of pleasing address. Anderson's wife had been dead three or four years.

It was now August 17, 1842, and the hand and heart of Anderson were offered Mrs. Mary Jane Ragens and accepted. With his new companion he now returned to the scenes of his early days and to the four children who joyfully awaited his return. He had made up his mind to settle in Alton. He and his new companion began to prepare for the journey. The family now consisted of the four children of Anderson and two children of his wife, making a family of six besides the two heads.

During the time that intervened between the death of his first wife and his engagement to the second, he taught school in Vincennes, Indiana, Alton and Brookton, Illinois. The old home stood upon the Wabash River, and was quite upon the line that divided the two States,—Indiana and Illinois. His own children went to his school, and were carried across the river on his back. On the other bank stood the log school-house of which he was principal.

In those days it was a matter of some comment to see a Colored man who dared write his name or tell his age, but to see one who was actually a schoolmaster was the marvel of the times. His teaching was a matter of comment in Vincennes, but Vincennes was only a little country town. But to go to Alton,—that city of great fame, then,—and teach school, was an undertaking that required strong nerves. D. W. Anderson had them. He never allowed himself to think that he was any person other than a man and citizen clothed with all civil rights and armed with God-given prerogatives. And so commanding was he, that a man who stood in his presence instantly felt him a superior. Moreover, the heated feeling and public sentiment which, on the night of November 7, 1837, wrested from the hand of God,—to whom alone vengeance belongeth,—a life, were not yet abated. Lovejoy, a peaceable citizen, had been deprived of free speech and struck down by the knife of the assassin; and could it be expected that a Negro would be spared? The times were exciting and dangerous, and yet Anderson was determined to take his place and work on in the path of duty, never wincing, but leaving the results with God.

Before in his quiet home and farm life, nature was his peculiar study. He had studied man in studying himself, but in the city of Alton he could study men. He loved to walk through its long streets, watch its hurrying pedestrians, and learn the manifold manifestations of city life.

Having been converted just after the death of his first wife, but never having connected himself with any church, he now joined the A. M. E. Church of Alton. His views from the first were Baptist, but circumstances placed him among the Methodists. The elder in charge was the powerful preacher, the successful revivalist, and the eminently pious man, Rev. Shadrack Stewart. Some misunderstanding arose between the minister in charge and some of the members, which resulted in the withdrawal of the pastor, Rev. S. Stewart, Anderson and family, and quite a number of the leading members. Minister and all connected themselves with the Baptists. Anderson used often to say to his family: "*That move placed me at home.*" He was indeed at home, and stayed there until he was called to his heavenly rest! He loved very much to study the Bible, and to meditate upon its great truths. The more he studied it the clearer duty seemed and the deeper and purer his love grew for that beneficent Being whom he owned as Lord and King.

It was now 1843. He felt that it was his duty to enter the Gospel ministry. Naturally a modest man, he shrank somewhat from this voice of God; but finally, in 1844, submitted to ordination. He was ordained by the Rev. John Anderson, father of the late Richard Anderson, of St. Louis, or by the Rev. John Livingston, of Illinois, though it is a matter of some doubt as to who was present at his ordination.

He now moved to Upper Alton, and pitched his tent under the shadow of Shurtleff College. His aim was always to excel. He had absorbed every thing that had come within his reach, and now he had placed himself where he could rub against "*College men.*"

Some men have to study a great deal to get a very little; they lack the power of mental absorption, and, consequently, have to wade far out into the river of knowledge in order to feel the benefits of the invigorating waters. Not so with Anderson; he was an indefatigable student. He was always willing to be taught by any person who was able to impart knowledge. Every new word that saluted his ear was forced into his service; never mechanically, but always in its proper place. If he learned a word to-day, to-morrow he would use it in its grammatical relation to a sentence. He had no time for vacation; no mental cessation, but it was one unceasing struggle for knowledge. And no doubt his approximate relation to Shurtleff College helped to

impart a certain healthy tone and solidity to his style as a writer and preacher which were ever strikingly manifest.

In a short time he moved out from Alton about twelve miles to the town of Woodburn, Madison County, where he remained for a year, during which time he taught school and preached occasionally. In 1845 he bought an eighty-acre farm on Wood River, about five miles from Alton. He moved his family on the farm, and began to make improvements. After the farm had been put in good working condition, it was not hard for Luther, the eldest child, to manage it. It might seem strange to the boys of to-day, who are dwarfed by cities and cramped by a false civilization, to know that Luther, a boy of fourteen, could follow the plow and swing the cradle. But, nevertheless, his father could trust most of the work of the farm to these young hands.

Duke William Anderson was a civilizer and a reformer. Wherever he placed his foot there were thrift and improvement. He never was satisfied with himself, or that which he did. He always felt when he had done a thing that he could have done it *better*. He never preached a sermon but what he felt that he ought to preach the next one *better*. In his great brain were the insatiable powers of civilization. He was prompt, rapid, decisive, and sagacious, working up to his ideal standard. It was not his object to simply improve and help himself; he was far from such selfishness. The basis of his reformatory and benevolent operations was as broad as humanity and as solid as granite. He never entered a community without the deep feeling that it should be made better, and never lived in one except his warm heart and willing hand went forth to minister to and sympathize with all who were in need.

He felt keenly the bitter prejudice which pervaded the community from which he had just moved, and was sensible of the weakness of the few free Colored citizens who lived in that portion of the State. Wood River was a healthy place to live; and the land was cheap and rich. He was not shut up to any selfish motives, but was planning for the good of his people. He knew that "in union there is strength," and if he could get a number of families to move on Wood River he could form a settlement, and thus bring the people together in religion and politics, in feeling and sentiment.

This plan was no idle dream. In due time he gave notice,

and offered inducements, to the people to come. And they came from every section ; and in a few years it had grown to be a large and prosperous settlement.

Duke William Anderson was the central figure in this community. His colossal form, his clear mind, and excellent judgment, placed him at the head of educational and religious matters. He was parson, schoolmaster, and justice. All questions of theology were submitted to his judgment, from which there was no appeal. All social and political feuds were placed before him, and his advice would heal the severest schisms and restore the most perfect harmony.

He now threw his great soul into the work of organization. He was filled with a grand idea. He felt that the purity and intelligence of the community depended upon their knowledge of the Bible and the preaching of the Gospel. It was a grand idea, though he had to work upon a small scale. It was this idea that made the Israelites victorious ; and Anderson was determined to impress upon this community this primal truth. He knew that in knowledge only is there safety, and in science alone can certainty be found. Before this idea every thing must bow, and around it were to cluster, not only the hopes of that little community, but the prayers of four million bondmen. He was confident that in God he would triumph, and in Him was his trust.

The work was begun in the family circle. One evening it would be at brother Anderson's house, and the next evening at another brother's house, and so on until the meetings had gone around the whole community. A deep work of grace was in progress. The whole community felt the pervading influence of the Spirit, and large results followed. Anderson was wrought upon powerfully. He felt to reconsecrate himself to the Master, and live a more faithful life. This feeling manifested itself in the lives of those who were professors of religion, and the ungodly were anxious about their salvation.

From a very few believers the company of the redeemed had largely increased. One house would not accommodate them, and it became necessary for them to hold their meetings outdoors. It became very evident that this company of believers ought to be organized into a church, and a pastor placed over them. Duke William Anderson was the man to do this work, and, seeing the necessity of it, he immediately organized a Baptist church.

He was a man who never desired to escape difficult duties—rather, he always was on hand when hard burdens were to be borne. He approached duty as something that, though at the time hard, brought peace in the end. He loved the approbation of conscience, and never sought to turn away from her teachings.

It is a task seldom, if ever, coveted by the ministers of to-day, to attempt the building of a church edifice, though wealth, art, and all modern facilities await their beck.

And one can easily imagine what a formidable task it must have been to attempt the building of a church thirty years ago. He organized a church out of those who had accepted the Gospel. And the next work was the building of a house of worship. He put his great hand to this work, and in a short time the house was completed and his people worshipping under their own vine and fig-tree.

The house was unique, spacious, and comfortable, all in keeping with the plain people and their unpretentious pastor.

There is a great deal in discipline, and Anderson knew it. Before the organization of his church the people had been placed under no discipline or charged with any special work. But now their leader began the work of church discipline and practical preaching. The feeling that every person was his own man, independent and free, under the preaching of Anderson, gave way to the feeling that they were members of one body, and Christ the head of that body. The unity of the church was preached with great earnestness, and followed by large results. It soon became evident that Duke William Anderson was no ordinary man, and his fame began to spread. He had sought no publicity, but in secret had toiled on in the path of duty.

During his labors in building a meeting-house and organizing a church he had relinquished his hold upon the school; but now as the church was erected and he had more time, he was against his will urged into the school-room again. In the school-room he was as faithful as he was in the pulpit. He sought, with marvellous earnestness, to do with all his might that which was committed to his hands; and all his labors were performed as if they were being performed for himself.

He was at this time pastor of a church, teacher of a school, and owner of an eighty acre farm. If he were going to slight any work, it would not be that of another, but his own. He

watched the growth of his little church with an apostolical eye, and nipped every false doctrine in the bud. His excellent knowledge of human nature facilitated his work in the church. He knew every man, woman, and child. He made himself familiar with their circumstances and wants, and always placed himself in complete sympathy with any and all of their circumstances. He consequently won the confidence, love, and esteem of his people. In his school he was watchful and patient. He studied character, and classified his pupils; and was thereby enabled to deal with each pupil as he knew their temperament demanded. Some children are tender, affectionate, and obedient; while others are coarse, ugly, and insubordinate. Some need only to have the wrong pointed out, while others need the rod to convince them of bad conduct. And happy is that teacher who does not attempt to open every child's heart with the same key, or punish each with the same rod.

If there is one quality more than another that the minister needs, it is downright earnestness—perfect sympathy with those to whom he preaches. What does it amount to if a man preach unless he feels what he preaches? Certainly no one can be moved or edified. But Anderson was not a cold, lifeless man. He loved to preach, though he felt a deep sense of unfitness. And it can be truly said of his little church, as was said of the early church: "And believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women."

It was seen by the prophetic eye of Anderson that an association would be the means of bringing the people together. Accordingly he went to work to organize an association that would take into its arms all the feeble communities or churches that had no pastor. In due time all arrangements were perfected, and a call issued for the neighboring churches to send their pastor and two delegates to sit in council with the Salem Baptist Church on Wood River, to consider the propriety of calling into existence such an organization. After the usual preliminary services, Rev. D. W. Anderson stated the object of the meeting, and urged the immediate action of the council in the matter. After the usual amount of debate incident to such an occasion, the proper steps were taken for the organization of an association to be called the "*Wood River Baptist Association*," with Rev. Duke W. Anderson as its first Moderator, to meet on Wood River annually. What a triumph! that day was the proudest of

his life! He had spoken to the poor disheartened Baptists for fifty miles around, who were cold and indifferent to the Master's cause: "Awake! and stand upon your feet! Come with me to help the Lord against the mighty! Let us organize for the conflict. There is much to do; so, let us be about our Master's work." The call sent forth breathed new life into the people, and was the signal for united effort in the cause of the Lord.

It was not enough that an association was formed, it was not enough that a few churches were represented in that association; but it must do definite work. It must organize where organization was needed; it must send out missionaries into the destitute places, and give the Gospel to the poor. Thus Anderson reasoned; and the association heard him. Gradually the Wood River Association grew and extended its workings throughout the entire State of Illinois.

It was evident that the associational gatherings were growing so large that it was impossible to accommodate them. He advised the people to build quarters sufficient to accommodate all. Accordingly two or three rows of small houses were erected for the people to live in each year during the time the association was in session. People now came yearly from every part of the State. The great distances did not detain them. Like the Jews who returned to Jerusalem every year to attend the feast, they were glad when the time came to rest from their accustomed duties and journey toward Wood River. It was a delightful gathering. Brother ministers met and compared notes; while young men and maidens gently ministered at the tables, and led the prayer-meetings.

They enjoyed those meetings. There were no conventionalities or forms to check the spirit of Christian love. There was perfect liberty. There were no strangers; for they were the children of one common father. They were as one family, and had all things in common. The utmost order and harmony characterized their gatherings. Not a cross word escaped a single lip. Not a rude act, on the part of the boys, could be seen. Boys, in those days, had the profoundest respect for their seniors, and held a minister of the Gospel in all the simplicity of a boy's esteem.

In the morning of the first day of their meeting the association was called to order by the "*Modcrator*," and opened with prayer and a hymn. Then, after the usual business, a sermon

was preached. In the afternoon a doctrinal sermon was preached and discussed ; and in the evening a missionary sermon was delivered.

Like the Apostle Paul he could say to the ministers of his day, that he had labored more abundantly than they all. He worked with his hands and preached the Gospel, esteeming it an honor. The church over which he presided had grown to one hundred and fifty active members, besides a large and attentive congregation. This church had been gathered through his incomparable assiduity. He had come into their midst with a heart glowing with the love of God. He had shown himself an excellent farmer, faithful teacher, and consistent Christian. He had led one hundred and fifty souls to Christ. That was not all. In the pulpit he had taught them the fundamental principles of Christianity, and demonstrated those principles in his daily life. His royal manhood towered high over the community, until he became to the whole people a perfect measure of every thing that is lovely and of good report.

He had every thing just as he could wish. He was proprietor of an eighty-acre farm, pastor of a flourishing church, school-master of the community, enthroned in the affections of the people for whose well-being he had worked for seven years,—he might have remained the unrivalled and undisputed king of Woodburn community. But considerations rising high above his mere personal interests, led him to make a great sacrifice in selling his farm, severing his relation as pastor and teacher with a people whom he loved dearly, and who regarded him with a sort of superstitious reverence. The object of the change was that he might move to Quincy, Ill., where he might give his children a thorough education. He secured a scholarship in Knox College for his eldest son, Luther Morgan Anderson, and permission for him to attend. He put his son George W., and daughter, Elizabeth Anderson, to study in the Missionary Institute near Quincy. He now gave his time to farming, preaching, missionary service, and underground railroad work. His son, George W., says, concerning Missionary Institute : "At Missionary Institute the atmosphere was more mild, but such was the continued pressure by the slave-holding border of Mo., offering large rewards for the heads of the Institution, as well for those who were known to be connected with the underground railroad, that the Institution after having done much good went down."

The years of his residence at Quincy were full of public excitement, peril, and strife. He was a spirited, progressive, and representative man. This was the time of the Illinois Prohibition Law, making it a criminal offence to aid or encourage a runaway slave. The slavery question was being sharply discussed in all quarters, and began to color and modify the politics of the day. Anderson was a sharp, ready, and formidable debater, and was the most prominent Colored man in that section of the country. He was gifted in the use of good English, had an easy flow of language, was master of the most galling satire, quick in repartee, prompt to see a weak point and use it to the best advantage. He was a pungent and racy writer, and for a number of years contributed many able articles to the "Quincy Whig." He never spared slavery. In the pulpit, in the public prints, and in private, he fought manfully against the nefarious traffic in human flesh.

Dangerous as was the position he took he felt himself on the side of truth, humanity, and God, and consequently felt that no harm could reach him. At this time, to the duties of farmer, pastor, and contributor he added the severe and perilous duty of a missionary. He canvassed the State, preaching and lecturing against slavery. Often he was confronted by a mob who defied him, bantered him, but he always spoke. He was in every sense the child of nature, endowed with herculean strength, very tall, with a face beaming with benevolence and intelligence. He appeared at his best when opposed, and was enabled by his commanding presence, his phenomenal voice, and burning eloquence to quiet and win the most obstreperous mob.

It was quite easy for a man to be carried away by the irresistible enthusiasm of the excited multitude, and think the rising of the animal spirits the impulses of his better nature. But, for a man to be moved from within, to feel the irresistible power of truth, to feel that except he obeys the voice of his better nature he is arraigned by conscience—though the whole world without is against him, such a man is a hero, deserving of the gratitude and praise of the world.

There were heroes in the days of Anderson, and he was worthy of the high place he held among them. He was possessed of genius of the highest order. He appreciated the times in which he lived. He was equal to the work of his generation, and did not shrink from any work howsoever perilous. He worked between the sluggish conservatism of the anti-slavery element on

the one hand, and the violent, mobocratic slave element on the other. Hence, the school of religious and political sentiment to which he belonged had few disciples and encountered many hardships. It was a desperate struggle between an ignorant, self-seeking majority and an intelligent, self-sacrificing minority. It often appears that vice has more votaries than virtue, that might is greater than right, and that wrong has the right of way. But in the light of reason, history, and philosophy, we see the divinity of truth and the mortality of error. We look down upon the great spiritual conflict going on in this world—in society and government,—and seeing the mutations of fortune we think we see truth worsted, and sound the funeral requiem of our fondest hopes, our most cherished ideals.

But the mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly fine. Time rewards the virtuous and patient. It was faith in God, united with a superior hope, that gave him strength in the darkest hours of the "irrepressible conflict."

He was a faithful and indefatigable worker; and the State Missionary Society honored him by thrice choosing him as State Missionary. About this time he became an active member of the "Underground Railroad." His presence, bearing, and high character carried conviction. He made men feel his superiority. He was, consequently, a safe counsellor and a successful manager. He was soon elevated to an official position, which he filled with honor and satisfaction. Many slaves were helped to their freedom by his efforts and advice. He was bold, yet discreet; wise without pedantry; humble without religious affectation; firm without harshness; kind without weakness.

The conflict between slavery and freedom grew hotter and hotter; and the spirit of intolerance became more general. Anderson had proven himself an able defender of human freedom and a formidable enemy to slavery. But it *seemed* as if his efforts in the great aggregate of good were unavailing. His high hopes of educating his children were blasted in the burning of Missionary Institute by a mob from Missouri. It was evident that the slave power would leave no stone unturned in order to accomplish their cowardly and inhuman designs. It was not enough to destroy the only school where all races could be educated together, to disturb the meetings of the few anti-slavery men who dared to discuss a question that they believed involved the golden rule and hence the well-being of the oppressed,—they put

a price on his head. He was to be hung to the first tree if caught upon the sacred soil of Missouri. He was secretly, though closely watched. One of his sons writes: "He took a deep interest in the Underground Railroad in connection with a Mr. Turner and Vandorn of Quincy, and a Mr. Hunter and Payne of Missionary Institute. These gentlemen, I believe, with the exception of Mr. Payne, are alive and extensively known in the North."

He was not lacking in the qualities of moral or physical bravery. He could not be bought or bullied. He was unmovable when he felt he was right. The bitterest assaults of his enemies only drove him nearer his ideas, not from them. He might have lived and died in Quincy if he had not greatly desired the education of his children, who were denied such privileges in the destruction of the institute.

At this time intelligent, to say nothing of educated, ministers were few and far between. St. Louis was blessed with an excellent minister in the person of the Rev. Richard Anderson. He was a man of some education, fine manners, good judgment, and deep piety; beloved and respected by all classes both in and out of the church, white and black. The Rev. Galusha Anderson, D.D., who pronounced the funeral sermon over the remains of Richard Anderson, says he had the largest funeral St. Louis ever witnessed. His servant, who had been an attendant upon the ministrations of Richard Anderson, said mournfully, when asked by the doctor if they missed him: "Ah, sir, he led us as by a spider web!" Richard Anderson saw Duke William Anderson and loved him. He saw in the young man high traits of character, and in his rare gifts auguries of a splendid career. He saw the danger he lived in, the hopeless condition of public sentiment, and advised him to accept the pastoral charge of the Baptist church in Buffalo, N. Y., where also he could educate his children.

Buffalo was an anti-slavery stronghold. The late Gerrit Smith was chief of the party in that section of New York. By his vast wealth, his high personal character, his deeply-rooted convictions, his wide-spread and consistent opposition to slavery, he was the most conspicuous character in the State, and made many converts to the anti-slavery cause. Buffalo was the centre of anti-slavery operations. Many conventions and conferences were held there. It was only twenty-four miles to the Canadian bound-

aries, hence it was the last and most convenient station of the U. G. R. R.

It was now about 1854-1855. The anti-slavery sentiment was a recognized and felt power in the politics of the Nation. Anderson appeared in Buffalo just in time to participate in the debates that were rendering that city important. He took the pastoral charge of the Baptist church and high standing as a leader. He remained here quite two years or more, during which time he used the pulpit and the press as the vehicles of his invectives against slavery. He did not have to go to men, they went to him. He was a great moral magnet, and attracted the best men of the city. The white clergy recognized in him the qualities of a preacher and leader worthy of their admiration and recognition. The Rev. Charles Dennison and other white brethren invited him to their pulpits, where he displayed preaching ability worthy of the intelligent audiences that listened to his eloquent discourses.

His stay in Buffalo was salutary. By his industry and usefulness he became widely known and highly respected. And when he accepted a call from the Groghan Street Baptist Church, of Detroit, Michigan, his Buffalo friends were conscious that in his departure from them they sustained a very great loss.

It was now the latter part of 1857. The anti-slavery conflict was at its zenith. This controversy, as do all moral controversies, had brought forth many able men; had furnished abundant material for satire and rhetoric. This era presented a large and brilliant galaxy of Colored orators. There were Frederick Douglass—confessedly the historic Negro of America,—Charles L. Remond, Charles L. Reason, William Wells Brown, Henry Highland Garnett, Martin R. Delany, James W. C. Pennington, Robert Purvis, Phillip A. Bell, Charles B. Ray, George T. Downing, George B. Vashon, William C. Nell, Samuel A. Neale, William Whipper, Ebenezer D. Bassett, William Howard Day, William Still, Jermain W. Loguen, Leonard A. Grimes, John Sella Martin, and many others. Duke William Anderson belonged to the same school of orators.

The church at Detroit had been under the pastoral charge of the Rev. William Troy, who had accepted the pulpit of the Baptist church in Windsor, Canada West, and started to England to solicit funds to complete a beautiful edifice already in process

of erection. At this time John Sella Martin had obtained considerable notoriety as an orator. He had canvassed the Western States in the interest of the anti-slavery cause, and was now residing in Detroit. He was baptized and ordained by Brethren Anderson and Troy, and took charge of the church at Buffalo.

Detroit lies in a salubrious atmosphere, upon Detroit River, not far from Lake Erie ; and at this time was not lacking in a high social and moral atmosphere. The field was the most congenial he had yet labored in. He found an excellent church-membership, an intelligent and progressive people. He was heartily welcomed and highly appreciated. He entered into the work with zeal, and imparted an enthusiasm to the people. He developed new elements of strength in the church. He attracted a large, cultivated audience, and held them to the last day he remained in the city. His audience was not exclusively Colored : some of the best white families were regular attendants upon his preaching ; and they contributed liberally to his support. Detroit had never seen the peer of Duke William Anderson in the pulpit. He did not simply attract large congregations on the Sabbath, but had a warm place in the affections of all classes, and a personal moral influence, which added much to the spirituality of the church. In every church, thus far, he had been blessed with a revival of religion, and souls had been added as "seals to his ministry." Detroit was no exception to the rule. Under his leadership, through his preaching and pastoral visitations the church was aroused, and the result a revival. Many were added to the church.

It was now the spring of 1858. John Brown, the proto-martyr of freedom, by his heroism, daring, intrepid perseverance, inspired,—swallowed with one great idea, had stirred all Kansas and Missouri to fear, and carried off eleven slaves to Canada and set them free. He had established his headquarters at Chatham, Canada West, and begun the work of organization preparatory to striking the blow at Harper's Ferry. Brown held his first convention at Chatham—only a few hours' ride from Detroit—on May 8, 1858, at 10 o'clock A.M. The convention was composed of some very able men. The following-named gentlemen composed the convention : Wm. Charles Monroe, President of the Convention ; G. J. Reynolds, J. C. Grant, A. J. Smith, James M. Jones, Geo. B. Gill, M. F. Bailey, Wm. Lambert, C. W. Moffitt, John J. Jackson, J. Anderson, Alfred Whipple, James M. Bue,

Wm. H. Leeman, Alfred M. Ellsworth, John E. Cook, Stewart Taylor, James W. Purnell, Geo. Akin, Stephen Detlin, Thomas Dickinson, John Cannet, Robinson Alexander, Richard Realf, Thomas F. Cary, Thomas W. Stringer, Richard Richardson, J. T. Parsons, Thos. M. Kinnard, Martin R. Delany, Robert Vankin, Charles H. Tidd, John A. Thomas, C. Whipple, J. D. Shad, Robert Newman, Owen Brown, John Brown, J. H. Harris, Charles Smith, Simon Fislin, Isaac Hotley, James Smith. Signed, J. H. Kagi. The following is the list of officers elected :

Commander-in-chief, John Brown ; Secretary of War, J. H. Kagi ; Members of Congress, Alfred M. Ellsworth, Osborn Anderson ; Treasurer, Owen Brown ; Secretary of Treasury, Geo. B. Gill ; Secretary of State, Richard Realf.

The reader will see that two Andersons are mentioned, J. Anderson and Osborn Anderson. [Who these gentlemen are, the author does not know, nor has he any means of knowing.]

Rev. D. W. Anderson's ministry in Detroit was a success both in and out of the pulpit, both among his parishioners and among those of the world.

His wife was in every sense a pastor's wife. She bore for him the largest sympathy in his work ; and cheered him with her prayers and presence in every good cause. She was intelligent and pious, loved by the church, honored by society. She found pleasure in visiting the sick, helping the poor, comforting the sorrowful, and in instructing the erring in ways of peace.

It is almost impossible to compute the value of a pastor's wife who appreciates the work of saving souls. If she is a good woman her influence is unbounded. Every person loves her, every person looks up to her. There are so many little things that she can do, if not beyond the province of the pastor, often out of range of his influence. Mrs. Anderson was all that could be hoped as a pastor's wife. She was of medium size, in complexion light, rather reserved in her manners, affable in address, very sensitive in her physical and mental constitution. Much of Anderson's service in Detroit must go to the account of his sainted wife. And it may not be irrelevant to remark that every minister of Christ's influence and success is perceptibly modified by his wife—much depends upon her !

Eighteen years of happy wedded life had passed. It was the autumn of 1860. Mrs. Anderson's health was failing. Her presence was missed from the church, from society, and at last on the 23d of October, 1860, she died.

On the 18th of March, 1861, he married again, Mrs. Eliza Julia Shad, of Chatham, Canada. He turned his attention to farming for a while, in order to regain his health.

At the close of the war he went South and taught in a theological institution at Nashville. Soon after he began his work here he received and accepted a call from the 19th Street Baptist Church of Washington, D. C. Washington was in a vile condition at the close of the war. Its streets were mud holes; its inhabitants crowded and jammed by the troops and curious Negroes from the plantations. Society was in a critical condition. There was great need of a leader for the Colored people. D. W. Anderson was that man. He entered upon his work with zeal and intelligence. He carried into the pulpit rare abilities, and into the parish work a genial, kindly nature which early gave him a place in the affections and confidence of his flock.

As a preacher he was a marvel. He generally selected his text early in the week. He studied its exegesis, made the plan of the sermon, and then began to choose his illustrations and fill in. On Sunday he would rise in his pulpit, a man six feet two and a half inches, and in a rich, clear, deliberate voice commence an extemporaneous discourse. His presence was majestic. With a massive head, much like that of John Adams, a strong brown eye that flashed as he moved on in his discourse, a voice sweet and well modulated, but at times rising to tones of thunder, graceful, ornate, forcible, and dramatic, he was the peer of any clergyman in Washington, and of Negroes there were none his equal.

He showed himself a power in the social life of his people by being himself a living epistle. He encouraged the young, and set every one who knew him an example of fidelity and efficiency in the smaller matters of life.

His early experiences were now in demand. The entire community recognized in him the elements of magnificent leadership. He was in great demand in every direction. He was elected a Trustee of the Howard University, of the Freedman's Saving Bank and Trust Company, Commissioner of Washington Asylum, Sept. 3d, 1871, and Justice of the Peace, 8th of April, 1869, and 9th of April, 1872. The vast amount of work he did on the outside did not impair his usefulness as a pastor or his faithfulness as a minister of the Gospel. On the contrary he gathered ammunition and experience from every direction. He

made every thing help him in his preparation for the pulpit. His deep spiritual life, his nearness to the Master gave him power with men. No winter passed without a revival of grace and the conversion of scores of sinners. Thus the work continued until the house was both too small and unsafe. Plans were drawn and steps taken to build a new church edifice.

On the first Sunday in March, 1871, the old house of worship, on the corner of Nineteenth and I streets was abandoned, and the congregation went to worship in the Stevens School building. The corner-stone of the new building was laid on the 5th of April, 1871, and the new edifice dedicated on the 19th of November, 1871, five months after the work had begun. The dedicatory exercises were as follows:

At eleven o'clock precisely, Rev. D. W. Anderson, pastor in charge, announced that the hour for the religious exercises to commence had arrived, and he took pleasure in introducing his predecessor, Rev. Samuel W. Madden, of Alexandria, Va., who gave out the 934th hymn, which was sung with considerable fervor and spirit, the entire congregation rising and participating; after which, Rev. Jas. A. Handy, read from the 6th chapter, 2d Chronicles, and also addressed the throne of grace.

"Lift up your heads, ye eternal gates" was admirably rendered by the choir, when the following letter was read from the President:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, Nov. 18, 1871. }

"To Rev. D. W. ANDERSON, No. 1971 I Street,

"SIR: The President directs me to say that your note of the 8th inst., inviting him to be present at the dedication of your church, was mislaid during his absence from the city, and was not brought to his notice till to-day. He regrets that his engagements will not admit of his attendance at the time you mention. He congratulates your congregation upon the completion of so handsome a place of worship, and hopes that its dedication may prove an occasion of deep interest to all who share in a desire to promote the spread of the Christian religion.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"HORACE PORTER, *Secretary.*"

Rev. Henry Williams, of Petersburg, Va., who was announced to preach the dedicatory sermon, selected the following words: "And he was afraid, and said: How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven."

Prominent among those present who had been invited by Rev. Mr. Anderson, were His Excellency Governor H. D. Cooke, Hon. N. P. Chipman, Delegate to Congress; A. L. Sturtevant, Esq., Chief of Stationery Bureau, Treasury Department; Ed. Young, Esq., Chief of the Bureau of Statistics; Hon. A. K. Browne, Col. Wm. A. Cook, Dr. A. T. Augusta, and Wm. H. Thompson, Esq., of Philadelphia. While, seated around the altar, were Rev. Leonard A. Grimes, of Boston; Rev. Samuel W. Madden, of Alexandria, Va.; Rev. Geo. W. Goins, of Philadelphia; Rev. Jas. A. Handy, Washington; and Rev. Wm. Troy, Richmond, Va. At three o'clock, Rev. Leonard A. Grimes officiated and delivered an eloquent sermon.

A work of grace followed the dedication of the church; and from month to month souls were converted. On the 21st of January, 1873, he wrote the following letter to a Baptist minister residing in Chicago:

"1921 I Street, WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 21, 1873.

"REV. R. DEBAPTIST:

"DEAR BROTHER: I write to inform you of a wonderful outpouring of the Spirit of God in the 19th Street Baptist Church of which I am pastor. Without any especial effort, up to the last few days, there have been one to five converted every month, for the past seven years, in the congregation. This led too many to think that that was enough. At our watch-meeting I asked how many there were who would come to the front pews and kneel before God as a token to Christians to pray for them, and ten came. We had no other meeting until my weekly lecture, the first Thursday night in January after it. I saw a great feeling and called again; and there came twenty-two. The brethren and sisters decided to hold meeting the next night, and there came thirty-two who were converted. Now, at this date, Monday night, 20th, there came forward 'ninety-seven'; and there were over a hundred on their knees praying. Twenty-two found peace in believing last night.

"We are all well. Pray for us. Write soon.

"Yours ever,

"D. W. ANDERSON."

He was taken sick on the 7th of February, 1873, and after a painful illness of eleven days, he fell asleep on the 17th of February, full of years and honors, and was gathered to the fathers. On the Monday evening, just before he died, he told his wife, daughter, and a small company of friends who surrounded his death-bed: "It's all well," and then, at 7:30 P.M., quietly "fell on sleep."

The news of his death cast gloom into thousands of hearts, and evoked eulogies and letters of condolence never before bestowed upon a Negro. His death was to the members of his church in the nature of a personal bereavement. The various interests to which he had loaned the enlightening influence of his judgment and the beneficence of his presence mourned his loss, and expressed their grief in appropriate resolutions. His life and character formed a fitting theme for the leading pulpits; and the Baptist denomination, the Negro race, and the nation sincerely mourned the loss of a great preacher, an able leader, and a pure patriot.

At the request of many people of both races and political parties, his body was placed in state in the church for twenty-four hours, and thousands of people, rich and poor, black and white, sorrowfully gazed upon the face of the illustrious dead. The funeral services were held on the 20th of February, and his obsequies were the largest Washington had ever seen, except those of the late Abraham Lincoln. The church was crowded to suffocation, and the streets for many squares were filled with solemn mourners. Thus a great man had fallen. The officers of the Freedman's Bank passed the following resolutions, which were forwarded with the accompanying letter from the president :

"OFFICE OF THE FREEDMAN'S SAVINGS AND TRUST }
"COMPANY, WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 20th, 1873. }

"At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, held this date, the following resolutions were adopted :

"1st. *Resolved*, That in the death of the Rev. D. W. Anderson, Trustee and Vice-President of this Company, we sustain the loss of a most excellent Christian man, and an officer of highest integrity. In all his relations to us he was an endeared associate, and an honored, intelligent, co-worker: ever firm in purpose and faithful to those for whom he labored. Our long intercourse with him impressed us with the increasing value of his services to the church of which he was pastor, and to *this institution*.

"We also hereby express our sincere sympathy with his immediate friends, and especially his afflicted family.

"2d. *Resolved*, That, as an added expression of our esteem, this Board will attend and take part in his funeral services, *as a body*.

"3d. *Resolved*, That these resolutions be spread upon our Records, and that a copy of the same be transmitted to his family."

" PRINCIPAL OFFICE,
" FREEDMAN'S SAVINGS AND TRUST COMPANY, }
" WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 21, '73. }

" To Mrs. D. W. ANDERSON.

" *My Dear Sister* : Allow me to transmit to you the enclosed copy of resolutions passed by the Board of Trustees of the F. S. and T. Comp., *with* the sincerest assurances of my *personal* sympathy.

" Very respectfully, yours, etc.,

" I. W. ALVORD, *President*."

The Board of the Commissioners of the Washington Asylum passed the following resolutions of condolence :

" WHEREAS, it has pleased Divine Providence to remove from this life the Rev. D. W. Anderson, late President of this Board : therefore,

" *Be it resolved*, That in his death we have lost an honorable and faithful associate, a genial and kind-hearted friend, whom we delighted to honor and respect for his many virtues and sterling worth. In him the poor have lost a sympathizing friend ; the criminal an even dispenser of Justice, and the Government one of its most efficient officers.

" *Resolved*, That we tender our most sincere sympathy to his bereaved family, and condole with them in this sad dispensation of Divine Providence.

" *Resolved*, That the resolutions be entered upon the Journal of proceedings of this Board, and a copy sent to the family of the lamented deceased.

" A. B. BOHRER,

" *Sec. B. C. W. Asylum*.

" Mrs. D. W. ANDERSON,

" Present."

The Young People's Christian Association, which he had founded, have spread the following resolutions of respect upon their minutes :

" *Whereas*, It has pleased the Supreme Ruler and Architect of the Universe to remove from our Association our beloved and estimable brother and Corresponding Secretary D. W. Anderson, whose Christian life was a beacon light, for all associated with him to follow, being humble, patient, forbearing, and forgiving, Therefore,

" *Resolved*, That in his death we have lost an humble and true Christian, possessing the same prominent characteristics which distinguished the Saviour of Mankind, doing good whenever he believed he was serving his Heavenly Master, administering to the poor, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, binding up the wounds of those of-

fended, and laboring zealously for the salvation of souls, but while we feel the severe stroke of death that has stricken down one of our best members, we bow humbly to the will of Divine Providence, 'who doeth all things well,' believing that He has summoned our brother to dwell with Him in peace and happiness and to join the Army that is continually singing praises to Him who rules both the Heavens and the earth, so we cheerfully bow and acknowledge that our loss is his eternal gain.

"*Resolved*, That we tender to his bereaved family our sincere and Christian sympathy in this their hour of bereavement, and pray that He who has promised to be a Husband to the Widow, and a Father to the Fatherless, may keep and protect them.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be engrossed and sent to the family of our deceased brother, and that the same be entered upon the records of the Association."

And the church testified their love and sorrow in the following beautiful resolves :

"BAPTIST CHURCH,

"CORNER OF 19TH & I STREETS,

"WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 28, 1873.

"*Whereas*, It has pleased the Almighty God, the Supreme Ruler of the universe to remove from us our much esteemed and beloved Pastor,

"REVEREND D. W. ANDERSON,

"therefore, be it,

"*Resolved*, That we deeply deplore and lament the loss of so great and noble a pioneer in the cause of Christ, one who, like Christ, although scorned, traduced and ill-treated by enemies, went forward and labored in and out of his church for the promotion of the work of his Father in Heaven.

"*Resolved*, that as a Church we feel the severe stroke that has summoned from us our dearly beloved Pastor ; but knowing that our loss is his eternal gain, we cheerfully submit to the will and order of that God who does all things well, that God who controls the destinies of nations, kingdoms, and empires, that God who 'moves in mysterious ways his wonders to perform.'

"*Resolved*, That we will endeavor by the assistance of our heavenly Master to live up to the teachings and examples set by our shepherd, thereby believing that when we are summoned to appear at the bar of God we will meet our Pastor in that grand Church above where 'sickness, pain, sorrow, or death is feared and felt no more,' 'where congregations ne'er break up, and Sabbath hath no end,' where 'we will sing hosannas to our heavenly King, where we will meet to part no more forever.'

"*Resolved*, That we, the Church, extend to the bereaved family our heartfelt sympathies, and that a copy of these resolutions be sent to them, and also entered on the Church journal.

"LINDSEY MUSE, *Moderator*.

"DAVID WARNER, *Clerk*."

The Mite Society of his church erected a monument to his memory in *Harmony Cemetery*, bearing the following inscriptions:

"The Christian Mite Society of the 19th Street Baptist Church render this tribute to the memory of their beloved pastor. We shall go to him, but he shall not return to us.

"Rev. D. W. ANDERSON,

"Born April 10th, 1812.

Died Feb. 17th, 1873.

"'I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do.'

"He was ordained in 1844, and after a ministry of 21 years settled with the 19th Street Baptist Church of Washington, D. C., where he fell asleep in the midst of a great revival.

"For the cause of education, the welfare of the poor, the promotion of humanity, liberty, and the conversion of the world.

"He labored faithfully until the Master called him hence."

This beautiful life was studded with the noblest virtues. From obscurity and poverty Duke William Anderson had risen to fame and honors; and having spent a useful life, died in the midst of a great revival in the capital of the nation, holding more positions of trust than any other man, white or black; died with harness on, and left a name whose lustre will survive the corroding touch of time.

The Rev. James Poindexter, of Columbus, Ohio, and the Rev. Wallace Shelton, of Cincinnati, are now and have been for years the foremost Baptist ministers of Ohio. Both men came to Ohio more than a generation ago, and have proven themselves able ministers of Christ.

But of New England Baptist ministers Leonard Andrew Grimes is of most blessed memory.

It was some time during the year 1840, when disputings arose—about what is not known—within the membership of what was known as the "First Independent Baptist Church," of Boston, Mass., which resulted in the drawing out from the same of about forty members. This party was led by the Rev. Mr. Black, who had been, for some time, pastor of the church he now left. They

secured a place of worship in Smith Court, off of Joy Street, where they continued for a considerable space of time. It was not long, however, after they began to worship in their new home, before their highly esteemed and venerable leader was stricken down with disease, from which he subsequently died.

This little band was now without a leader, and was, consequently, speedily rent by a schism within its own circle. But in the nucleus that finally became the Twelfth Baptist Church, there were faithful men and women who believed in the integrity of their cause, and, therefore, stood firm. They believed that "He who was for them was greater than all they who were against them." Though few in number, they felt that "one shall chase a thousand, and two shall put ten thousand to flight," was a very pertinent passage when applied to themselves. And those who have been blessed to see that little "company of believers" grow to be an exceedingly large and prosperous church of Christ must be persuaded that God alone gave "the increase."

For a long time this little company struggled on without a leader. They were called upon to walk through many discouraging scenes, and to humble themselves under the remorseless hand of poverty. Unable to secure, permanently, the services of a clergyman, they were driven to the necessity of obtaining whomsoever they could when the Sabbath came. And what a blessed thing it was for them that they were placed under the severe discipline of want! It taught them humility and faith—lessons often so hard to acquire. They bore their trials heroically, and esteemed it great joy to be counted worthy to suffer for Christ. When one Sabbath was ended they knew not whom the Lord would send the next; and yet they never suffered for the "Word of God." For He who careth for the lilies of the field, and bears up the falling sparrow, fed them with the "bread of life," and gave them to drink of the waters of salvation. "Unto the poor the Gospel was preached."

After a few years of pain and waiting, after the watching and praying, the hoping and fearing, God seemed pleased to hear the prayers of this lonely band, and gave them a leader. It was whispered in the community that a very intelligent and useful man, by the name of "Grimes," of New Bedford, could be retained as their leader. After some deliberation upon the matter, they chose one of their number to pay a visit to "Brother Leonard

A. Grimes, of New Bedford," and on behalf of the company worshipping in "an upper room," on Belknap Street—now Joy Street—Boston, extended him an invitation to come and spend a Sabbath with them. In accordance with their request he paid them a visit. Impressed with the dignity of his bearing, and the earnestness of his manner, the company was unanimous in an invitation, inviting "the young preacher" to return and remain with them for "three months."

The invitation was accepted with alacrity, and the work begun with a zeal worthy of the subsequent life of "the beloved pastor of the Twelfth Baptist Church." Brother L. A. Grimes had been driven North on account of his friendly and humane relations to the oppressed. He had been incarcerated by the laws of slave-holding Virginia, for wresting from her hand, and piloting into the land of freedom, those whom slavery had marked as her children—or, rather, her "*goods*." A soul like his was too grand to live in such an atmosphere. In keeping the golden rule, he had insulted the laws of the institution under whose merciless sway thousands of human beings were groaning. He would live no longer where his convictions of duty were to be subordinated to, and palliated by, the penurious and cruel teaching of the slave institution. So, after having been robbed of his property, he left, in company with his family, for the fair shores of New England. He had sought no distinction, but had settled down to a quiet life in New Bedford. But a man of his worth could not stay in the quiet walks of life; he was born to lead, and heard God call him to the work his soul loved.

His quiet, unpretentious ministry of "three months" shadowed forth the loving, gentle, yet vigorous and successful ministry of a quarter of a century; a ministry so like the Master's, not confined to sect or nationality, limited only by the wants of humanity and the great heart-love that went gushing out to friend and foe. Those who were so happy as to sit under his ministry for the "three months" were quite unwilling to be separated from one whose ministry had so greatly comforted and built them up. In the young preacher they had found a leader of excellent judgment, a pastor of tender sympathies, and a father who loved them with all the strength of true manly affection. How could they retain him? They were poor. How could they release him? They loved him. After much prayer and pleading, Brother Grimes was secured as their leader, with a salary at the rate of \$100 per

annum. He returned to New Bedford and moved his family to Boston. His salary barely paid his rent; but by working with his hands, as Paul did, and through the industry of his wife, he was enabled to get along.

During all this time this little company of believers was without "church organization." At length a council was called and their prayer for organization presented. After the procedure common to such councils, it was voted that this company of Christian men and women be organized as the "Twelfth Baptist Church." The church consisted of twenty-three members.

On the evening of the 24th of November, 1848, occurred the services of the recognition of the church, and the ordination of Rev. L. A. Grimes as its pastor. The order of exercises was as follows:

Reading of Scriptures and prayer, by the Rev. Edmund Kelley; sermon, by the Rev. J. Banvard, subject: "The way of salvation," from Acts xvi, 17: "The same followed Paul and us, and cried, saying, These men are the servants of the most high God, which show unto us the way of salvation"; hand of fellowship to the church, by the Rev. T. F. Caldicott; prayer of recognition and ordination, by the Rev. John Blain; charge to the candidate, by the Rev. Nathaniel Colver; address to the church, by the Rev. Rollin H. Neale; concluding prayer, by the Rev. Sereno Howe; benediction, by the pastor, Rev. Leonard A. Grimes.

The exercises were of a very pleasant nature, and of great interest to the humble little church that assembled to enjoy them. It was an occasion of no small moment that published to the world the "Twelfth Baptist Church," and sent upon a mission of love and mercy, Leonard Andrew Grimes! It was an occasion that has brought great strength to the Colored people of Boston, yea, of the country! It was the opening of a door; it was the loosening of chains, the beginning of a ministry that was to stretch over a period of twenty-five years, carrying peace and blessing to men in every station. And may we not, with propriety, halt upon the threshold of our gratitude, and thank that wise Being who gave him, a blessing to the church a friend to humanity?

Happy, thrice happy, was the little church that had wedded itself for life to one who had laid himself upon the altar of their common cause. These relations and manifold responsibilities

were not hastily or rashly assumed. The little church felt keenly its poverty and weakness, while its new pastor knew that the road to prosperity lay through fields of toil and up heights of difficulty. Before him was no dark future, for the light of an extraordinary faith scattered the darkness as he advanced to duty. What man of intelligence, without capital or social influence, would have undertaken so discouraging a project as that to which Leonard A. Grimes unconditionally brought the sanctified zeal of a loving heart? To him it was purely a matter of duty, and it was this thought that urged him on with his almost superhuman burdens.

But to return to the "upper chamber," and take one more look at the happy little church. It was not the pastor's object to begin at once to perfect plans to secure a place more desirable to worship in than their present little room. His heart longed for that enlargement of soul secured by a nearness to the divine Master. His heart yearned after those who were enemies to the "*cross of Christ*." His first prayer was: "O Lord, revive thy work!" and it was not offered in vain. A season of prayer was instituted for the outpouring of the Spirit. The pastor led the way to the throne of grace in a fervent and all-embracing prayer. A spirit of prayer fell upon his people. Every heart trembled in tenderest sympathy for those who were strangers to the "covenant of mercy"; every eye was dampened with tears of gratitude and love; every tongue was ready to exclaim with Watts:—

" 'T was the same love that spread the feast,
That sweetly forced us in;
Else we had still refused to taste,
And perished in our sin."

The church had reached that point in feeling where the blessing is sure. They heard the coming of the chariot, and felt the saving power of the Lord in their midst. It was a glorious revival. There were more converted than there were members in the church. Oh, what joy, what peace, what comfort in the Holy Ghost was there in that "upper chamber"! What tongue or pen can describe the scene in that room when over thirty souls were gathered into the fold! A pastor's *first* revival! What rejoicing! The gathering of his first children in the Lord! Ask Paul what conscious pride he took in those who were his "epistles," his "fruit in the Gospel," his "children" in Christ

Jesus. It lifted Brother Grimes up to the heights of Pisgah in his rejoicing, and laid him low at the cross in his humility. "The Lord had done great things for him, whereof he was glad"; And they "did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favor with all the people. And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved."

The rooms in which they began now proved too small for their rapidly increasing membership. They agreed to have a building of their own. It was now the latter part of 1848. The business eye of the pastor fell upon a lot on Southac Street; and in the early part of 1849 the trustees purchased it. Preparations for building were at once begun. It seemed a large undertaking for a body of Christians so humble in circumstances, so weak in numbers. But faith and works were the *genii* that turned the tide of prosperity in their favor. They decided that the ground and edifice should not exceed in cost the sum of \$10,000. The society proposed to raise two or three thousand within its own membership; three thousand by loan, and solicit the remainder from the Christian public. Previous to this period the public knew little or nothing of this society. Brother Grimes had come to Boston almost an entire stranger, and had now to undertake the severe task of presenting the interests of a society so obscure and of so recent date. But he believed in his cause, and knew that success would come. He had known Dr. Neale in Washington City, during his early ministry; they were boys together. They met. It was a pleasant meeting. The Rev. Mr. Neale vouched for him before the public. It was not particularly necessary, for Brother Grimes carried a recommendation in his face: it was written all over with veracity and benevolence.

Joyfully and successfully he hurried on his mission. He made friends of the enemies of evangelical religion, and gathered a host of admirers around him. The public saw in him not only the zealous pastor of an humble little church, but the true friend of humanity. The public ear was secured; his prayer was answered in the munificent gifts that came in from every direction. Every person seemed anxious to contribute something to this noble object.

It was a beautiful morning! The sun never shone brighter, nor the air smelled sweeter or purer than on that memorable first day of August, 1850. The first persons to usher themselves into the street that morning were the happy members of the "*Twelfth*

Baptist Church." Every face told of the inward joy and peace of thankful hearts. Those who had toiled long through the days of the church's "small things," felt that their long-cherished hopes were beginning to bud.

Long before the appointed hour the members and friends of the church began to gather to participate in the "laying of the corner-stone of the Twelfth Baptist Church." It was a sweet, solemn occasion.

"Rev. Drs. Sharp, Neale and Colver, together with the pastor of the church, officiated on the occasion. The usual documents were deposited with the stone, and the customary proceedings gone through with, in a solemn and impressive manner."

The occasion lent an enthusiasm for the work hitherto unknown. They were emboldened. The future looked bright, and on every hand the times were propitious. Gradually the walls of the edifice grew heavenward, and the building began to take on a pleasing phase. At length the walls had reached their proper height, and the roof crowned all. Their sky was never brighter. It is true a "little speck of cloud" was seen in the distance; but they were as unsuspicious as children. The cloud approached gradually, and, as it approached, took on its terrible characteristics. It paused a while; it trembled. Then there was a death-like silence in the air, and in a moment it vomited forth its forked lightning, and rolled its thunder along the sky. It was the explosion of a Southern shell over a Northern camp, that was lighted by the torch of ambition in the hands of fallen Webster. It was the culmination of slave-holding Virginia's wrath. It was invading the virgin territory of liberty-loving Massachusetts. It was hunting the fugitive on free soil, and tearing him from the very embrace of sweet freedom.

When the time came to enlist Colored soldiers, Leonard A. Grimes was as untiring in his vigilance as any friend of the Fifty-fourth Regiment of Massachusetts volunteers, while the members of his church were either joining or aiding the regiment. So highly were the services of Brother Grimes prized that the chaplaincy of the regiment was not only tendered him, but urged upon him; but the multifarious duties of his calling forbade his going with the regiment he loved and revered.

The ladies of his congregation were busy with their needles, thus aiding the cause of the Union; and no church threw its doors open more readily to patriotic meetings than the Twelfth

Baptist Church. And during those dark days of the Union, when all seemed hopeless, when our armies were weak and small, the prayers of a faithful pastor and pious people ascended day and night, and did much to strengthen the doubting.

The fugitive-slave law and civil war had done much to weaken the church financially and numerically. Many who fled from the fugitive-slave law had not returned; the young men had entered the service of the country, while many others were absent from the city under various circumstances. But notwithstanding all these facts, God blessed the church—even in war times,—and many were converted.

The struggle was now ended. "The Boys in Blue" came home in triumph. The father separated from child, the husband from wife, could now meet again. Those who were driven before the wrath of an impious and cruel edict could now return to the fold without fear. What a happy occasion it was for the whole church! The reunion of a family long separated; the gathering of dispersed disciples. The occasion brought such an undistinguishable throng of fancies—such joy, such hope, such blessed fellowship—as no pen can describe.

At the commencement of the Rebellion the church numbered about 246; and at the close of the Rebellion it numbered about 300, notwithstanding the discouraging circumstances under which she labored. The revivals that followed brought many into the church, and the heart of the pastor was greatly encouraged.

At first it was thought that the entire cost of the land and building would not exceed \$10,000; but the whole cost, from the time they began to build until the close of the war, was \$14,044.09. In 1861 the indebtedness of the church was \$2,967.62; at the close of the war it was about \$2,000.

During all these years of financial struggle the church had ever paid her notes with promptness and without difficulty. And now that the war was over, freedom granted to the enslaved, and the public again breathing easy, the little church, not weary of well-doing, again began the work of removing the remaining debt. The public was sought only in the most extreme necessity. The ladies held sewing circles, and made with the needle fancy articles to be sold in a festival, while the members of the church were contributing articles of wearing apparel, or offering their services at the sale tables. The proceeds were given to the society to pay its debts; and it was no mean gift.

From 1865 to 1871 the church grew rapidly. Revivals were of frequent occurrence; and many from the South, learning of the good name of Rev. Mr. Grimes, sought his church when coming to Boston. But it was apparent that their once commodious home was now too small. The pastor saw this need, and began to take the proper steps to meet it. It was at length decided that the church should undergo repairs; and the pastor was armed with the proper papers to carry forward this work. The gallery that was situated in the east end of the church was used chiefly by the choir and an instrument. In making repairs it was thought wise to remove the organ from the gallery, and put in seats, and thereby accommodate a larger number of people. Then, the old pulpit took up a great deal of room, and by putting in a new pulpit of less dimensions, more room could be secured for pews. This was done, with the addition of a baptistry, the lack of which for nearly twenty-five years had driven them, in all kinds of weather, to Charles River. Every thing, from the basement up, underwent repairs. The pews were painted and furnished with book-racks. The floors were repaired, and covered with beautiful carpet; while the walls and ceilings were richly clothed with fresco, by the hands of skilful workmen. In the centre of the ceiling was an excellent ventilator, from which was suspended a very unique chandelier, with twelve beautiful globes, that were calculated to dispense their mellow light upon the worshippers below. But to crown all this expensive work and exceeding beauty thus bestowed upon the house, was the beautiful organ that adorned the southwest corner of the church, just to the pastor's right when in the pulpit. It was secured for the sum of two thousand five hundred dollars. All was accomplished. The old house of worship was now entirely refitted. No heart was happier than the pastor's the day the church was reopened.¹ The new and elegant organ sent forth its loud peals of music in obedience to the masterly touch of the "*faithful one*," who for more than twelve years was never absent from her post of duty, and whom none knew but to love and honor.

What supreme satisfaction there is in the accomplishment of a work that comprehends, not the interests of an individual, but the interests of the greatest number of human beings! The

¹ It was our good fortune to be present. We remember distinctly his happy face, his words of gratitude and thanks. And as we looked around every face wore an expression of complete satisfaction.

labors of Rev. Mr. Grimes were bestowed upon those whom he loved. He had toiled for his church as a father does to support his family. And no pastor, perhaps, was ever more paternal to his flock than Leonard A. Grimes. He was a man wondrously full of loving-kindness,—a lover of mankind.

It has been the rule rather than the exception, for a long time, for churches to carry heavy debts; and when a church is free from debt, it certainly furnishes a cause for great rejoicing. It was so with the Twelfth Baptist Church. For a long time—more than twenty years—the church had been before the public as an object of charity. For more than twenty years the people had struggled heroically amid all of the storms that gathered around them. Sometimes they expected to see "*the red flag*" upon their house of worship, but the flag was never raised.

The debts of the church had all been removed. The house was absolutely free from every encumbrance; the people owned their church.

But the little church of twenty-three had become the large church of six hundred. The once commodious house was now too small for the communicants of the church. The pastor began to look around for a place to build, and considered the matter of enlarging the present house of worship. He had expended the strength of his manhood in the service of his church; he had built one house, and had never denied the public his service. It would seem natural that a man whose life had been so stormy, yea, so full of toil and care, would seek in advanced age the rest and quiet so much desired at that stage of life. But it was not so with Brother Grimes. He was willing to begin another lifetime work, and with all the freshness of desire and energy of young manhood.

It was now the latter part of the winter of 1873. A revival had been for a long time, and was still, in progress. Converts were coming into the church rapidly. The heart of the pastor was never fuller of love than during the revival. He seemed to be in agony for sinners to be saved. He impatiently paced the aisles, and held private and personal interviews with the impenitent. He disliked to leave the church at the close of the services. He remained often in the vestibule, watching for an opportunity to say a word for the Saviour. Brother C. G. Swan, who preached for him once, said: "I never beheld a more heavenly face; it seemed as if his soul were ripe for heaven."

Those who saw him in the pulpit the last Sabbath he spent on earth—March 9, 1874—will not soon forget the earnestness and impressiveness of his manner. On Wednesday, March 12th, he left the scene of his labors to discharge a duty nearest to his heart. He took \$100 from his poor church, as a gift to the *Home Mission Society*, that was to be used in the *Freedman's Fund*.

On Friday evening, March 14th, he reached home just in time to breathe his last in the arms of his faithful, though anxious wife. Thus he fell asleep in the path of duty, in the midst of a mighty work.

The news of his death spread rapidly, and cast a shadow of grief over the entire community. The people mourned him.

The morning papers gave full account and notice of his death. The following is one of the many notices that were given:

“DEATH OF AN ESTEEMED CLERGYMAN.

“The Rev. L. A. Grimes, the well-known and universally esteemed colored clergyman, died very suddenly last evening, at his residence on Everett Avenue, East Somerville. He had just returned from New York, where he had been to attend the meeting of the *Baptist Board of Home Missions*, of which he was a member. He had walked to his home from the cars, and died within fifteen minutes after his arrival. The physicians pronounce it a case of apoplexy. Mr. Grimes was pastor of the Twelfth Baptist Church, on Phillips Street, in this city. During the twenty-six years of his ministry in Boston he had won the confidence and regard, not only of his own sect, but of the entire community. His labors for the good of his oppressed race attracted public attention to him more than twenty years ago, and this interest manifested itself in the generous contributions of Unitarians, Episcopalians, and Universalists in aid of his church. During the thirty-four dark days of the infamous Fugitive-Slave Law, and the excitements occasioned by slave hunts in Boston, Mr. Grimes had a ‘level head,’ and did much to keep down riotous outbreaks from those who then were told that they had no rights that white men were bound to respect. Fortunate, indeed, will be the church of the deceased, if his successor, like him, shall be able to keep them together, and lead them in righteous ways for a quarter of a century.”

On the following Monday morning, at the ministers' meeting, appropriate remarks were made, and resolutions drawn up. The following appeared in the daily papers:

"BAPTIST MINISTERS' MEETING.

"The Monday morning meeting of the Baptist ministers of Boston and vicinity was held at ten o'clock, Monday, as is the weekly custom. After the devotional exercises, the committee to prepare resolutions on the death of the late Rev. Leonard Andrew Grimes made their report to the meeting. Pending the acceptance of the report remarks eulogizing the deceased were made by Rev. R. H. Neale, D.D., and others. The resolutions, which were thereupon given a place upon the records of the meeting, are as follows: In the death of Leonard Andrew Grimes, for twenty-seven years the pastor of the Twelfth Baptist Church of Boston, the city in which he lived, the race for which he labored have sustained an irreparable loss. The *confrère* of Daniel Sharp, Baron Stow, Phineas Stow, Nathaniel Colver, Rev. Mr. Graves of the 'Reflector,' he was one whose coming might always be welcomed with the exclamation of our Saviour concerning Nathaniel: 'Behold an Israelite indeed in whom there is no guile.' His last efforts were put forth for his race. He carried to the Board of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, of which he had been for many years an honored member, a large contribution from his church, to help on Christ's work among the Freedmen, and, on returning from New York, stopped at New Bedford to comfort a broken-hearted mother, whose little child was dying, and then came to the city, and in fifteen minutes after crossing the threshold of his home passed on to God.

"His death affected the ministry and churches as when 'a standard-bearer fainteth.' His familiar face was ever welcome. His resolute bearing, his unswerving fidelity to Christ, to truth, to the church at large, and his own denomination in particular, and his life-long service as a philanthropist, his devotion to the interests of the negro, to whom he was linked by ties of consanguinity and of sympathy, made him a felt power for good in our State and in our entire country. No man among us was more sincerely respected or more truly loved. His departure, while it came none too soon for the tired warrior, impoverishes us with the withdrawal of an all-embracing love, and leaves God's poor to suffer to an extent it is impossible to describe.

"*Resolved*, That the death of this good minister of Jesus Christ imposes heavy responsibilities upon his surviving brethren. The interests of the race of which he was an honored representative are imperilled. Their noble champion has gone up higher; but no waiting Elisha saw the ascent, and cried, 'My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof'; so who can hope to wear his mantle and continue his work?

"*Resolved*, That we tender to his afflicted widow, and to the church he had so long and faithfully served, this poor expression of our sympathy, and this truthful evidence of our love.

"Resolved, That the good of his race, just passing from the morning of emancipation into the noonday radiance of a liberty of which they have dreamed, and for which they have prayed, demands that a permanent record be made of this noble man of God."

The ministers' meeting adjourned after the reading of the foregoing resolutions, to attend the funeral services, which were to take place in Charles Street Church. At an early hour in the morning the body was placed in front of the altar in the church of the deceased, where it lay in state all the forenoon, and where appropriate services were conducted by Drs. Cheney, Fulton, and others. Thousands, of every grade and hue, thronged the church to have a last fond look at the face so full of sunlight in life, and so peaceful in death.

At one o'clock the remains were removed to Charles Street Church, where the funeral services were conducted with a feeling of solemnity and impressiveness worthy of the sad occasion. The addresses of Drs. Neale and Fulton were full of tenderness and grief. Both of these gentlemen were, for many years, the intimate friends of the deceased. They were all associated together in a noble work for a number of years, and there were no hearts so sad as those of Brothers Neale and Fulton. Clergymen of every denomination were present, and the congregation contained men and women from all the walks of life. The funeral was considered one of the largest that ever took place in Boston.

On the following Sabbath quite a number of the Boston pulpits gave appropriate discourses upon the "Life and Character of the late L. A. Grimes." The most noticeable were those delivered by Rev. R. N. Neale, D.D., Rev. Justin D. Fulton, D.D., and Rev. Henry A. Cook.

Within the last decade quite a number of educated Colored Baptist clergymen have come into active work in the denomination. The old-time preaching is becoming distasteful to the people. The increasing intelligence of the congregations is an unmistakable warning to the preachers that a higher standard of preaching is demanded; that the pew is becoming as intelligent as the pulpit. The outlook is very encouraging. However, the danger of the hour is, that too many Negro churches may be organized. We have the quantity; let us *have* the *quality* now.

Part 9.

THE DECLINE OF NEGRO GOVERNMENTS.

CHAPTER XXVII.

REACTION, PERIL, AND PACIFICATION.

1875-1880.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENTS AT THE SOUTH.—SOUTHERN ELECTION METHODS AND NORTHERN SYMPATHY.—GEN. GRANT NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DECLINE AND LOSS OF THE REPUBLICAN STATE GOVERNMENTS AT THE SOUTH — A PARTY WITHOUT A LIVE ISSUE.—SOUTHERN WAR CLAIMS.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1876.—REPUBLICAN LETHARGY AND DEMOCRATIC ACTIVITY — DOUBTFUL RESULTS.—THE ELECTORAL COUNT IN CONGRESS.—GEN. GARFIELD AND CONGRESSMEN FOSTER AND HALE TO THE FRONT AS LEADERS.—PEACEFUL RESULTS.—PRESIDENT HAYES'S SOUTHERN POLICY — ITS FAILURE.—THE IDEAS OF THE HON. CHARLES FOSTER ON THE TREATMENT OF THE SOUTHERN PROBLEM.—"NOTHING BUT LEAVES" FROM CONCILIATION — A NEW POLICY DEMANDED BY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.—A REMARKABLE SPEECH BY THE HON. CHARLES FOSTER AT UPPER SANDUSKY, OHIO.—HE CALLS FOR A SOLID NORTH AGAINST A SOLID SOUTH.—HE SOUNDS THE KEY-NOTE FOR THE NORTH AND THE NATION RESPONDS — THE DECAY AND DEATH OF THE NEGRO GOVERNMENTS AT THE SOUTH INEVITABLE.—THE NEGRO MUST TURN HIS ATTENTION TO EDUCATION, THE ACCUMULATION OF PROPERTY AND EXPERIENCE.—HE WILL RETURN TO POLITICS WHEN HE SHALL BE EQUAL TO THE DIFFICULT DUTIES OF CITIZENSHIP.

FROM 1868 to 1872 the Southern States had been held by the Republican party, with but a few exceptions, without much effort. The friends of the Negro began to congratulate themselves that the Southern problem had been solved. Every Legislature in the South had among its members quite a fair representation of Colored men. Among the State officers there was a good sprinkling of them; and in some of the States there were Negroes as Lieut.-Governors. Congress had opened its doors to a dozen Negroes; and the consular and diplomatic service had employed a number of them in foreign parts. And so with such evidences of political prosperity before their eyes the friends of the Negro at the North regarded his "calling and election sure."

In 1873 a great financial panic came to the business and monetary affairs of the country. It was the logic of an inflated currency, wild and visionary enterprises, bad investments, and prodigal living. Banks tottered and fell, large business houses suspended, and financial ruin ran riot. Northern attention was diverted from Southern politics to the "destruction that seemed to waste at noon-day." Taking advantage of this the South seized the shot-gun and wrote on her banners: "*We must carry these States, peaceably if we can; forcibly if we must.*" An organized, deliberate policy of political intimidation assumed the task of ridding the South of Negro government. The first step was in the direction of intimidating the white leaders of the Republican organizations; and the next was to deny employment to all intelligent and influential Colored Republicans. Thus from time to time the leaders of the Republican party were reduced to a very small number. Without leaders the rank and file of the party were harmless and helpless in State and National campaigns. This state of affairs seemed to justify the presence of troops at the polls on election days. Under an Act of Congress "the President was empowered to use the army to suppress domestic violence, prevent bloodshed," and to protect the Negroes in the constitutional exercise of the rights conferred upon them by the Constitution. This movement was met by the most determined opposition from the South, aided by the sympathy of the Northern press, Democratic platforms, and a considerable element in the Republican party.

In 1874 the condition of affairs in the South was such as to alarm the friends of stable, constitutional government everywhere. The city of New Orleans was in a state of siege. Streets were blockaded with State troops and White Line leagues, and an open battle was fought. The Republican State government fell before the insurgents, and a new government was established *vi et armis*. Troops were sent to New Orleans by the President, and the lawful government was restored. The Liberal movement in the North, which had resulted in the defeat of the Republican tickets in Indiana, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and even in Massachusetts, greatly encouraged the Bourbon Democrats of the South, and excited them to the verge of the most open and cruel conduct toward the white and black Republicans in their midst.

A large number of Northern Legislatures passed resolutions

condemning the action of the President in sending troops into the South, although he did it in accordance with law. Many active and influential Republicans, displeased with the action of the Republican governments at the South, and the conduct of the Forty-third Congress, demanded the destruction of the Republican party. The Liberal movement had started in 1872. Its leaders thought the time had come for a new party, and counselled the country accordingly.

The Forty-fourth Congress was organized by the Democrats. The Cabinet Ministers were divided on the policy pursued toward the South. In the autumn of 1875 the shot-gun policy carried Mississippi; and from the 6th of July till the Republican government in that State went down into a bloody grave, there was an unbroken series of political murders.

President Grant was met by a Democratic Congress; a divided Cabinet: Zachariah Chandler and Edwards Pierrepont were in sympathy with him; Bristow and Jewell represented the Liberal sentiment. Then, the Republican party of the North, and many leading journals, were urging a change of policy toward the South. The great majority of Republicans wanted a change, not because they did not sympathize with the Negro governments, but because they saw some of the best men in the party withdrawing their support from the administration of Gen. Grant. There were other men who charged that the business failures in the country were occasioned by the financial policy of the Republican party, and in a spirit of desperation were ready to give their support to the Democracy.

It was charged by the enemies of Gen. Grant that when he was elected President he had a solid Republican South behind him; that under his administration every thing had been lost; and that he was responsible for the political ruin which had overtaken the Republican party at the South. The charge was false. The errors of reconstruction under the administration of President Andrew Johnson, and the mistakes of the men who had striven to run the State governments at the South had to be counteracted by the administration of President Grant. This indeed was a difficult task. He did all he could under the Constitution; and when Congress endeavored to pass the Force Bill, the Hon. James G. Blaine, of Maine, made a speech against it in caucus. Mr. Blaine had a presidential ambition to serve, and esteemed his own promotion of greater moment than the

protection of the Colored voters of the South. And Mr. Blaine never allowed an opportunity to pass in which he did not throw every obstacle in the way of the success of the Grant administration. Mr. Blaine has never seen fit to explain his opposition to the Force Bill, which was intended to strengthen the hands of the President in his efforts to protect the Negro voter at the South.

When the National Republican Convention met at Cincinnati, Ohio, in the summer of 1876, there was still lacking a definite policy for the South. Presidential candidates were numerous, and the contest bitter. Gen. Rutherford B. Hayes, at that time Governor of Ohio, was nominated as a compromise candidate. There was no issue left the Republican party, as the "bloody shirt" had been rejected by the Liberals, and was generally distasteful at the North. But the initial success of the Democratic party South, and the loss of many Northern States to the Republicans, had emboldened the South to expect national success. But a too precipitous preparation for a raid upon the United States Treasury for the payment of rebel war claims threw the Republicans upon their guard, and, for the time being, every other question was sunk into insignificance. So the insolence of the "Rebel Brigadier Congress," and the letter of Samuel Jones Tilden, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, on the question of the Southern war claims, gave the Republican party a fighting chance. But there were a desperate South and a splendid campaign organizer in Mr. Tilden to meet. And with a shot-gun policy, tissue ballets, and intimidation at the South, while a gigantic, bold, and matchless system of fraudulent voting was pushed with vigor in the North, there was little show of success for the Republican ticket. The contest on the part of the Republicans was spiritless. It was difficult to raise funds or excite enthusiasm. The Republican candidate had only a local reputation. He had been to Congress, but even those who had known that had forgotten it. A modest, retiring man, Gov. Hayes was not widely known. The old and tried leaders were not enthusiastic. Mr. Blaine had no second choice. He was for himself or nobody. The Democrats prosecuted their campaign with vigor, intelligence, and enthusiasm. They went "into the school districts," and their organization has never been equalled in America.

The result was doubtful. One thing, however, was sure:

the Negro governments of the South were now a thing of the past. Not a single State was left to the Republican party. Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina were hanging by the slender thread of doubt, with the provisions of a returning board in favor of the Republican party. The returning boards were the creation of local law; their necessity having grown out of the peculiar methods employed by Democrats in carrying elections. These boards were empowered to receive and count the votes cast for presidential electors; and wherever it could be proven that intimidation and fraud had been used, the votes of such precincts, counties, etc., were to be thrown out. The three doubtful States named above were counted for the Republican presidential electors. Their work was carried before Congress. A high joint electoral commission was created by law, composed of the ablest men of the two parties in Congress, with the salt of judicial judgment thrown in. This commission examined the returns of the three doubtful States, and decided not to go behind the returns; and, according to a previous agreement, one branch of Congress ratifying, the candidate having the more votes was to be declared duly elected.

The country was in an unprecedented state of excitement; and even European governments felt the shock. The enemies of Republican government laughed their little laugh, and said that the end of the republic had come. British bankers brought out into the light Confederate bonds; while stocks in the United States went through an experience as variable as the weather in the Mississippi valley. The public press was intemperate in its utterances, and the political passions of the people were inflamed every hour. The national House of Representatives was a vast whirlpool of excitement,—or, rather it was an angry sea stirred to its depths, and lashing itself into aimless fury by day and by night. When the vote of a State was called, some Democrat would object, and the Senate, which was always present, would retire, and the House would then open a war of words running through hours and sometimes days. When the debate ended, or rather when the House had reached the end of its parliamentary halter, the Senate would again enter, the vote of the State would be counted, and the next one called. Thus the count proceeded through anxious days and weary nights. Business was suspended; and the bulletin boards of commercial 'changes were valueless so long as the bulletin boards of the newspapers contained "the latest news from Washington."

In this state of affairs there was need of statesmen at the head of the Republican minority in Congress. There were orators; but the demand was for men of judgment, energy, executive ability,—men in whom the Democrats had confidence, who could put a stop to filibustering, and secure a peaceful solution of a unique and dangerous problem.

These were forthcoming; the late President Garfield and Gov. Foster, then a member of Congress, with Kasson, Hale, and other members of Congress, were among those most active and effective in securing a peaceful result.

When the electoral fight was on, and the end seemed uncertain, these gentlemen stepped to the front and fairly won the reputation of statesmen. They saw that if the filibustering of the Democrats were brought to a close, it would have to be accomplished by the leaders in that party and on that side of the House. Accordingly they secured Fernando Wood, of New York, as the leader in opposition to filibustering, and John Young Brown, of Kentucky, as his lieutenant. The Republican policy was to allow the Democrats to lead and do the talking, while they should fall into line and vote when the proper time came. But Fernando Wood at the head of the Republicans as a leader, was a spectacle as strange and startling as Satan leading a prayer-meeting. It was too much for an orthodox, close-community, hard-shell Republican like Martin I. Townsend!

On Thursday afternoon, the last day of the alarming scenes in Congress, nearly everybody had lost hope. There was no telling at what moment the government would be in anarchy. In the midst of the confusion, excitement, and threatening danger, the Hon. Charles Foster was the most imperturbable man in Congress. On Thursday afternoon Senator Hoar, a member of Congress from Massachusetts, saw Mr. Foster seated at his desk writing as quietly and composedly as if in his private office; he seemed perfectly oblivious to the angry storm which was raging about him. The cold-blooded, conservative New England Senator was as greatly amazed at the serenity of the clear-headed Western Congressman as he was distressed at the impending disaster. He went to Mr. Foster and talked very discouragingly respecting the situation. He said that the Senate was growing impatient at the dilatory conduct of the House, and would probably, at the earliest convenience, send a message to the House demanding that the latter open their doors and

admit the Senate to complete the count. Congressman Foster stated to the Senator that the House was not in a temper to be driven; that a resolution of the character of the one proposed would hinder rather than help a peaceful solution of the vexatious count; and that if he would only possess his soul in patience, before the rising of another sun R. B. Hayes would be peaceably and constitutionally declared the President of the United States. And it was even as he said; for before four o'clock the next morning the count was completed, and Hayes declared the President of the United States for the Constitutional term of four years. This is given as one of the many unwritten incidents that occurred during this angry, and, probably, most perilous controversy that ever threatened the life of the American Republic.

A new policy for the South was now inevitable. From October 1876 till March 1877, President Grant had refused to recognize Chamberlain as Governor of South Carolina, or Packard as Governor of Louisiana. He had simply preserved those governments *in statu quo*. He had heard all that could be said in favor of the Republican side of the question, and seemed to believe that it was now beyond his power to hold up the last of the Negro governments with bayonets. He was right. It would have been as vain to have attempted to galvanize those governments into existence as to have attempted the resuscitation of a dead man by applying a galvanic battery. Governments must have, not only the subjective elements of life, but the powers of self-preservation. The Negro governments at the South died for the want of these elements. It was a pity, too, after the noble fight the Republican party of Louisiana and South Carolina had made, and after they had secured their electoral votes for Hayes, that their State officers who had been chosen at the same time should have been abandoned to their own frail governmental resources. But this was unavoidable. Their governments could not have existed twenty-four hours without the presence and aid of the United States army. And this could not have been done in the face of the sentiment against such use of the army which had grown to be nearly unanimous throughout the country. If the Republicans could have inaugurated their officers and administered their governments they would have received the applause of the administration at Washington and the God-speed of the Republican

party of the North; but the moment the United States troops were withdrawn the Negro governments melted into nothingness.

Every thing had been tried but pacification. The men who best understood the temper of that section knew it was incapable, as a whole, of receiving the olive branch in the spirit in which the North would tender it. But a policy of conciliation was demanded; the Northern journals asked it. An ex-Major-General of the Confederate Army was called to the Cabinet of President Hayes, and was given a portfolio where he could do more for the South than in any other place. Gen. Longstreet, a gallant Confederate soldier during the late war, was made Postmaster at Gainesville, Georgia, and afterward sent as Minister to Turkey. Col. Mosby, another Confederate soldier, or guerilla, was sent to China, and Col. Fitzsimmons was made Marshal of Georgia. It was the policy of the Hon. Charles Foster to have the President recognize young men at the South who had the pluck and ability to divide the Bourbon Democratic party of that section, and hasten the day of better feeling between the sections. But the President, either incapable of comprehending this idea, or jealous of the credit that the country had already bestowed upon him, blundered on in selecting men to represent his policy in the South who had no following, and were, therefore, valueless to his cause. His heart was right, but he put too much confidence in Southern statesmen.

The South showed no signs of improvement. White Republicans were intimidated, persecuted, and driven out. The black Republicans were allowed to vote, but the Democrats counted the votes and secured all the offices. The President was under the influence of Alex. H. Stephens, of Georgia, and Wade Hampton, of South Carolina. He expected much; but he received nothing. Instead of gratitude he received arrogance. The Southern leaders in Congress sought to deprive the Executive of his constitutional veto; to starve the army; and to protract the session of Congress. The North had invited its "erring brethren" back, and had killed the fatted calf, but were unwilling to allow the fellow to eat all the veal! The conduct of the South was growing more intolerable every day; and the President's barren policy was losing him supporters. He had not tied to any safe advisers. Hon. Charles Foster, Senator Stanley Matthews, and Gen. James A. Garfield could have piloted him through many

dangerous places. But he shut himself up in his own abilities, and left his friends on the outside. The South had gulped down every thing that had been given it, and was asking for more. Every thing had been given except the honor of the cause that the Union army had fought for. To complete the task of conciliation it was only required that the nation destroy the monuments to its hero dead, and open the treasury to the payment of rebel war claims, and pension the men who were maimed in an attempt to shoot the government to death. To the credit of President Hayes let history record that he did not surrender his veto power to arrogant and disloyal Southern Congressmen. He became convinced at last that the South was incapable of appreciating his kindness, and was willing to change front. His policy was inevitable. It did great good. It united the Republican party against the South; and a splendid cabinet, a clean administration, and the resumption of specie payments wrought wonders for the Republican party.

There was a ripe sentiment in the North in favor of "a change" of policy. The very men who had advocated pacification; who had "flowers and tears for the Gray, and tears and flowers for the Blue"; who wanted the grave of Judas equally honored with the grave of Jesus—the destroyer and the Saviour of the country placed in the same calendar,—were the first men to grow sick of the policy of pacification. But what policy to inaugurate was not clear to them.

In the summer of 1878 the Hon. Charles Foster returned to Ohio from Washington City. He had seen State governments in the North slip from the control of Republicans, because of the folly of the Hayes' policy of pacification toward the South. He had the good-sense to take in the situation. He saw that it was madness to attempt any longer to conciliate the South. He saw that the lamb and lion had lain down together, but that the lamb was on the inside of the lion. Brave, intelligent, and far-seeing, on the 1st of August, 1878, he gave the Republican party of the North a battle-cry that died away only amid the shouts of Republican State and National victories in 1880. This was all the North needed. A leader was demanded, and the Hon. Charles Foster sounded the key-note that met with a response in every loyal heart in the country. His idea was that as the South had not kept the faith; had not accorded protection to the Negro voter; had not broken up old Bourbon Democratic

organizations, it was the imperative duty of the North to meet that section with a solid front. Hence his battle-cry: "*A Solid North against a Solid South.*" The following is his famous speech—pure gold :

"I happened to be one who thought and believed that the President's Southern policy, as far as it related to the use of troops for the support of State governments, was right. I sustained it upon the ground of high principle, nevertheless it could have been sustained on the ground of necessity. The President has extended to the people of the South the hand of conciliation and friendship. He has shown a desire, probably contrary to the wishes of the great mass of his party, to bring about, by the means of conciliation, better relations between the North and South. In doing this he has alienated from him the great mass of the leading and influential Republicans of the country. He had lost their sympathy, and to a great degree their support. What has he received in return for these measures of conciliation and kindness? How have these measures been received by the South? What advance can we discover in them, of the recognition of the guarantees of the rights of the Colored men under the Constitutional Amendments? We see Jeff. Davis making speeches as treasonable as those of 1861, and these speeches endorsed and applauded by a great portion of their press and people. We see also the declaration of Mr. Singleton, of Mississippi, in answer to a question of mine on the floor of the House, declaring that his paramount allegiance in peace and war was due to his State.

"No gentleman from the South, or even of the Democratic party, has taken issue with him. We see also, all over the South, a disposition to resist the execution of the United States laws, especially in the matter of the collection of internal revenue. To-day there are four U. S. officers under arrest by the authorities of the State of South Carolina, in jail and bail refused, for an alleged crime in their State, while in fact these officers were discharging their duty in executing the laws of the United States in that State. Their State courts and their officers refused to obey the writs of the United States courts in the surrender of these men to the United States authorities. No former act of this treasonable State shows a more defiant attitude toward the U. S. Government, or a greater disposition to trample upon its authority. I trust the Administration will, in this case, assert in the most vigorous manner possible the authority of the United States Government for the rescue and protection of these officers. I have no bloody shirt to wave. If there is one man in this country, more than another, who desires peace and quiet between the sections, I believe I am that man. Gentlemen may philosophize over this question until they are gray, but you cannot

escape the discussion of this question so long as a Solid South menaces the peace of the country. A Solid Democratic South means the control of the country by the spirit and the men who sought its destruction.

"My own opinion is that there can be no peace—this question will not down, until the menace of the Solid South is withdrawn. I had hoped that the policy of President Hayes would lead to the assertion, by a very considerable portion of the South, of their antagonism to Bourbon Democracy.

"I confess to a degree of disappointment in this, though I think I see signs of a breaking up of the Solid South in the independent movement that seemed to be gaining a foothold in all sections of that country. But the effective way to aid these independent movements, this breaking up of the Solid South, is for the North to present itself united against the Solid South. A Solid South under the control of the Democratic party means the control of the party by this element. It means the repeal of the Constitutional Amendments, if not in form, in spirit. It means the payment of hundreds of rebel claims. It means the payment of pensions to rebel soldiers. It means the payment for slaves lost in the Rebellion. It means the abrogation of that provision of the Constitution which declares, that the citizens of one State shall have all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the citizens of other States.

"If my Democratic friends who seem to be anxious to bring about peace and quiet between the sections are sincere and desire to make their expressions effective, they should act with that party that presents a solid front, a United North, so long as we are menaced with the Solid South.

"If it could be understood in the South that they are to be met with a Solid North, I do not believe that the Solid South would exist in that condition a single year. They retain this position because they believe that they can have the support of a fragment of the North ; and thus with this fragment rule and control the country. I would have no fear of the control of the country by the Democratic party if it were made up of something like equal proportion from all sections of the country. I discuss this question, first, because I believe it the most important question at issue in the pending canvass. *I repeat that it is the imperative duty of the North to meet the Solid South with a united front.*"¹

This speech was delivered at Upper Sandusky, Wyandotte Co., Ohio. It thrilled the North, and put new life into the Republican party. It gave him the nomination for governor, and

¹ Cincinnati Commercial, Aug. 1, 1878.

from 23,000 Democratic majority he redeemed the State by a Republican majority of 17,000. A wave of enthusiasm swept the country. His battle-cry became the editorial of a thousand journals, and hundreds of orators found ammunition enough in his little speech of a hundred lines to keep up a campaign of two years' duration. It is a fact that history should not omit to record, that from the 1st of August, 1878, until the election of James A. Garfield to the presidency, there was no cessation to the campaign in the North.

But the securing of a Solid North did not restore the Negro governments at the South. The North had rallied to rebuke an insolent South; to show the Democrats of that section that the United States Treasury should be protected, and that the honor of the nation *would* be maintained unsullied. If the South would not pay its honest debts there was every reason for believing that it would not pay the national debt. It was to be regretted that the Negro had been so unceremoniously removed from Southern politics. But such a result was inevitable. The Government gave him the statute-book when he ought to have had the spelling-book; placed him in the Legislature when he ought to have been in the school-house. In the great revolution that followed the war, the heels were put where the brains ought to have been. An ignorant majority, without competent leaders, could not rule an intelligent Caucasian minority. Ignorance, vice, poverty, and superstition could not rule intelligence, experience, wealth, and organization. It was here that the "one could chase a thousand, and the two could put ten thousand to flight." The Negro governments were built on the shifting sands of the opinions of the men who reconstructed the South, and when the storm and rains of political contest came they fell because they were not built upon the granite foundation of intelligence and statesmanship.

It was an immutable and inexorable law which demanded the destruction of those governments. It was a law that knows no country, no nationality. Spain, Mexico, France, Turkey, Russia, and Egypt have felt its cruel touch to a greater or less degree. But a lesson was taught the Colored people that is invaluable. Let them rejoice that they are out of politics. Let white men rule. Let *them* enjoy a political life to the exclusion of business and education, and they too will sooner or later be driven out of their places by the same law that sent the Negro to the planta-

tions and to the schools. And if the Negro is industrious, frugal, saving, diligent in labor, and laborious in study, there is another law that will quietly and peaceably, without a social or political shock, restore him to his normal relations in politics. He will be able to build his governments on a solid foundation, with the tempered mortar of experience and knowledge. This is inevitable. The Negro will return to politics in the South when he is qualified to govern ; will return to stay. He will be respected, courted and protected then. Then as a tax-payer, as well as a tax-gatherer, reading his own ballot, and choosing his own candidates, he will be equal to all the exigencies of American citizenship.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE EXODUS—CAUSE AND EFFECT.

THE NEGROES OF THE SOUTH DELIGHT IN THEIR HOME SO LONG AS IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THEM TO REMAIN.—THE POLICY OF ABRIDGING THEIR RIGHTS DESTRUCTIVE TO THEIR USEFULNESS AS MEMBERS OF SOCIETY.—POLITICAL INTIMIDATION, MURDER, AND OUTRAGE DISTURB THE NEGROES.—THE PLANTATION CREDIT SYSTEM THE CRIME OF THE CENTURY.—THE EXODUS NOT INSPIRED BY POLITICIANS, BUT THE NATURAL OUTCOME OF THE BARBAROUS TREATMENT BESTOWED UPON THE NEGROES BY THE WHITES.—THE UNPRECEDENTED SUFFERINGS OF 60,000 NEGROES FLEEING FROM SOUTHERN DEMOCRATIC OPPRESSION.—THEIR PATIENT, CHRISTIAN ENDURANCE.—THEIR INDUSTRY, MORALS, AND FRUGALITY.—THE CORRESPONDENT OF THE "CHICAGO INTER-OCEAN" SENDS INFORMATION TO SENATOR VOORHEES RESPECTING THE REFUGEES IN KANSAS.—THE POSITION OF GOV. ST. JOHN AND THE FAITHFUL LABORS OF MRS. CONSTOCK.—THE RESULTS OF THE EXODUS BENEFICENT.—THE SOUTH MUST TREAT THE NEGRO BETTER OR LOSE HIS LABOR.

THE exodus of the Negroes from Southern States forms one of the most interesting pages of the almost romantic history of the race. It required more than ordinary causes to drive the Negro from his home in the sunny South to a different climate and strange country. It was no caprice of his nature, nor even a nomadic feeling. During the entire period of the existence of the Republican governments at the South the Negroes remained there in a state of blissful contentment. And even after the fall of those governments they continued in a state of quiet industry. But there followed the decline of those governments a policy as hurtful to the South as it was cruel to the Negroes.

During the early years of reconstruction quite a number of Negroes began to invest in real estate and secure for themselves pleasant homes. Their possessions increased yearly, as can be seen by a reference to statistical reports. Some of the estates and homesteads of the oldest and most reputable white families, who had put every thing into the scales of Confederate rebellion, fell into the possession of ex-slaves. Such a spectacle was not only unpleasant, it was exasperating, to the whites. But so long as the Republican governments gave promise of success there was but little or no manifestation of displeasure on the part of the

whites. Just as soon, however, as they became the masters of the situation, the property of many Negroes was seized, and sold upon the specious plea—"for delinquent taxes"; and the Negroes were driven from eligible places to the outskirts of the larger towns and cities. No Negro was allowed to live in the vicinity of white persons as tenants; and it became a social crime to sell property to Negroes in close proximity to the whites. In the rural districts, where Negroes had begun to secure small farms, this same cruel spirit was "the lion in their way." The spirit that sought to keep the Negro ignorant as a slave, now that he was at least nominally free, endeavored to deprive him of one of the necessary conditions of happy and useful citizenship: the possession of property, the aggregations of the results of honest labor. Nothing could have been more fatal to the growth of the Negro toward the perfect stature of free, intelligent, independent, and self-sustaining manhood and citizenship. The object and result of such a system can easily be judged. It was intended to keep the Negroes the laboring element after as well as before the war. The accomplishment of such a result would have been an argument in favor of the assertion of the South that the normal condition of the Negro was that of a serf; and that he did not possess the elements necessary to the life of a freeman. Thus would have perished the hopes, prayers, arguments and claims of the friends of the cause of universal, manhood suffrage.

Among the masses of laboring men the iniquitous, outrageous, thieving "*Plantation Credit System*" was a plague and a crime. Deprived of homes and property the Negroes were compelled to "work the crops on the shares." A plantation store was kept where the Negroes' credit was good for any article it contained. He got salt meat, corn meal, sugar, coffee, molasses, vinegar, tobacco, and coarse clothing for himself and family. An account was kept by "a young white man," and at the end of the season "a reckoning" was had. Unable to read or cipher, the poor, credulous, unsuspecting Negroes always found themselves in debt from \$50 to \$200! This necessitated another year's engagement; and so on for an indefinite period. There was nothing to encourage the Negroes; nothing to inspire them with hope for the future; nothing for their families but a languid, dead-eyed expectation that somehow a change *might* come. But the crime went on unrebuked by the men who were growing rich from this system of petty robbery of the poor. For the

cheapest qualities of brown sugar, for which the laboring classes of the North pay 8 cents, the Negroes on the plantations were charged 11 and 13 cents a pound. Corn meal purchased at the North for 4 cents a quart, brought 9 and 10 cents at the plantation store. And thus for every article the Negroes purchased they were charged the most exorbitant prices.

There were two results which flowed from this system, viz.: robbing the families of these Negroes of the barest comforts of life, and destroying the confidence of the Negro in the blessings and benefits of freedom. No man—no race of men—could endure such blighting influences for any length of time.

Moreover the experiences of the Negroes in voting had not been extensive, and a sudden curtailing and abridgment of their rights was a shock to their confidence in the government under which they lived, and in the people by which they were surrounded. It was thought expedient to intimidate or destroy the more intelligent and determined Negroes; while the farm laborers were directed to refrain from voting the Republican ticket, or commanded to vote the Democratic ticket, or starve. There never was a more cruel system of slavery than this.

Writing under date of January 10, 1875, General P. H. Sheridan, then in command at New Orleans, says:

“Since the year 1866 nearly thirty-five hundred persons, a great majority of whom were colored men, have been killed and wounded in this State. In 1868 the official record shows that eighteen hundred and eighty-four were killed and wounded. From 1868 to the present time no official investigation had been made, and the civil authorities in all but a few cases have been unable to arrest, convict, or punish the perpetrators. Consequently there are no correct records to be consulted for information. There is ample evidence, however, to show that more than twelve hundred persons have been killed and wounded during this time on account of their political sentiments. Frightful massacres have occurred in the parishes of Bossier, Caddo, Catahoula, Saint Bernard, Grant, and Orleans.”

He then proceeded to enumerate the political murders of Colored men in various parishes, and says:

“Human life in this State is held so cheaply that when men are killed on account of political opinions, the murderers are regarded rather as heroes than as criminals in the localities where they reside.”

This brief summary is not by a politician, but by a distinguished soldier, who recounts the events which had occurred within his own military jurisdiction. Volumes of testimony have since been taken confirming in all respects General Sheridan's statement, and giving in detail the facts relating to such murders, and the times and circumstances of their occurrence. The results of the elections which immediately followed them disclose the motives and purposes of their perpetrators. These reports show that in the year 1867 a reign of terror prevailed over almost the entire State. In the parish of St. Landry there was a massacre of Colored people which began on the 28th of September, 1868, and lasted from three to six days, during which time between three and four hundred of them were killed. "Thirteen captives were taken from the jail and shot, and a pile of twenty-five dead bodies were found burned in the woods." The result of this Democratic campaign in the parish was that the registered Republican majority of 1,071 was wholly obliterated, and at the election which followed a few weeks later, not a vote was cast for General Grant, while Seymour and Blair received 4,787.

In the parish of Bossier a similar massacre occurred between the 20th and 30th of September, 1868, which lasted from three to four days, during which time two hundred Negroes were killed. By the official registry of that year the Republican voters in Bossier Parish numbered 1,938, but at the ensuing election only *one* Republican vote was cast.

In the parish of Caddo, during the month of October, 1868, over forty Negroes were killed. The result of that massacre was that out of a Republican registered vote of 2,894 only *one* was cast for General Grant. Similar scenes were enacted throughout the State, varying in extent and atrocity according to the magnitude of the Republican majority to be overcome.

The total summing up of murders, maimings, and whippings which took place for political reasons in the months of September, October, and November, 1868, as shown by official sources, is over one thousand. The net political results achieved thereby may be succinctly stated as follows: The official registration for that year in twenty-eight parishes contained 47,923 names of Republican voters, but at the presidential election held a few weeks after the occurrence of these events but 5,360 Republican votes were cast, making the net Democratic gain from said transactions 42,563.

In nine of these parishes where the reign of terror was most prevalent, out of 11,604 registered Republican votes only nineteen were cast for General Grant. In seven of said parishes there were 7,253 registered Republican votes, but not one was cast at the ensuing election for the Republican ticket.

In the years succeeding 1868, when some restraint was imposed upon political lawlessness and a comparatively peaceful election was held, these same Republican parishes cast from 33,000 to 37,000 Republican votes, thus demonstrating the purpose and the effects of the reign of murder in 1868.

In 1876 the spirit of violence and persecution which, in parts of the State, had been partially restrained for a time, broke forth again with renewed fury. It was deemed necessary to carry that State for Tilden and Hendricks, and the policy which had proved so successful in 1868 was again invoked, and with like results. On the day of general election in 1876 there were in the State of Louisiana 92,996 registered white voters, and 115,310 Colored, making a Republican majority of the latter of 22,314. The number of white Republicans was far in excess of the number of Colored Democrats. It was, therefore, well known that if a fair election should be held the State would go Republican by from twenty-five to forty thousand majority. The policy adopted this time was to select a few of the largest Republican parishes and by terrorism and violence not only obliterate their Republican majorities, but also intimidate the Negroes in the other parishes. The sworn testimony found in our public documents and records at Washington shows that the same system of assassinations, whippings, burnings, and other acts of political persecution of Colored citizens, which had occurred in 1868, was again repeated in 1876, and with like results.

In fifteen parishes where 17,726 Republicans were registered in 1876 only 5,758 votes were cast for Hayes and Wheeler, and in one of them (East Feliciana) where there were 2,127 Republicans registered, but *one* Republican vote was cast. By some methods the Republican majority of the State was supposed to have been effectually suppressed and a Democratic victory assured. And because the legally constituted authorities of Louisiana, acting in conformity with law and justice, declined to count some of the parishes thus carried by violence and blood, the Democratic party, both North and South, has ever since complained that it was fraudulently deprived of the fruits of the vic-

tory thus achieved, and it now proposes to make this grievance the principal plank in the party platform¹ for the future.

The worm trampled upon so persistently at length turned over. There was nothing left to the Negro but to go out from the land of his oppression and task-masters.

The Exodus was not a political movement. It was not inspired from without. It was but the natural operation of a divine law that moved whole communities of Negroes to turn their faces toward the setting sun. When the Israelites went out of Egypt God commanded their women to borrow the finger-rings and ear-rings of the Egyptians. All had sandals on their feet, staves in their hand, and headed by a matchless leader. God went before them as a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night. But when the Negroes began their exodus from the Egypt of their bondage they went out empty; without clothing, money, or leaders. They were willing to endure any hardships short of death to reach a land where, under their own vine and fig-tree, they could enjoy free speech, free schools, the privilege of an honest vote, and receive honest pay for honest work. And how forcibly they told why they left the South.

"Now, old Uncle Joe, what did you come for?"

"Oh, law! Missus, I follers my two boys an' the ole woman an' then 'pears like I wants a taste of votin' afore I dies, an' the ole man done wants no swamps to wade in afore he votes, 'kase he must be Republican, ye see."

"Well, old Aunty, give us the sympathetic side of the story; or, tell us what you think of leaving your old home."

"I done have no home nohow, if they shoots my ole man an' the boys, an' gives me no money for de washin.'"

A bright woman of twenty-five years is asked her condition, when she answers: "I had n't much real trouble yet, like some of my neighbors who lost every thing. We had a lot an' a little house, an' some stock on the place. We sold all out 'kase we did n't dare to stay when votin' time came again. Some neighbors better off than we had been all broken up by a pack of "*night-riders*"—all in white,—who scared everybody to death, run the men off to the swamps before elections, run the stock off, an'

¹ See Senator Windom's speech on the Exodus, Monday, June 14, 1880; also the report of the Senate Committee having under consideration the investigation of the causes of the migration of the Colored people from the Southern to the Northern States.

set fire to their places. A poor woman might as well be killed and done with it."

In the early spring of 1879, the now famous Exodus of the Negroes from the South set in toward the Northern States.

"Many already have fled to the forest and lurk on its outskirts, Waiting with anxious hearts the dubious fate of the morrow. Arms have been taken from us, and warlike weapons of all kinds ; Nothing is left but the blacksmith's sledge and the scythe of the mower."

The story of the emigration of a people has been often repeated since the world began. The Israelites of old, with their wanderings of forty years, furnish the theme of an inspired poem as old as history itself. The dreadful tale of the Kalmuck Tartars, in 1770, fleeing from their enemies, the Russians, over the desolate steppes of Asia in mid-winter; starting out six hundred thousand strong, men, women, and children, with their flocks and herds, and reaching the confines of China with only two hundred thousand left, formed an era in oriental annals, and made a combination from which new races of men have sprung. But still more appropriate to this occasion is the history of the Huguenots of France, driven by religious persecution to England and Ireland, where, under their influence, industries sprang up as the flowers of the field, and what was England's gain was irreparable loss to France.¹ The expulsion of the Acadians, a harmless and inoffensive people, from Nova Scotia, is another instance of the revenge that natural laws inflict upon tyranny and injustice. Next to the persecuted Pilgrims crossing a dreary ocean in mid-winter to the sterile coasts of a land of savages for freedom's sake, history hardly furnishes a more touching picture than that of forty thousand homeless, friendless, starving Negroes going to a land already consecrated with the blood of the martyrs to the cause of free soil and unrestricted liberty. It was grandly strange that these poor people, persecuted, beaten with many stripes, hungry, friendless, and without clothing or shelter, should instinctively seek a home in Kansas where John Brown had fought the first battle for liberty and the restriction of slavery! Some journeyed all the way from Texas to Kansas in teams, with great horned oxen, and little steers in front no larger than calves, bowing eagerly to the weary load. Worn and weary with a nine weeks' journey, the travellers strained their eyes toward the land

¹ Pamphlet on Exodus.—Anonymous.

of hope, blindly yet beautifully "trustin' de good Lord." Often they buried their dead as soon as they arrived, many dying on the hard floor of the hastily-built wooden barracks before beds could be provided, but praying all night long and saying touchingly: "Come, Lord Jesus. Come quickly. Come with dyin' grace in one hand and savin' love in the other."¹

A relief association was organized at once. A dear, good, old Quaker lady, in her sixty-fourth year, a quarter of a century of which had been spent in relieving suffering humanity, came forward and offered her services free of charge. The association was organized as *The Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association*. Mrs. Comstock was just the person to manage the matter of raising funds and securing clothing. In Gov. J. P. St. John, Mrs. Comstock and the association found a warm-hearted Christian friend.

Notwithstanding the plain, world-known causes, the Hon. D. W. Voorhees, United States Senator from Indiana, introduced a resolution providing for the investigation of "*the causes of the migration of the Colored people from the Southern to the Northern States.*" It cost the Government thousands of dollars, but developed nothing save what the country had known for years, that the political cruelties and systematic robbery practised upon the Colored people in the South had forced them into a free country.

In one year those who had taken up a residence in Kansas had become self-sustaining. They took hold of the work with enthusiasm; they proved themselves industrious and frugal.

The Relief Association at first supplied them with stoves, teams, and seed. In round numbers, in a little more than a year, \$40,000 was used, and 500,000 pounds of clothing, bedding, etc. England contributed 50,000 pounds of goods and \$8,000 in money; the chief givers being Mrs. Comstock's friends who knew her in her good work abroad. Much of the remainder had come in small sums, and from the Christian women of America. One third was furnished by the Society of Friends. Ohio gave more than any other State. The State and municipal funds of Kansas were not drawn upon at all, though much had come from private sources.

During the first year in Kansas the freedmen entered upon 20,000 acres of land, and plowed and fitted for grain-growing 3,000 acres. They built 300 cabins and dugouts, and accumulated \$30,000. In 1878 Henry Carter, of Tennessee, set out

¹ The Congregationalist, Aug. 11, 1880.

from Topeka on foot for Dunlap, sixty-five miles away ; he carrying his tools, and his wife their bedclothes. In 1880 he had forty acres of land cleared and the first payment made, having earned his money on sheep ranches and elsewhere by daily labor. He has built a good stone cottage sixteen feet by ten, owns two cows, a horse, etc. In Topeka, where there were about 3,000 refugees, nearly all paupers when they came, all have found means in some way to make a living. These people have shown themselves worthy of aid. Mrs. Comstock has heard of only five or six cases of intoxication in nine months, and of no arrests for stealing. They do not want to settle where there is no church, and are all eager to have a Bible and to learn. Schools have been opened for the adults—the public schools of Kansas wisely making no distinction on account of color,—and also industrial schools, especially for women, who are quite ignorant of the ordinary duties of home life.

In the month of February, 1880, John M. Brown, Esq., General Superintendent of the Freedmen's Relief Association read an interesting report before the Association, from which the following extract is taken :

“The great exodus of Colored people from the South began about the 1st of February, 1879. By the 1st of April 1,300 refugees had gathered around Wyandotte, Ks. Many of them were in a suffering condition. It was then that the Kansas Relief Association came into existence for the purpose of helping the most needy among the refugees from the Southern States. Up to date about 60,000 refugees have come to the State of Kansas to live. Nearly 40,000 of them were in a destitute condition when they arrived, and have been helped by our association. We have received to date \$68,000 for the relief of the refugees. About 5,000 of those who have come to Kansas have gone to other States to live, leaving about 55,000 yet in Kansas. About 30,000 of that number have settled in the country, some of them on lands of their own or rented lands ; others have hired out to the farmers, leaving about 25,000 in and around the different cities and towns of Kansas. There has been great suffering among those remaining in and near the cities and towns this winter. It has been so cold that they could not find employment, and, if they did, they had to work for very low wages, because so many of them are looking for work that they are in each other's way.

“Most of those about the cities and towns are men with large families, widows, and very old people. The farmers want only able-bodied men and women for their work, and it is very hard for men

with large families to get homes among the farmers. Kansas is a new State, and most farmers have small houses, and they cannot take large families to live with them. So, when the farmers call for help, they usually call for a man and his wife only, or for a single man or woman.

"Now, in order that men with large families may become owners of land, and be able to support their families, the K. F. R. Association, if they can secure the means, will purchase cheap lands, which can be bought at from \$3 to \$5 per acre, on long time, by making a small payment in cash. They will settle the refugees on those lands, letting each family have from twenty to forty acres, and not settling more than sixteen families in any one neighborhood, so that they can easily obtain work from the farmers in that section or near by. I do not think it best to settle too many of them in any one place, because it will make it hard for them to find employment.

"If our association can help them to build a small house, and have five acres of their land broken, the women and children can cultivate the five acres, and make enough to support their families, while the men are out at work by the day to earn money to meet the payments on their land as they come due. In this way many families can be helped to homes of their own, where they can become self-sustaining, educate their children, and be useful citizens to the State of Kansas.

"Money spent in this way will be much more profitable to them than so much old clothing and provisions. Then they will no longer be objects of charity or a burden to benevolent people."

The sad stories of this persecuted people had touched the hearts of the friends of humanity everywhere. Money and clothing came on every train, and as fast as the association could secure homes for the refugees they were distributed throughout the State.¹

A special correspondent of the "Chicago Inter-Ocean" was despatched to Topeka to report the condition of things there, and to throw some light upon the great intellect of Senator Voorhees. He reported as follows:

"TOPEKA, KAN., April 9.—During the last few days I have, in obedience to your request, been taking notice of the exodus, as it may be

¹We visited Kansas twice in 1880, and again in 1881. We conversed with Gov. St. John, Mr. John M. Brown, and other gentlemen related to and familiar with the matter of the Exodus, and found that those who at the first so violently opposed the coming of the Negroes had been pleased with their simplicity, patience, industry, and character. They were all doing well. The association had discontinued its work, and the people were settled in quiet homes.

studied here at the headquarters for relief among the refugees in Kansas. This is the third visit your correspondent has made to the 'promised land' of the dusky hosts who, fleeing from persecution and wrongs, have swarmed within its borders to the number of 25,000. In a letter written while here in December last the number then within the State was estimated at about 15,000, and since that date at least 12,000 more have come. In the 'barracks' to-day I found what seemed to be the same one hundred * * * who crowded about the stove that cold December day ; but they were not the same, of course, for their places have been filled many times with other hundreds, who have found their first welcome to Kansas in the rest, food, and warmth which the charity of the North has provided here. So efficient have the plan of relief and the machinery of distribution been made, that of the thousands who have passed through here, none have remained as a burden of expense to the association more than four or five days before places were found where their own labor could furnish them support.

"If that pure statesman of Indiana whose great heart was so filled with solicitude for the welfare of his colored brethren, that he asked Congress to appropriate thousands of dollars to ascertain why they moved from one State to another, will come here he will be rewarded by such a flood of light on the question as can never penetrate the recesses of his committee room in Washington. He need hardly propound an inquiry ; he had, indeed, best not let his great presence be known, for in the presence of Democracy the negro has learned to keep silence. But in search of the truth let him go to the file of over 3,000 letters in the Governor's office from negroes in the South, and read in them the homely but truthful tales of suffering, oppression, and wrongs. Let him note how real is their complaint, but how modest the boon they seek ; for in different words, sometimes in quaint and often in awkward phrases, the questions are always the same : Can we be free ? Can we have work, and can we have our rights in Kansas ? Let him go next to the barracks and watch the tired, ragged, hungry, scared-looking negroes as they come by the dozens on every train. If he is not prompted by shame, then from caution necessary to the success of his errand, let him here conceal the fact that he is a Democrat, for these half-famished and terrified negroes have been fleeing from Democrats in the South, and in their ignorance they may not be able to comprehend the nice distinction between a Northern and Southern Democrat. If he will be content simply to listen as they talk among themselves, he will soon learn much that the laborious cross-examination of witnesses has failed to teach him. He may take note of the fact that fleeing from robbery, oppression, and murder, they come only with the plea for work and justice while they work. He may see reason to criticise what generally has been deemed by Southern Democrats at least, the un-

reasonable folly in a negro which prompts husband and wife to go only where they can go together, but he will find nothing to cause him to doubt the sincerity and good faith with which the negro grapples with the problem of his new life here. If he would learn more of this strength of resolution and the patience which they have brought to the search for a home in a free land, let him inquire concerning the lives of these refugees in Kansas. It may seem of significance and worthy of approving note to him, that as laborers they have been faithful and industrious; that in no single case have they come back asking aid of the relief association nor become burdens in any way upon corporate or public charities; that as citizens they are sober and law-abiding to such a degree that he would hardly be able to discover a single case of crime so far among them; and, finally, that in those instances where they were able to purchase a little land and stock, they have made as good progress toward the acquirement of homes and property as have the average poor white immigrants to the State. He will first learn, then, from the refugees themselves something of the desperate nature of the causes that drove them from the South, and secondly, from their lives here, with what thrift, patience, and determination they have met the difficulties which they have encountered in their efforts to gain a foothold, and as men among men, in the land of equal rights. From the Hon. Milton Reynolds, President of the Auxiliary Relief Association at Parsons, I learn that the negroes who have come into the southern part of the State, mostly from Texas, are all either settled on small tracts of land or employed as laborers at from \$8 to \$12 per month, and are all doing well. Mr. Reynolds's testimony to this effect was positive and unqualified. To assist these refugees in Southern Kansas—over 3,000 in all—only \$575 has been expended. From Judge R. W. Dawson, who was the Secretary of the association under the old management and during the early months of the movement, one year ago, when 6,000 refugees were distributed throughout the State and provided with homes at a cost of \$5,000, I learned much of interest concerning the welfare and progress of this advance guard of the great exodus. Judge Dawson, although not connected now with the relief work, feels of course a great interest in the welfare of those to whose assistance he contributed much, and loses no opportunity for observation of their condition while travelling over the State. He says he knows of no case where one has come back to the association for aid, and that, as laborers and citizens, their conduct has been such as to win the approval of all classes. Four colonies have been established. State lands were bought by the association and given to the colonies with the understanding that, to secure their title, they must make the second and third payments on the land purchased on the one-third cash and two-thirds time payment plan. Two of the newest of these colonies are still re-

ceiving aid from the association, but the others are self-sustaining and will be able, it is thought, to make the small purchase payments on the land as they become due.

"If our inquiring Statesman is interested in observing in what spirit these refugees receive the aid which has made existence possible here during the cold winter months, he may be profited by spending a few days in looking about the city of Topeka. There are in Topeka alone over 3,000 refugees, and nearly all of them, paupers when they came, have found means in some way to make a living. In many cases it is a precarious subsistence that is gained, and in not a few cases among late arrivals he would find evidences of want and destitution, but, compared with this, he cannot but be struck with the small number of applicants to the Relief Association for aid. Only 213 rations were issued outside the barracks last week to the 3,000 refugees who came here only a few months since without money, and frequently without clothing, to undertake what seemed under the circumstances the desperate purpose of making a living.

"The dangers and difficulties which beset the refugees' departure from a land where even the right to emigrate is denied him are great. * * * He may learn (Mr. Voorhees), however, from copies of over 1,000 letters in the Governor's office, that Gov. St. John has never, in reply to their appeals, failed to warn them of the difficulties that would beset their way here, and has never extended them promise of other assistance than that implied in the equal rights which are guaranteed to every citizen of Kansas. Further than this, however surprising it may be to Mr. Voorhees' theory of the causes of the exodus, it is nevertheless a fact that this very association, which is charged with encouraging the exodus, has sent the Rev. W. O. Lynch, a colored man, to the South to warn the colored people that they must not come here expecting to be fed or to find homes already prepared, and to do all in his power to dissuade them from coming at all. Still they come, and why they come the country has determined long in advance of Mr. Voorhees' report. * * *

"While we have Mr. Voorhees here we would be glad to have him glance at a State document to be found upon Governor St. John's table, which bears the Great Seal and signature of Gov. O. M. Roberts, of the State of Texas. It is a requisition by the Governor of Texas upon the Governor of Kansas for the body of one Peter Womack, a colored man, who was indicted by the Grand Jury of Grimes County at the last November term for the felony of fraudulently disposing of ten bushels of corn. From further particulars we learn that this Peter Womack gave a mortgage early in the spring of 1879 upon his crop just planted to cover a debt of twenty dollars due the firm of Wilson and Howel. When Womack came to gather his crop, he yields to the importunities

of another white creditor ten bushels of corn *to be applied* upon the debt. About this time this Peter Womack becomes influential in inducing a number of his colored neighbors in Grimes County to emigrate to Kansas. Undeterred by threats and despite the bull-doing methods employed to cause him to remain a 'citizen' of Texas, Womack, with others, sick of a condition of citizenship which is nothing less than hopeless peonage, leaves stock and crops behind to seek a home in Kansas. His acts in inciting the movement of these black serfs are not forgotten, however, by the white chivalry of Grimes County. The evidence of this surrender on a debt of ten bushels of corn, mortgaged for another debt, is hunted up, presented to the Grand Jury of Grimes County, he is promptly indicted for a felony, and the great State of Texas rises in her majesty and demands a surrender of his body. The demand is in accordance with law, undoubtedly,—Texas law,—but if Texas would occasionally punish one of the white murderers who do not think it necessary to leave her borders, this pursuit of a negro for selling ten bushels of corn from a mortgaged crop would seem a more imposing exhibition of the power of the commonwealth to enforce its laws." ¹

The effect, or rather the results of the Exodus have been two-fold. It taught the Southern people that there was need of some effort to regain the confidence of the Negroes; that the Negro is the only laborer who can cultivate that section of the country; that the Negro can get on without the Southern people a great deal better than they can get on without Negro labor; that the severe political treatment and systematic robbery of the Negroes had not only driven them out, but had discouraged white people from settling or investing money at the South; that dissatisfied labor was against their interests; that it was the duty of business men in the South to take a firm stand for the protection of the Negroes, because every stroke of violence administered to the Negroes shocked and injured the business of that section; and that kind treatment of and 'protection' for the Negroes would insure better work and greater financial prosperity. On the other hand, the Exodus benefited the Negroes who sought and found new homes in a new country; and it secured better treatment for those who remained behind. The Exodus was in line with a great law that governs nations. The Negro race must win by contact with the white race; by absorbing all that is good; by the inspiration of example. He must come in contact now not

¹ Chicago Inter-Ocean, April 15, 1880.

with a people who hate him, but with a people of industrious, sober, and honest habits; a people willing to encourage and instruct him in the duties of life. Race lines must be obliterated at the South, and the old theory of the natural inferiority of the Negro must give way to the demonstrations of Negro capacity. A new doctrine must supplant the old theories of pro-slavery days, and every man in the Republic must enjoy a citizenship as wide as the continent, and, like the coin of the Government, pass for his intrinsic value, and no more.

CHAPTER XXIX.

RETROSPECTION AND PROSPECTION.

THE THREE GRAND DIVISIONS OF THE TRIBES OF AFRICA.—SLAVE MARKETS OF AMERICA SUPPLIED FROM THE DISEASED AND CRIMINAL CLASSES OF AFRICAN SOCIETY.—AMERICA ROBS AFRICA OF 15,000,000 SOULS IN 360 YEARS.—NEGRO POWER OF ENDURANCE.—HIS WONDERFUL ACHIEVEMENTS AS A LABORER, SOLDIER, AND STUDENT.—FIRST IN WAR, AND FIRST IN DEVOTION TO THE COUNTRY.—HIS IDIOSYNCRASIES.—MRS. STOWE'S ERRORS.—HIS GROWING LOVE FOR SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES.—HIS GENERAL IMPROVEMENT.—THE NEGRO WILL ENDURE TO THE END.—HE IS CAPABLE FOR ALL THE DUTIES OF CITIZENSHIP.—AMALGAMATION WILL NOT OBLITERATE THE RACE.—THE AMERICAN NEGRO WILL CIVILIZE AFRICA.—AMERICA WILL ESTABLISH STEAMSHIP COMMUNICATION WITH THE DARK CONTINENT.—AFRICA WILL YET BE COMPOSED OF STATES, AND "ETHIOPIA SHALL SOON STRETCH OUT HER HANDS UNTO GOD."

IT has been shown that the tribes of Africa are divisible into three classes: The tribes of the mountain districts, the tribes of the sandstone districts, and the tribes of the alluvial districts; those of the mountain districts most powerful, those of the sandstone districts less powerful, and those of the alluvial districts least powerful. The slave markets of America were supplied,¹ very largely, from two classes of Africans, viz.:

¹ From the year 1500 to 1860 the number of slaves imported from Africa were as follows:

	Number of Negroes imported into America per annum.	Total.
From 1500 to 1525	500	12,500
From 1525 to 1550	5,000	125,000
From 1550 to 1600	15,000	750,000
From 1600 to 1650	20,000	1,000,000
From 1650 to 1700	35,000	1,750,000
From 1700 to 1750	60,000	3,000,000
From 1750 to 1800	80,000	4,000,000
From 1800 to 1850	65,000	3,250,000
Total, 350 years		13,887,500
From 1850 to 1860, increase for decade		749,931
Total importation of Negro slaves into America during a period of 360 years		14,637,431
or about 15,000,000 in round numbers.		

The above figures are taken from Mr. Dunbar's Mexican Papers. The process by which he reaches his conclusions and secures his figures is rather remarkable.

the criminal class, and the refuse of African society, which has been preyed upon by local disease, decimated by wars waged by the more powerful tribes which have pushed down from the abundant supply that has poured over the terraces of the mountains for centuries. Nevertheless, some of the better class have found their way to this country. About 137 Negro tribes are represented in the United States.

For every slave landed safely in North America, there was one lost in procuring and bringing down to the coast, and in transportation. Thus in the period of 360 years, Africa was robbed of about 30,000,000 of souls! When it is remembered that the Negroes in America sprang from the criminal, diseased, and inferior classes of Africa, it is nothing short of a phenomenon that they were able to endure such a rigorous state of bondage. Under-fed and over-worked; poorly clad and miserably housed; with the family altar cast down, and intelligent men allowed to run over it as swine; and with the fountains of knowledge sealed by law against the thirstings of human souls for knowledge, the Negroes of America, nevertheless, have shown the most wonderful signs of recuperation, and the ability to rise, against every cruel act of man and the very forces of nature, to a manhood and intelligent citizenship that converts the cautious, impartial, and conservative spirit of history into eulogy! They have overcome the obstacles in the path of the physical civilization of North America; they have earned billions of dollars for a profligate people; they have made good laborers, efficient sailors, and peerless soldiers. In three wars they won the crown of heroes by steady, intrepid valor; and in peace have shown themselves the friends of stable government. During the war for the Union, 186,017¹ Colored men enlisted in the service of the nation, *and participated in 249 battles*. From 1866 to 1873, besides the money saved in other banking houses, they deposited in the Freedmen's Banks at the South \$53,000,000! From 1866 to 1875 there were seven Negroes as Lieutenant-Governors of Southern States; two served in the United States Senate, and thirteen in the United States House of Representatives. There have been five Negroes appointed as Foreign Ministers. There have been ten Negro members of Northern Legislatures; and in the Government Departments at Washington there are 620 Negroes

¹ This includes the officers, most of whom were white men.

employed. Starting without schools this remarkable people have now 14,889 schools, with an attendance of 720,853 pupils! And this does not include the children of color who attend the white schools of the Northern States; and as far as it is possible to get the statistics, there are at present 169 Colored students attending white colleges in the Northern States.

The first blood shed in the Revolution was that of a Negro, Crispus Attucks, on the 5th of March, 1770. The first blood shed in the war for the Union was that of a Negro, Nicholas Biddle, a member of the very first company that passed through Baltimore in April, 1861; while the first Negro killed in the war was named *John Brown*! The first Union regiment of Negro troops raised during the Rebellion, was raised in the State that was first to secede from the Union, South Carolina. Its colonel was a Massachusetts man, and a graduate of Harvard College. The first action in which Negro troops participated was in South Carolina. The first regiment of Northern Negro troops fought its first battle in South Carolina, at Fort Wagner, where it immortalized itself. The first Negro troops recruited in the Mississippi Valley were recruited by a Massachusetts officer, Gen. B. F. Butler; while their first fighting here was directed by another Massachusetts officer, Gen. N. P. Banks. The first recognition of Negro troops by the Confederate army was in December, 1863, when Major John C. Calhoun, a grandson of the South Carolina statesman of that name, bore a flag of truce, which was received by Major Trowbridge of the First South Carolina Colored Regiment. The first regiment to enter Petersburg was composed of Negroes; while the first troops to enter the Confederate capital at Richmond were Gen. Godfrey Weitzel's two divisions of Negroes. The last guns fired at Lee's army at Appomattox were in the hands of Negro soldiers. And when the last expiring effort of treason had, through foul conspiracy, laid our beloved President low in death, a Negro regiment guarded his remains, and marched in the stately procession which bore the illustrious dead from the White House. And on the 15th of May, 1865, at Palmetto Ranch, Texas, the 62d Regiment of Colored Troops fired the last volley of the war!

Several attempts have been made to define the racial characteristics of the Negro, but they have not been attended with success.

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe has written more and written

better about the American Negro than any other person during the present century. She has given laboriously and minutely wrought pictures of plantation life. She has held up to the gaze of the world portraitures comic and serio-comic, which for the gorgeousness and awfulness of their drapery will perish only with the language in which they are painted.

But Mrs. Stowe's great characters are marred by some glaring imperfections. "Uncle Tom" is too goodish, too lamb-like, too obsequious. He is a child of full growth, yet lacks the elements of an enlarged manhood. His mind is feeble, body strong—too strong for the conspicuous absence of spirit and passion.

"Dred" is the divinest character of the times—is prophet, preacher, and saint. He is *so* grand. He is eloquent beyond compare, and as familiar with the Bible as if he were its author. And every hero Mrs. Stowe takes in charge must make up his mind to get religion, lots of it too, and then prepare to die. There is a terrible fatality among her leading characters.

Mrs. Stowe has given but one side of Negro character, and that side is terribly exaggerated. But all strong natures like hers are given to exaggeration. Wendell Phillips never tells the truth, and yet he always tells the truth. He is a man of strong convictions, and always pronounces his conviction strongly. He has a poetical nature, is a word-painter, and, therefore, indulges in the license of the poet and painter. Mrs. Stowe belongs to this school of writers. The lamb and lion are united in the Negro character. Mrs. Stowe's mistake consists in ascribing to the Negro a peculiarly religious character and disposition. Here is detected the mistake. The Negro is not, as she supposes, the most religious being in the world. He has more religion and has less religion than any other of the races, in one sense. And yet, divorced from the circumstances by which he has been surrounded in this country, he is not so very religious. Mrs. Stowe seizes upon a characteristic that belongs to mankind wherever mankind is enslaved, and gently binds it about the neck of the Negro. All races of men become religious when oppressed. Frederick the Great was an infidel when with his friend Voltaire, but when suffering the reverses of war in Silesia he could write very pious letters to his "favorite sister." This is true in national character when traced to its last analysis. Men pray while they are down in life, but curse when up. And of necessity the religion of a bond people is not always healthy. There

is an involuntary turning to a divine helper; a sort of religious superstition, that believes all things, hopes all things, and is patient. The soul of such a people is surcharged with an almost incredulous amount of poetry, song, and rude but grand eloquence. And when the songs that cheered and lighted many a heavy heart in the starless night of bondage shall have been rescued and purified by the art of music, the hymnology of this century will be greatly indebted to this much-abused people. So, under this religious garb, woven by the cruel experiences consequent upon slavery, the lion slumbers in the Negro.

Every year since the close of the Rebellion the Negro has been taking on better and purer traits of character. Possessed of an impressible nature, a discriminating sense of the beautiful, and a deep, pure taste for music, his progress has been phenomenal. Strong in his attachments, gentle in manners, confiding, hopeful, enduring in affection, and benevolent to a fault, there is no limit to the outcome of his character.

Like the oscillations of the pendulum of a clock the Negro is swinging from an extreme religious fanaticism to an extreme rationalism. But he will finally take his position upon a solid religious basis; and to his "faith" will add virtue, knowledge, and good works. Everywhere under good influences he has made a good citizen. No issue in the State has been foreign to him. He has proven his patriotism and his fondness for this land to which he was dragged in chains, and in his obedience to its laws and devotion to its principles has stood second to none. His home promises much good. His whole life seems to have undergone a radical change. He has shown a disposition and delight in the education of his children; and the constantly growing demand for competent teachers and educated preachers shows that he has outgrown his old ideas concerning education and religion. From an insatiable desire for gewgaws he has turned to a practice of the precepts of economy. From the state of semi-civilization in which he cared only for the comforts of the present, his desires and wants have swept outward and upward into the years to come and toward the Mysterious Future. He has learned the difficult lesson that "man shall not live by bread alone," and has shown himself delighted with a keen sense of intellectual hunger. One hundred weekly newspapers, conducted by Negroes, are feeding the mind of the race, binding communities together by the cords of common interests and racial sympathy; while the

works of twenty Negro authors · lend inspiration and purpose to every honest effort at self-improvement.

The fiery trials of the young Colored men who gained admission to West Point, and the noble conduct of the four regiments of black troops in the severe service of the frontiers have strengthened the hopes of a nation in the final outcome of the American Negro.

But what of the future? Can the Negro endure the sharp competition of American civilization? Can he keep his position against the tendencies to amalgamation? Since it has been proven that the Negro is not dying out, but on the contrary possesses the powers of reproduction to a remarkable degree, a new source of danger has been discovered. It is said that the Negro will perish, will be absorbed by the dominant race ere long; that where races are crossed the inferior race suffers; and that mixed races lack the power to reproduce their species; and that hence the disappearance of the Negro is but a question of time. Mr. Joseph C. G. Kennedy, superintendent of the Federal Census during the war, took the following view of this question:

“That an unfavorable moral condition has existed and continues among the free Colored, be the cause what it may, notwithstanding the great number of excellent people included in that population, no one can for a moment doubt who will consider that with them an element exists which is to some extent positive, and that is the fact of there being more than half as many mulattoes as blacks, forming, as they do, 36½ per cent. of the whole Colored population, and they are maternally descendants of the Colored race, as it is well known that no appreciable amount of this admixture is the result of marriage between white and black, or the progeny of white mothers—a fact showing that whatever deterioration may be the consequence of this alloyage, is incurred by the Colored race. Where such a proportion of the mixed race exists, it may reasonably be inferred that the barriers to license are not more insuperable among those of the same color. That corruption of morals progresses with greater admixture of races, and that the product of vice stimulates the propensity to immorality, is as evident to observation as it is natural to circumstances. These developments of the census, to a good degree, explain the slow progress of the free Colored population in the Northern States, and indicate, with unerring certainty, the gradual extinction of that people the more rapidly as,

¹ Thus far the Negro has not gone, as an author, beyond mere narration. But we may soon expect a poet, a novelist, a composer, and a philosophical writer.

whether free or slave, they become diffused among the dominant race. There are, however, other causes, although in themselves not sufficient to account for the great excess of deaths over births, as is found to occur in some Northern cities, and these are such as are incident to incongenial climate and a condition involving all the exposures and hardships which accompany a people of lower caste. As but two censuses have been taken which discriminate between the blacks and mulattoes, it is not yet so easy to determine how far the admixture of the races affects their vital power; but the developments already made would indicate that the mingling of the races is more unfavorable to vitality, than a condition of slavery, which practically ignores marriage to the exclusion of the admixture of races, has proved, for among the slaves the natural increase has been as high as three per cent. per annum, and ever more than two per cent., while the proportion of mulattoes at the present period reaches but 10.41 per cent. in the slave population. Among the free Colored in the Southern States, the admixture of races appears to have progressed at a somewhat less ratio than at the North, and we can only account for the greater proportionate number of mulattoes in the North by the longer period of their freedom in the midst of the dominant and more numerous race, and the supposition of more mulattoes than blacks having escaped or been manumitted from slavery."

Whatever merit this view possessed before the war of the Rebellion, it is obsolete under the present organization of society. The environments of the Negro, the downward tendencies of his social life, and the exposed state in which slave laws left him, have all perished. In addition to his aptitude for study and capacity for improvement, he is now under the protecting and restraining influences of congenial climate; and pure sociological laws will impart to his offspring the power of reproduction and the ability to maintain an excellent social footing with the other races of the world. The learned M. A. DeQuatrefages says, concerning this question:

None of the eminent men with whom I regret to differ take any account of the influence of the action of the surroundings. I believe that the conditions of the surroundings play as important a part in the crossing of races as they do in other matters. They may sometimes favor, sometimes restrict, sometimes prevent, the establishment of a mixed race. This simple consideration accounts for many apparently contradictory facts. Etwick and Long have affirmed that in Jamaica the mulattoes hold out only because they are constantly recruited by the marriage of whites with negresses. But in San Domingo, in the

Dominican Republic, there are, we may say, no whites, and the population consists of two thirds mulattoes and one third negroes. The numbers of the mulattoes are there well kept up by themselves without the introduction of fresh blood. In respect to fertility, different instances of crossing between individuals of the two same races may give different results, according to the place where they are effected. I believe it is unnecessary to insist and show that the physical and physiological faculties of children born of mixed unions ought to present analogous facts.

"In my view the aggregation of physical conditions does not in itself alone constitute the environment. Social and moral conditions have an equal part in it. Here, again, it is easy to establish, in the results of crossings, differences which have no other cause than differences in these conditions. It is true that mongrels, born and grown up in the midst of the hatred of the inferior race and the contempt of the superior race, are liable to merit the reproaches which are commonly attached to them. On the other hand, if real marriages take place between the races, and their offspring are placed upon a footing of equality with the mass of the population, they are quite able to reach the general level, and sometimes to display superior qualities.

"All of my studies on this question have brought me to the conclusion that the mixture of races has in the past had a great part in the constitution of a large number of actual populations. It is also clear to me that its part in the future will not be less considerable. The movement of expansion, to which I have just called attention, has not slackened since the days of Cortez and Pizarro, but has become more extended and general. The perfection of the means of communication has given it new activity. The people of mixed blood already constitute a considerable part of the population of certain states, and their number is large enough to entitle them to be taken notice of in the population of the whole world.

"These facts show that man is everywhere the same, and that his passions and instincts are independent of the differences that distinguish the human groups. The reason of it is that these differences, however accentuated they may seem to us, are essentially morphological, but do not in any way touch the wholly physiological power of reproduction."¹

Race prejudice is bound to give way before the potent influences of character, education, and wealth. And these are necessary to the growth of the race. Without wealth there can be no

¹ *Revue Scientifique*, Paris.

leisure, without leisure there can be no thought, and without thought there can be no progress. The future work of the Negro is twofold : subjective and objective. Years will be devoted to his own education and improvement here in America. He will sound the depths of education, accumulate wealth, and then turn his attention to the civilization of Africa. The United States will yet establish a line of steamships between this country and the Dark Continent. Touching at the Grain Coast, the Ivory Coast, and the Gold Coast, America will carry the African missionaries, Bibles, papers, improved machinery, instead of rum and chains. And Africa, in return, will send America indigo, palm-oil, ivory, gold, diamonds, costly wood, and her richest treasures, instead of slaves. Tribes will be converted to Christianity ; cities will rise, states will be founded ; geography and science will enrich and enlarge their discoveries ; and a telegraph cable binding the heart of Africa to the ear of the civilized world, every throb of joy or sorrow will pulsate again in millions of souls. In the interpretation of *History* the plans of God must be discerned, "*For a thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday when it is passed, and as a watch in the night.*"

THE END.

APPENDIX.

Part 5.

ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION.

CHAPTER VI.

WALKER'S APPEAL.

One of the most remarkable papers written by a Negro during the Anti-Slavery Agitation Movement was the Appeal of David Walker, of Boston, Massachusetts. He was a shopkeeper and dealer in second-hand clothes. He was born in Wilmington, North Carolina, September 28, 1785, of a free mother by a slave father. When quite young he said: "If I remain in this bloody land, I will not live long. As true as God reigns, I will be avenged for the sorrow which my people have suffered. This is not the place for me—no, no. I must leave this part of the country. It will be a great trial for me to live on the same soil where so many men are in slavery; certainly I cannot remain where I must hear their chains continually, and where I must encounter the insults of their hypocritical enslavers. Go, I must!"

He went to Boston, Massachusetts, where he took up his residence. He applied himself to study, and in 1827, capable of reading and writing, he began business in Brattle Street. He was possessed of a rather reflective and penetrating mind. And before Mr. William Lloyd Garrison unfurled his flag for the Agitation Movement, David Walker wrote and published his Appeal in 1829. It was circulated widely, and touched and stirred the South as no other pamphlet had ever done. Three editions were published. The feeling at the South was intense. The following correspondence shows how deeply agitated the South was by Walker's Appeal. The editor of the *Boston Courier* observed: "It will be recollected that some time in December last [1829] Gov. Giles sent a message to the Legislature of Virginia complaining of an attempt to circulate in the city of Richmond a seditious pamphlet, said to have been sent there from Boston. We find in the *Richmond Enquirer* of the 18th inst. [February, 1830] the following Message from the Governor, enclosing a correspondence which unravels all the mystery which has hitherto enveloped the transaction."

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Feb. 16th, 1830.

SIR: In compliance with the advice of the Executive Council, I do myself the honor of transmitting herewith the copy of a letter from the Honorable Harrison Gray Otis, Mayor of Boston, conveying the copy of a letter from him addressed to the Mayor of Savannah, in answer to one received by him from that gentleman respecting a seditious pamphlet written by a person of color in Boston, and circulated by him in other parts of the United States.

Very respectfully, your obdt serv't,

WM. B. GILES.

The Hon. LINN BANKS, *Speaker of the House of Delegates*.

To his Excellency, the Governor of Virginia:

SIR: Perceiving that a pamphlet published in this city has been a subject of animadversion and uneasiness in Virginia as well as in Georgia, I have presumed that it might not be amiss to apprise you of the sentiments and feelings of the city authorities in this place respecting it, and for that purpose I beg leave to send you a copy of my answer to a letter from the Mayor of Savannah, addressed to me on that subject. You may be assured that your good people cannot hold in more absolute detestation the sentiments of the writer than do the people of this city, and, as I verily believe, the mass of the New England population. The only difference is, that the insignificance of the writer, the extravagance of his sanguinary fanaticism, tending to disgust all persons of common humanity with his object, and the very partial circulation of this book, prevent the affair from being a subject of excitement and hardly of serious attention.

I have reason to believe that the book is disapproved of by the decent portion even of the free colored population in this place, and it would be a cause of deep regret to me, and I believe to all my well-disposed fellow-citizens, if a publication of this character, and emanating from such a source, should be thought to be countenanced by any of their number.

I have the honor to be respectfully, your obedient servant,

Boston, Feb. 10, 1830.

H. G. OTIS, Mayor of the City of Boston.

To the Mayor of Savannah

Sir: Indisposition has prevented an earlier reply to your favor of the 12th December. A few days before the receipt of it, the *pamphlet* had been put into my hands by one of the Board of Aldermen of this city, who received it from an individual, it not having been circulated here. I perused it carefully, in order to ascertain whether the writer had made himself amenable to our laws; but notwithstanding the extremely bad and inflammatory tendency of the publication, he does not seem to have violated any of these laws. It is written by a free black man, whose true name it bears. He is a shopkeeper and dealer in old clothes, and in a conversation which I authorized a young friend of mine to hold with him, he openly avows the sentiments of the book and authorship. I also hear that he declares his intention to be, to circulate his pamphlets by mail, at his own expense, if he cannot otherwise effect his object.

You may be assured, sir, that a disposition would not be wanting on the part of the city authorities here, to avail themselves of any lawful means for preventing this attempt to throw firebrands into your country. We regard it with deep disapprobation and abhorrence. But, we have no power to control the purpose of the author, and without it we think that any public notice of him or his book, would make matters worse.

We have been determined, however, to publish a general caution to Captains and others, against exposing themselves to the consequences of transporting incendiary writings into your and the other Southern States.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

H. G. OTIS.

Part 6.

THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION.

CHAPTER XI.

LIST OF WORKS BY NEGRO AUTHORS.

- "Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa." Autobiography. Boston, 1837.
- "Light and Truth." Lewis (R. B.). Boston, 1844.
- "Volume of Poems." Whitfield, (James M.). 1846.
- "Volume of Poems." Payne, (Daniel A., D.D.). 1850.
- "The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered." Delaney (Martin R.). Philadelphia, 1852.
- "Principia of Ethnology: The Origin of Races and Color." Delaney (Martin R.).
- "Narrative of the Life of an American Slave." London, 1847. "My Bondage and My Freedom." New York, 1855. "Life and Times." Hartford, Conn., 1882. Douglass (Frederick).
- "Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro," etc. Waid (Rev. Samuel Ringgold). London, 1855.
- "The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution." Nell (Wm. C). Boston, 1855.
- "Narrative of Solomon Northup." New York, 1859. "Twenty-two Years a Slave, and Forty Years a Freeman." Rochester, 1861. Stewart (Rev. Austin).
- "The Black Man." Boston, Mass., 1863. "The Negro in the Rebellion." Boston, 1867. "Clotelle." Boston, 1867. "The Rising Sun." Boston, 1874. "Sketches of Places and People Abroad." 1854. Brown (Wm. Wells, M.D.).
- "An Apology for African Methodism." Tanner (Benj. T.). Baltimore, 1867.
- "The Underground Railroad." Still (William). Philadelphia, 1872.
- "The Colored Cadet at West Point." Flipper (H. O.), U. S. A. New York, 1877.
- "Music and Some Highly Musical People." Trotter (James M.). Boston, 1878.
- "My Recollections of African Methodism." Wayman (Bishop A. W.). Philadelphia, Pa., 1881.
- "First Lessons in Greek." Scarborough (W. S. A M.). New York, 1882.
- "History of the Black Brigade." Clark (Peter H.)

- "Uncle Tom's Story of His Life." From 1789 to 1879. Henshaw (Rev. Josiah). Boston.
- "The Future of Africa." New York, 1862, Charles Scribner & Co.
- "The Greatness of Christ," and other Sermons. Crummell (Rev. Alexander, D.D.). T. Whittaker, 2 and 3 Bible House, New York, 1882.
- "Not a Man and Yet a Man." Whitman (A. A.).
- "Mixed Races." Sampson (John P.). Hampton, Va., 1881.
- "Poems." Wheatley (Phillis). London, England, 1773.
- "As a Slave and as a Freeman." Loguen (Bishop, J. W.).

CHAPTER XIII.

THE JOHN BROWN MEN.

The subjoined correspondence was published in the *Republican*, J. K. Rukenbrod, editor, at Salem, Ohio, Wednesday, December 28, 1859. The beautiful spirit of self-sacrifice, the lofty devotion to the sublime principles of universal liberty, and the heroic welcome to the hour of martyrdom, invest these letters with intrinsic historic value.

LETTER FROM EDWIN COPPOCK TO HIS UNCLE JOSHUA COPPOCK.

CHARLESTON, VA., December 13, 1859.

MY DEAR UNCLE: I seat myself by the stand to write for the *last* time, to thee and thy family. Though far from home, and overtaken by misfortune, I have not forgotten you. Your generous hospitality toward me during my short stay with you last Spring is stamped indelibly upon my heart; and also the generosity bestowed upon my poor brother, at the same time, who now wanders an outcast from his native land. But thank God he is free, and I am thankful it is I who have to suffer instead of him.

The time may come when he will remember me. And the time may come when he will still further remember the *cause in which I die*. Thank God the principles of the cause in which we were engaged *will not die with me and my brave comrades*. They will spread wider and wider, and gather strength with each hour that passes.

The voice of truth will echo through our land, bringing conviction to the erring, and adding numbers to *that glorious Army who will enlist under its banner*. The cause of everlasting truth and justice will go on "conquering and to conquer," until our broad and beautiful land shall rest beneath the banner of freedom. I had hoped to live to see the dawn of that glorious day. I had hoped to live to see the principles of the Declaration of our Independence fully realized. I had hoped to see the dark stain of slavery blotted from our land, and the *libel* of our boasted freedom erased; when we can say in truth that our beloved country is "the land of the free and the home of the brave."—But this cannot be. I have heard my sentence passed, my doom is sealed. But two brief days between me and eternity. At the expiration of those two days, I shall stand upon the scaffold to take my last look at earthly scenes. But that scaffold has but little dread for me; for I honestly believe I am innocent of any crime justifying such punishment.

But by the taking of my life, and the lives of my comrades, Virginia is but hastening on that glorious day, when the slave will rejoice in his freedom; when he can say that *I too am a man*, and am groaning no more under the yoke of oppression. But I must now close. Accept this short scrawl as a remembrance of me. Remember me to my relatives and friends. And now Farewell.

From thy nephew,

EDWIN COPPOCK.

P. S. I will say for I know it will be a satisfaction to all of you, that we are all kindly treated, and I hope the North will not fail to give Sheriff Campbell and Captain Avis due acknowledgment for their kind and noble actions.

LETTER FROM EDWIN COPPOCK TO THOMAS WINN.

MY DEAR FRIEND THOMAS WINN: For thy love and sympathy, and for thy unwearied exertion in my behalf, accept my warmest thanks. I have no words to tell the gratitude and love I have for thee. And may God bless thee and thy family, for the love and kindness thee has always shown towards my family and me. And when life with thee is over, may we meet on that shore where there is no parting, is the farewell prayer of thy true Friend.

EDWIN COPPOCK.

THAT LETTER.

The following is the letter from Edwin Coppock, seized upon by the Virginia authorities as a pretence for not commuting his sentence. The offensive remark consisted alone wherein he spoke of the chivalry as "the enemy." There certainly is nothing in this communication that could justify a Government in taking the life of a man whom it otherwise considered not guilty of a capital crime, but whose greatest offence was that of being found, as Wise claimed, in bad company. We give the letter entire:

EDWIN COPPOCK TO MRS. BROWN.

CHARLESTON JAIL, VIRGINIA, November —, 1859.

Mrs. JOHN BROWN—Dear Madam: I was very sorry that your request to see the rest of the prisoners was not complied with. Mrs. Avis brought me a book whose pages are full of truth and beauty, entitled "Voice of the True-Hearted," which she told me was a present from you. For this dear token of remembrance, please accept my thanks.

My comrade, J. E. Cook, and myself, deeply sympathize with you in your sad bereavement. We were both acquainted with Anna and Martha. They were to us as sisters, and as brothers we sympathize with them in the dark hour of trial and affliction.

I was with your sons when they fell. Oliver lived but a few moments after he was shot. He spoke no word, but yielded calmly to his fate. Watson was shot at 10 o'clock on Monday morning, and died about 3 o'clock on Wednesday morning. He suffered much. Though mortally wounded at 10 o'clock, yet at 3 o'clock Monday afternoon he fought bravely against the men who charged on us. When the enemy were repulsed, and the excitement of the charge was over, he began to sink rapidly.

After we were taken prisoners, he was placed in the guard-house with me. He complained of the hardness of the bench on which he was lying. I begged hard for a bed for him, or even a blanket, but could obtain none for him. I took off my coat and placed it under him, and held his head in my lap, in which position he died without a groan or a struggle.

I have stated these facts thinking that they may afford to you, and to the bereaved widows they have left, a mournful consolation.

Give my love to Anna and Martha, with our last farewell.

Yours truly,

EDWIN COPPOCK.

COOK'S LAST LETTER TO HIS WIFE.

CHARLESTOWN JAIL, Dec. 16, 1859.

MY DEAR WIFE AND CHILD: For the last time I take my pen to address you—for the last time to speak to you through the tongue of the absent. I am about to leave you and this world forever. But do not give way to your grief. Look with the eyes of hope beyond the vale of life, and see the dawning of that brighter morrow that shall know no clouds or shadows in its sunny sky—that shall know no sunset. To that eternal day I trust, beloved, I am going now. For me there waits no far-off or uncertain future. I am only going from my camp on earth to a home in heaven; from the dark clouds of sin and grief, to the clear blue skies, the flowing fountains, and the eternal joys of that better and brighter land, whose only entrance is through the vale of death—whose only gateway is the tomb.

Oh, yes! think that I am only going home; going to meet my Saviour and my God; going to meet my comrades, and wait and watch for you. Each hour that passes, every tolling bell, proclaims this world is not our home. We are but pilgrims here, journeying to our Father's house. Some have a long and weary road to wander; shadowed o'er with doubts and fears, they often tire and faint upon life's roadside; yet, still all wearied, they must move along. Some make a more rapid journey, and complete their pilgrimage in the bright morn of life; they know no weariness upon their journey, no ills or cares of toil-worn age. I and my comrades here are among that number. Our pilgrimage is nearly ended; we can almost see our homes. A few more hours and we shall be there.

True, it is hard for me to leave my loving partner and my little one, lingering on the rugged road on which life's storms are bursting. But cheer up, my beloved ones; those storms will soon be over; through their last lingering shadows you will see the promised rainbow. It will whisper of a happy land where all storms are over. Will you not strive to meet me in that clime of unending sunshine? Oh! yes, I know you will; that you will also try to lead our child along that path of glory; that you will claim for him an entrance to that celestial city whose maker and builder is God. Teach him the way of truth and virtue. Tell him for what and how his father left him ere his lips could lisp my name. Pray for him. Remember that there is no golden gateway to the realms of pleasure here, but there is one for the redeemed in the land that lies starward. There I hope we may meet, when you have completed your pilgrimage on the road of life. Years will pass on and your journey will soon be ended. Live so that when from the verge of life you look back you may feel no vain regrets, no bitter anguish for mis-spent years. Look to God in all your troubles; cast yourself on Him when your heart is dark with the night of sorrow and heavy with the weight of woe. He will shed over you the bright sunshine of His love, and take away the burden from your heart.

And now farewell. May that all-wise and eternal God, who governs all things, be with you to guide and protect you through life, and bring us together in eternal joy beyond the grave. Farewell, fond partner of my heart and soul. Farewell, dear babe of our love. A last, long farewell, till we meet in heaven.

I remain, in life and death, your devoted husband.

JOHN E. COOK.

FUNERAL OF JOHN E. COOK.

The funeral of Capt. Cook took place at Brooklyn on the 20th, from the residence of Mrs. S. L. Harris. The services were conducted by the Rev. Mr. Caldicott, of the Lee Avenue Dutch Reformed Church, and at the Cypress Hills Cemetery by the Rev. Wm. H. Johnson. Of the body the day previous, the *Tribune* says:

Owing to the length of time that elapsed between the decease and the time the body was delivered into the charge of Dr. Holmes, the process of embalming has been somewhat difficult, and consequently the appearance of the remains is not so natural as it otherwise would have been.

Last evening the body was placed in an erect position, in order to allow the injected fluid to settle in the veins and arteries, so as to give to the face a more natural appearance. The swelling has entirely disappeared from the neck and face, and the decomposition which had set in had been checked. The remains will not be enshrouded until this morning, when they will be placed in the coffin, enclosed in a white merino robe with a satin collar, satin cord about the waist, and a black neckerchief about the neck.

Yesterday afternoon the father, sisters, and wife of the deceased were permitted to view the remains. His wife removed the breast-pin and a miniature of their child from about his neck, which she had placed there but a few days previous to his execution. She is but eighteen years of age, and has an infant four months old. She is from Harper's Ferry, Va., where she was married about seventeen months since. She, as well as the other relatives, was overwhelmed with sorrow, and it was some moments before they were sufficiently recovered to be enabled to leave the body. The refusal of the Consistories of the Lee Avenue and Fourth Reformed Dutch Churches to permit the services to be held in their edifices has given rise to the expression of much feeling, and many of the friends of the deceased infer that this refusal is made from a fear of censure on the part of some of the members of their congregations, in allowing a Christian burial to the remains.

In the little burial-ground at Oberlin, Lorain County, Ohio, there is a monument dedicated to the memory of three of the John Brown Men, as follows :

L. S. Leary, died at Harper's Ferry, Oct. 20, 1859, aged 24 years
S. Green, died at Charlestown, Virginia, Dec. 2, 1850, aged 28 years.
J. A. Copeland, died at Charlestown, Virginia, Dec. 2, 1859, aged 25 years.

The monument bears the following inscription :

These Colored citizens of Oberlin, the heroic associates of the Immortal John Brown, gave their lives for the Slave.

THE NEGRO ARTIST OF THE STATUE OF LIBERTY ON THE CAPITOL.

When the bronze castings were being completed at the foundry of Mr. Mills, near Bladensburg, his foreman, who had superintended the work from the beginning, and who was receiving eight dollars per day, struck, and demanded ten dollars, assuring Mr. M. that the advance must be granted him, as nobody in America, except himself, could complete the work. Mr. M. felt that the demand was exorbitant, and appealed in his dilemma to the slaves who were assisting in the moulding. "I can do that well," said one of them, an intelligent and ingenious servant, who had been intimately engaged in the various processes. The striker was dismissed, and the negro, assisted occasionally by the finer skill of his master, took the striker's place as superintendent, and the work went on. The black master-builder lifted the ponderous, uncouth masses, and bolted them together, joint by joint, piece by piece, till they blended into the majestic "Freedom," who to-day lifts her head in the blue clouds above Washington, invoking a benediction upon the imperilled Republic!

Was there a prophecy in that moment when the slave became the artist, and with rare poetic justice, reconstructed the beautiful symbol of freedom for America ?¹

Part 7.

THE NEGRO IN THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

CHAPTER XIX.

NEGROES AS SOLDIERS.

Gen. Benj. F. Butler commanded a number of Negro Troops at Fort Harrison, on the 29th Sept., 1864. After white troops had been driven back by the enemy, Gen. Butler ordered his Negro troops to storm the fortified position of the enemy at the point of the bayonet. The troops had to charge down a hill, ford a creek, and—preceded by axemen who had to cut away two lines of *abatis*—then carry the works held by infantry and artillery. They made one of the most brilliant charges of the war,

¹ Washington Correspondent of the New York Tribune, December 2, 1861.

with "Remember Fort Pillow" as their battle-cry, and carried the works in an instant of time.

Nearly a decade after this battle Gen. Butler, then a member of Congress from Massachusetts, said, in a speech on the Civil Rights Bill of this affair:

"It became my painful duty to follow in the track of that changing column, and there, in a space not wider than the clerk's desk, and three hundred yards long, my dear bodies of five hundred and forty-seven of my colored comrades, taken in defiance of their country, who had offered up their lives in pursuit of flag and its honor, as a willing sacrifice; and as I rode along seeing them, gazing my horse this way and that way, lest he should profane with his hoofs what seemed to me the sacred dust, and as I looked on their brave faces, stretched in the shining sun, as if in mute appeal against the wrongs of the country for which they had given their lives, whose flag had only been to them a flag of stripes, in which no star of glory had ever shone for them—nothing I had wrought there in the past, and believing what was the future of my country to them—saying my dead comrades there, I swore to myself a solemn oath—May my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I ever fail to defend the rights of those men who have given their blood for me and my country that day and for their race forever, and God helping me, I will keep that oath."

BATTLES IN WHICH COLORED TROOPS PARTICIPATED.

"Alliance," Steamer, Fla. March 2, 1862. U. S. C. T. 44th Inf.	Bermuda Hundred, Va. May 4, 1864. U. S. C. T. 4th Inf.
Annie River, La. March 18, 1862. U. S. C. T. 77th Inf.	Bermuda Hundred, Va. May 20, 1864. U. S. C. T. 1st Cav.
Appomattox Court House, Va. April 9, 1865. U. S. C. T. 41st Inf.	Bermuda Hundred, Va. Aug. 24 and 25, 1864. U. S. C. T. 7th Inf.
Arkansas River, Ark. Dec. 12, 1864. U. S. C. T. 54th Inf.	Bermuda Hundred, Va. Nov. 30 and Dec. 4, 1864. U. S. C. T. 19th Inf.
Ash Bayou, La. Nov. 19, 1864. U. S. C. T. 53d Inf.	Bermuda Hundred, Va. Dec. 1, 1864. U. S. C. T. 39th Inf.
Ashepoo River, S. C. May 16, 1864. U. S. C. T. 34th Inf.	Bermuda Hundred, Va. Dec. 13, 1864. U. S. C. T. 23d Inf.
Ashwood, Miss. June 25, 1864. U. S. C. T. 63d Inf.	Berwick, La. April 26, 1864. U. S. C. T. 68th Inf.
Ashwood Landing, La. May 1 and 4, 1864. U. S. C. T. 64th Inf.	Big Creek, Ark. July 26, 1864. U. S. C. T. Batt'y E, 2d Lt. Art.; 60th Inf.
Athens, Ala. Sept. 24, 1864. U. S. C. T. 100th, 110th, and 111th Inf.	Big Springs, Ky. Jan. —, 1864. U. S. C. T. 12th Hy. Art.
Harrancas, Fla. July 22, 1864. U. S. C. T. 82d Inf.	Black Creek, Fla. July 27, 1864. U. S. C. T. 35th Inf.
Haxter's Springs, Kan. Oct. 6, 1863. U. S. C. T. 83d (new) Inf.	Black River, La. Nov. 1, 1864. U. S. C. T. 6th Hy. Art.
Bayou Bidell, La. Oct. 15, 1864. U. S. C. T. 53d Inf.	Bogg's Mills, Ark. Jan. 24, 1864. U. S. C. T. 11th (old) Inf.
Bayou Boeuf, Ark. Dec. 13, 1863. U. S. C. T. 3d Cav.	Boyd's Station, Ala. March 18, 1865. U. S. C. T. 101st Inf.
Bayou Mason, Miss. July —, 1864. U. S. C. T. 66th Inf.	Boykin's Mill, S. C. April 18, 1865. U. S. C. T. 54th (Mass.) Inf.
Bayou St. Louis, Miss. Nov. 17, 1863. U. S. C. T. 91st Inf.	Bradford's Springs, S. C. April 18, 1865. U. S. C. T. 102d Inf.
Bayou Tensas, La. Aug. 10, 1863. U. S. C. T. 48th Inf.	Brawley Fork, Tenn. March 25, 1865. U. S. C. T. 17th Inf.
Bayou Tensas, La. July 30 and Aug. 26, 1864. U. S. C. T. 66th Inf.	Brice's Cross Roads, Miss. June 10, 1864. U. S. C. T. Batt'y F, 2d Lt. Art.; 55th and 59th Inf.
Bayou Tunica, La. Nov. 9, 1863. U. S. C. T. 73d Inf.	Briggin Creek, S. C. Feb. 25, 1865. U. S. C. T. 55th (Mass.) Inf.

- Bryant's Plantation, Fla.
 Oct. 21, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 3d Inf.
 Cabin Creek, Caddo Nation.
 July 1 and 2, 1863.
 U. S. C. T. 79th (new) Inf.
 Cabin Creek, Caddo Nation.
 Nov. 4, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 54th Inf.
 Cabin Point, Va.
 Aug. 5, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 1st Cav.
 Camden, Ark.
 April 24, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 57th Inf.
 Camp Marengo, La.
 Sept. 14, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 63d Inf.
 Cedar Keys, Fla.
 Feb. 16, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 2d Inf.
 Chapin's Farm, Va.
 Sept. 29 and 30, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 2d Cav.; 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th
 9th, 22d, 29th (Conn.), 36th, 37th, and 38th Inf.
 Chapin's Farm, Va.
 Nov. 4, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 22d Inf.
 Chattanooga, Tenn.
 Feb. —, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 18th Inf.
 "Chippewia," Steamer, Ark.
 Feb. 17, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 83d (new) Inf.
 "City Belle," Steamer, La.
 May 2, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 73d Inf.
 City Point, Va.
 May 6, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 5th Inf.
 City Point, Va.
 June —, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. Batt'y B, 2d Lt. Art.
 Clarksville, Ark.
 Jan. 18, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 79th (new) Inf.
 Clinton, La.
 Aug. 25, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 4th Cav.
 Coleman's Plantation, Miss.
 July 4, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 52d Inf.
 Columbia, La.
 Feb. 4, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 66th Inf.
 Concordia Bayou, La.
 Aug. 5, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 6th Hy. Art.
 Cow Creek, Kan.
 Nov. 14, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 54th Inf.
 Cox's Bridge, N. C.
 March 24, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 30th Inf.
 Dallas, Ga.
 May 31, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 40th Inf.
 Dalton, Ga.
 Aug. 15 and 16, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 14th Inf.
 Darbytown Road, Va.
 Oct. 13, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 7th, 8th, 9th, and 29th (Conn.) Inf.
 Davis's Bend, La.
 June 2 and 29, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 64th Inf.
 Decatur, Tenn.
 Aug. 18, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 1st Hy. Art.
 Decatur, Ala.
 Oct. 28 and 29, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 14th Inf.
 Decatur, Ala.
 Dec. 27 and 28, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 17th Inf.
 Deep Bottom, Va.
 Aug. 14 to 18, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 7th and 9th Inf.
 Deep Bottom, Va.
 Sept. 2 and 6, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 2d Cav.
 Deep Bottom, Va.
 Oct. 1, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 38th Inf.
 Deep Bottom, Va.
 Oct. 31, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 127th Inf.
 Deveau's Neck, S. C.
 Dec. 7, 8, and 9, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 32d, 34th, 55th (Mass.), and 100d
 Inf.
 Drury's Bluff, Va.
 May 10, 16, and 20, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 2d Cav.
 Dutch Gap, Va.
 Aug. 24, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 22d Inf.
 Dutch Gap, Va.
 Sept. 7, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 4th Inf.
 Dutch Gap, Va.
 Nov. 17, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 36th Inf.
 East Pascagoula, Miss.
 April 9, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. Cos. B. and C., 74th Inf.
 Eastport, Miss.
 Oct. 10, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 61st Inf.
 Fair Oaks, Va.
 Oct. 27 and 28, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 1st, 5th, 9th, 22d, 29th (Conn.), and
 37th Inf.
 Federal Point, N. C.
 Feb. 11, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 39th Inf.
 Fillmore, Va.
 Oct. 4, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 1st Inf.
 Floyd, La.
 July —, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 51st Inf.
 Fort Adams, La.
 Oct. 5, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 3d Cav.
 Fort Anderson, Ky.
 March 25, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 8th Hy. Art.
 Fort Blakely, Ala.
 March 31 to April 9, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 47th, 48th, 50th, 51st, 68th, 73d, 76th,
 82d, and 86th Inf.
 Fort Brady, Va.
 Jan. 24, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 118th Inf.
 Fort Burnham, Va.
 Dec. 10, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 41st Inf.
 Fort Burnham, Va.
 Jan. 24, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 7th Inf.

- Fort Donelson Tenn.
Oct. 11, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 4th Hy. Art.
Fort Gaines, Ala.
Aug. 2 to 8, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 96th Inf.
Fort Gibson, Caddo Nation.
Sept. 16, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 79th (new) Inf.
Fort Gibson, Caddo Nation.
Sept., 1865.
U. S. C. T. 54th Inf.
Fort Jones, Ky.
Feb. 18, 1865.
U. S. C. T. 12th Hy. Art.
Fort Pillow, Tenn.
April 12, 1864.
U. S. C. T. Batt'y F, 2d Lt. Art.; 11th (new) Inf.
Fort Pocahontas, Va.
Aug., 1864.
U. S. C. T. 1st Cav.
Fort Smith, Ark.
Aug. 24, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 11th (old) Inf.
Fort Smith, Ark.
Dec 24, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 83d (new) Inf.
Fort Taylor, Fla.
Aug. 21, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 2d Inf.
Fort Wagner, S. C.
July 18 and Sept. 6, 1863.
U. S. C. T. 54th (Mass.) Inf.
Fort Wagner, S. C.
Aug. 26, 1863.
U. S. C. T. 3d Inf.
Franklin, Miss.
Jan. 2, 1865.
U. S. C. T. 3d Cav.
Ghent, Ky.
Aug. 29, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 117th Inf.
Glasgow, Mo.
Oct 15, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 62d Inf.
Glasgow, Ky.
March 25, 1865.
U. S. C. T. 119th Inf.
Goodrich's Landing, La.
March 24 and July 16, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 66th Inf.
Grand Gulf, Miss.
July 16, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 53d Inf.
Gregory's Farm, S. C.
Dec. 5 and 9, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 26th Inf.
Hall Island, S. C.
Nov. 24, 1863.
U. S. C. T. 33d Inf.
Harrodsburg, Ky.
Oct. 21, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 5th Cav.
Hatcher's Run, Va.
Oct. 27 and 28, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 27th, 39th, 41st, 43d, and 45th Inf.
Haynes Bluff, Miss.
Feb. 3, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 53d Inf.
Haynes Bluff, Miss.
April, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 3d Cav.
Helena, Ark.
Aug. 2, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 64th Inf.
- Henderson, Ky.
Sept. 25, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 118th Inf.
Holly Springs, Miss.
Aug. 28, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 11th (new) Inf.
Honey Hill, S. C.
Nov. 30, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 32d, 35th, 54th, and 55th (Mass.), and 102d Inf.
Honey Springs, Kan.
July 17, 1863.
U. S. C. T. 79th (new) Inf.
Hopkinsville, Va.
Dec. 12, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 5th Cav.
Horse-Head Creek, Ark.
Feb. 17, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 79th (new) Inf.
Indian Bay, Ark.
April 13, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 56th Inf.
Indiantown, N. C.
Dec 18, 1863.
U. S. C. T. 36th Inf.
Indian Village, La.
Aug. 6, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 11th Hy. Art.
Island Mound, Mo.
Oct 27 and 29, 1862.
U. S. C. T. 79th (new) Inf.
Island No. 76, Miss.
Jan. 20, 1864.
U. S. C. T. Batt'y K, 2d Lt. Art.
Issaquena County, Miss.
July 10 and Aug. 17, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 66th Inf.
Jackson, La.
Aug. 3, 1863.
U. S. C. T. 73d, 75th, and 78th Inf.
Jackson, Miss.
July 5, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 3d Cav.
Jacksonville, Fla.
March 29, 1863.
U. S. C. T. 33d Inf.
Jacksonville, Fla.
May 1 and 23, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 7th Inf.
Jacksonville, Fla.
April 4, 1865.
U. S. C. T. 3d Inf.
James Island, S. C.
July 16, 1863.
U. S. C. T. 54th (Mass.) Inf.
James Island, S. C.
May 21, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 55th (Mass.) Inf.
James Island, S. C.
July 1 and 2, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 33d and 55th (Mass.) Inf.
James Island, S. C.
July 5 and 7, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 7th Inf.
James Island, S. C.
Feb. 10, 1865.
U. S. C. T. 55th (Mass.) Inf.
Jenkins's Ferry, Ark.
April 30, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 79th (new) and 83d (new) Inf.
Jenkins's Ferry, Ark.
May 4, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 83d (new) Inf.
John's Island, S. C.
July 5 and 7, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 26th Inf.

- John's Island, S. C.
July 9, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 7th and 34th Inf.
- Johnsonville, Tenn.
Sept. 25, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 13th Inf.
- Jones's Bridge, Va.
June 23, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 28th Inf.
- Joy's Ford, Ark.
Jan. 8, 1865.
U. S. C. T. 79th (new) Inf.
- Lake Providence, La.
May 27, 1863.
- Lawrence, Kan.
July 27, 1863.
U. S. C. T. 79th (new) Inf.
- Little Rock, Ark.
April 26 and May 28, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 57th Inf.
- Liverpool Heights, Miss.
Feb. 3, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 47th Inf.
- "Lotus," Steamer, Kan.
Jan. 17, 1865.
U. S. C. T. 83d (new) Inf.
- Madison Station, Ala.
Nov. 26, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 101st Inf.
- Magnolia, Tenn.
Jan. 7, 1865.
U. S. C. T. 15th Inf.
- Mariana, Fla.
Sept. 27, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 82d Inf.
- Marion, Va.
Dec. 18, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 6th Cav.
- Marion County, Fla.
March 10, 1865.
U. S. C. T. 3d Inf.
- McKay's Point, S. C.
Dec. 22, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 26th Inf.
- Meffleton Lodge, Ark.
June 29, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 56th Inf.
- Memphis, Tenn.
Aug. 21, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 61st Inf.
- Milliken's Bend, La.
June 5, 6, and 7, 1863.
U. S. C. T. 5th Hy. Art.; 49th and 51st Inf.
- Milltown Bluff, S. C.
July 10, 1863.
U. S. C. T. 33d Inf.
- Mitchell's Creek, Fla.
Dec. 17, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 82d Inf.
- Morganzia, La.
May 18, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 73d Inf.
- Morganzia, La.
Nov. 23, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 84th Inf.
- Moscow, Tenn.
June 15, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 55th Inf.
- Moscow Station, Tenn.
Dec. 4, 1863.
U. S. C. T. 61st Inf.
- Mound Plantation, La.
June 29, 1863.
U. S. C. T. 46th Inf.
- Mount Pleasant Landing, La.
May 15, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 67th Inf.
- Mud Creek, Ala.
Jan. 5, 1865.
U. S. C. T. 106th Inf.
- Murfreesboro', Tenn.
Dec. 24, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 12th Inf.
- N. and N. W. R. R., Tenn.
Sept. 4, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 100th Inf.
- Nashville, Tenn.
May 24, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 15th Inf.
- Nashville, Tenn.
Dec. 2 and 21, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 44th Inf.
- Nashville, Tenn.
Dec. 7, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 18th Inf.
- Nashville, Tenn.
Dec. 15 and 16, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 12th, 13th, 14th, 17th, 18th, and 100th Inf.
- Natchez, Miss.
Nov. 11, 1863.
U. S. C. T. 58th Inf.
- Natchez, Miss.
April 25, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 98th Inf.
- Natural Bridge, Fla.
March 6, 1865.
U. S. C. T. 2d and 99th Inf.
- New Kent Court House, Va.
March 2, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 5th Inf.
- New Market Heights, Va.
June 24, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 22d Inf.
- Olustee, Fla.
Feb. 20, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 8th, 35th, and 54th (Mass.) Inf.
- Owensboro', Ky.
Aug. 27, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 108th Inf.
- Palmetto Ranch, Texas.
May 15, 1865.
U. S. C. T. 62d Inf.
- Pass Manchac, La.
March 20, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 10th Hy. Art.
- Petersburg, Va.
June 15, 1864, to April 2, 1865.
U. S. C. T. 5th (Mass.) Cav.; 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 10th, 19th, 22d, 23d, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th (Conn.), 30th, 31st, 36th, 39th, 41st, 43d, 45th, and 116th Inf.
- Pierson's Farm, Va.
June 16, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 36th Inf.
- Pine Barren Creek, Ala.
Dec. 17, 18, and 19, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 97th Inf.
- Pine Barren Ford, Fla.
Dec. 17 and 18, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 82d Inf.
- Pine Bluff, Ark.
July 2, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 64th Inf.
- Pleasant Hill, La.
April 9, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 75th Inf.
- Plymouth, N. C.
Nov. 26, 1863, and April 18, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 20th Inf.

Plymouth, N. C.
 April 1, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 37th Inf.
 Point Lookout, Va.
 May 13, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 36th Inf.
 Point of Rocks, Md.
 June 9, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 2d Cav.
 Point Pleasant, La.
 June 25, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 64th Inf.
 Poison Springs, Ark.
 April 18, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 79th (new) Inf.
 Port Hudson, La.
 May 22 to July 8, 1863.
 U. S. C. T. 73d, 75th, 78th, 79th (old), 80th
 81st, 82d, and 95th Inf.
 Powhatan, Va.
 Jan. 25, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 1st Cav.
 Prairie D'ann, Ark.
 April 13, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 79th (new) and 83d (new) Inf.
 Pulaski, Tenn.
 May 13, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 111th Inf.
 Raleigh, N. C.
 April 7, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 5th Inf.
 Rector's Farm, Ark.
 Dec. 19, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 83d (new) Inf.
 Red River Expedition, La.
 May 1, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 92d Inf.
 Richland, Tenn.
 Sept. 26, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 111th Inf.
 Richmond, Va.
 Oct. 28 and 29, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 2d Cav.; 7th Inf.
 Ripley, Miss.
 June 7, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 55th Inf.
 Roache's Plantation, Miss.
 March 31, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 3d Cav.
 Rolling Fork, Miss.
 Nov. 22, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 3d Cav.
 Roseville Creek, Ark.
 March 20, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 79th (new) Inf.
 Ross's Landing, Ark.
 Feb. 14, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 51st Inf.
 St. John's River, S. C.
 May 23, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 35th Inf.
 St. Stephen's, S. C.
 March 1, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 55th (Mass.) Inf.
 Saline River, Ark.
 May 4, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 83d (new) Inf.
 Saline River, Ark.
 May —, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 54th Inf.
 Salkheatchie, S. C.
 Feb. 9, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 102d Inf.
 Saltville, Va.
 Oct. 2, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 5th and 6th Cav.

Saltville, Va.
 Dec. 20, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 5th Cav.
 Sand Mountain, Tenn.
 Jan. 27, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 18th Inf.
 Sandy Swamp, N. C.
 Dec. 18, 1863.
 U. S. C. T. 5th Inf.
 Scottsboro', Ala.
 Jan. 8, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 101st Inf.
 Section 37, N. and N. W. R. R., Tenn.
 Nov. 24, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 1st Inf.
 Sherwood, Mo.
 May 18, 1863.
 U. S. C. T. 79th (new) Inf.
 Simpsonville, Ky.
 Jan. 25, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 5th Cav.
 Smithfield, Va.
 Aug. 30, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 1st Cav.
 Smithfield, Ky.
 Jan. 5, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 6th Cav.
 South Tunnel, Tenn.
 Oct. 10, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 40th Inf.
 Spanish Fort, Ala.
 March 27 to April 8, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 68th Inf.
 Suffolk, Va.
 March 9, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 2d Cav.
 Sugar Loaf Hill, N. C.
 Jan. 19, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 6th Inf.
 Sugar Loaf Hill, N. C.
 Feb. 11, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 4th, 6th, and 30th Inf.
 Sulphur Branch Trestle, Ala.
 Sept. 25, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 111th Inf.
 Swift's Creek, S. C.
 April 19, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 102d Inf.
 Taylorville, Ky.
 April 18, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 119th Inf.
 Timber Hill, Caddo Nation.
 Nov. 19, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 79th (new) Inf.
 Town Creek, N. C.
 Feb. 20, 1865.
 U. S. C. T. 1st Inf.
 Township, Fla.
 Jan. 26, 1863.
 U. S. C. T. 33d Inf.
 Tupelo, Miss.
 July 13, 14, and 15, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 59th, 61st, and 68th Inf.
 Vicksburg, Miss.
 Aug. 27, 1863.
 U. S. C. T. 5th Hy. Art.
 Vicksburg, Miss.
 Feb. 13, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 52d Inf.
 Vicksburg, Miss.
 June 4, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 3d Cav.
 Vicksburg, Miss.
 July 4, 1864.
 U. S. C. T. 48th Inf.

Vidalia, La.
July 22, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 6th Hy. Art.
Wallace's Ferry, Ark.
July 26, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 56th Inf.
Warsaw, N. C.
April 6, 1865.
U. S. C. T. 1st Inf.
Waterford, Miss.
Aug. 16 and 17, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 55th and 61st Inf.
Waterloo, La.
Oct. 20, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 75th Inf.
Waterproof, La.
Feb. 14, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 49th Inf.
Waterproof, La.
April 20, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 63d Inf.
White Oak Road, Va.
March 31, 1865.
U. S. C. T. 29th Inf.
White River, Ark.
Oct. 22, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 53 Inf.

Williamsburg, Va.
March 4, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 6th Inf.
Wilmington, N. C.
Feb. 22, 1865.
U. S. C. T. 1st Inf.
Wilson's Landing, Va.
June 11, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 1st Cav.
Wilson's Wharf, Va.
May 24, 1864.
U. S. C. T. Batt'y B, ad Lt. Art.; 1st and 10th
Inf.
Yazoo City, Miss.
March 5, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 3d Cav.; 47th Inf.
Yazoo City, Miss.
May 13, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 3d Cav.
Yazoo City, Miss.
March 15, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 3d Cav.
Yazoo Expedition, Miss.
Feb. 28, 1864.
U. S. C. T. 3d Cav.

CHAPTER XX.

HOISTING THE BLACK FLAG.—OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE AND
REPORTS.

GENERAL S. D. LEE TO GENERAL COOPER.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT ALABAMA, MISSISSIPPI, AND {
EAST LOUISIANA, MERIDIAN, June 30, 1864. }

GENERAL: I have the honor to transmit copies of correspondence between General Washburn, U. S. A., General Forrest, and myself, which I consider very important, and should be laid before the Department. It will be my endeavor to avoid, as far as is consistent with my idea of the dignity of my position, resorting to such an extremity as the black flag; and the onus shall be with the Federal commander.

I would like that the onus be put where it properly belongs, before the public, should the extremity arise. The correspondence is not complete yet, and the Department will be informed of the result at the earliest practicable moment.

I am, General, yours respectfully,

S. D. LEE, *Lieutenant-General.*

General S. COOPER, *A. and I. G., Richmond, Va.*

GENERAL FORREST TO GENERAL WASHBURN.

HEADQUARTERS FORREST'S CAVALRY, {
IN THE FIELD, June 14, 1864. }

Major-General WASHBURN, *Commanding United States Forces, Memphis:*

GENERAL: I have the honor herewith to enclose copy of letter received from Brigadier-General Huford, commanding United States forces at Helena, Arkansas, addressed to Colonel E. W. Rucker, commanding Sixth Regiment of this command; also a letter from myself to General Buford, which I respectfully request you will read and forward to him.

There is a matter also to which I desire to call your attention, which, until now, I have not thought proper to make the subject of a communication. Recent events render it necessary,—in fact, demand it.

It has been reported to me that all the negro troops stationed in Memphis took an oath on their knees, in the presence of Major-General Hurlbut and other officers of your army, to avenge Fort Pillow, and that they would show my troops no quarter.

Again, I have it from indisputable authority that the troops under Brigadier-General Sturgis, on their recent march from Memphis, publicly and in various places proclaimed that no quarter would be shown my men. As his troops were moved into action on the eleventh, the officers commanding exhorted their men to remember Fort Pillow, and a large majority of the prisoners we have captured from that command have voluntarily stated that they expected us to murder them, otherwise they would have surrendered in a body rather than taken to the bushes after being run down and exhausted. The recent battle of Tishomingo Creek was far more bloody than it otherwise would have been but for the fact that your men evidently expected to be slaughtered when captured, and both sides acted as though neither felt safe in surrendering even when further resistance was useless. The prisoners captured by us say they felt condemned by the announcements, etc., of their own commanders, and expected no quarter. In all my operations since the war began, I have conducted the war on civilized principles, and desire still to do so, but it is due to my command that they should know the position you occupy and the policy you intend to

pursue. I therefore respectfully ask whether my men in your hands are treated as other Confederate prisoners, also the course intended to be pursued in regard to those who may hereafter fall into your hands.

I have in my possession quite a number of wounded officers and men of General Sturgis's command, all of whom have been treated as well as we have been able to treat them, and are mostly in charge of a surgeon left at Ripley by General Sturgis to look after the wounded. Some of them are too severely wounded to be removed at present. I am willing to exchange them for any men of my command you may have, and as soon as they are able to be removed will give them safe escort through my lines in charge of the surgeon left with them.

I made such an arrangement with Major-General Hurlbut when he was in command of Memphis, and am willing to renew it, provided it is desired, as it would be better than to subject them to the long and fatiguing delay necessary to a regular exchange at City Point, Virginia.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

N. B. FORREST, *Major-General.*

GENERAL WASHBURN TO GENERAL LEE.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF WEST TENNESSEE, }
MEMPHIS, TENN., JUNE 17, 1864. }

Major-General S. D. LEE, *Commanding Confederate Forces near Tupelo, Miss.:*

GENERAL: When I heard that the forces of Brigadier-General Sturgis had been driven back, and a portion of them probably captured, I felt considerable solicitude for the fate of the two colored regiments that formed a part of the command, until I was informed that the Confederate forces were commanded by you. When I learned that, I became satisfied that no atrocities would be committed upon those troops, but that they would receive the treatment which humanity as well as their gallant conduct demanded.

I regret to say that the hope that I entertained has been dispelled by facts which have recently come to my knowledge.

From statements that have been made to me by colored soldiers who were eye-witnesses, it would seem that the massacre at Fort Pillow had been reproduced at the late affair at Bryce's Cross-roads. The detail of the atrocities there committed I will not trouble you with. If true, and not disavowed, they must lead to consequences too fearful to contemplate. It is best that we should now have a fair understanding upon this question, of the treatment of this class of soldiers. If it is contemplated by the Confederate government to murder all colored troops that may by chance of war fall into their hands, as was the case at Fort Pillow, it is but fair that it should be freely and frankly avowed. Within the last six weeks I have, on two occasions, sent colored troops into the field from this point. In the expectation that the Confederate government would disavow the action of their commanding general at the Fort Pillow massacre, I have forbore to issue any instructions to the colored troops as to the course they should pursue toward Confederate soldiers. No disavowal on the part of the Confederate government having been made, but, on the contrary, laudations from the entire Southern press of the perpetrators of the massacre, I may safely presume that indiscriminate slaughter is to be the fate of colored troops that fall into your hands. But I am not willing to leave a matter of such grave import, and involving consequences so fearful, to inference, and I have therefore thought it proper to address you this, believing that you would be able to indicate the policy that the Confederate government intend to pursue hereafter on this question.

If it is intended to raise the black flag against that unfortunate race, they will cheerfully accept the issue. Up to this time no troops have fought more gallantly, and none have conducted themselves with greater propriety. They have fully vindicated their right (so long denied) to be treated as men.

I hope that I have been misinformed in regard to the treatment they have received at the battle of Bryce's Cross-roads, and that the accounts received result rather from the excited imaginations of the fugitives than from actual fact.

For the government of the colored troops under my command, I would thank you to inform me, with as little delay as possible, if it is your intention, or the intention of the Confederate government, to murder colored soldiers that may fall into your hands, or treat them as prisoners of war, and subject to be exchanged as other prisoners.

I am, General, respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. C. WASHBURN, *Major-General, Commanding.*

GENERAL WASHBURN TO GENERAL FORREST.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF WEST TENNESSEE, }
MEMPHIS, TENN., JUNE 19, 1864. }

Major-General N. B. FORREST, *Commanding Confederate Forces:*

GENERAL: Your communication of the fourteenth instant is received. The letter to Brigadier-General Buford will be forwarded to him.

In regard to that part of your letter which relates to colored troops, I beg to say that I have already sent a communication on the subject to the officer in command of the Confederate forces at Tupelo.

Having understood that Major-General S. D. Lee was in command there, I directed my letter to him—a copy of it I enclose. You say in your letter that it has been reported to you that all the negro troops stationed in Memphis took an oath on their knees, in the presence of Major-General Hurlbut, and other officers of our army, to avenge Fort Pillow, and that they would show your troops no quarter.

I believe it is true that the colored troops did take such an oath, but not in the presence of General Hurlbut. From what I can learn, this act of theirs was not influenced by any white officer, but was the result of their own sense of what was due to themselves and their fellows who had been mercilessly slaughtered.

I have no doubt that they went into the field, as you allege, in the full belief that they would be murdered in case they fell into your hands. The affair at Fort Pillow fully justified that belief. I am not aware as to what they proclaimed on their late march; and it may be, as you say, that they declared that no quarter would be given to any of your men that might fall into their hands.

Your declaration that you have conducted the war, on all occasions, on civilized principles, cannot be accepted; but I receive with satisfaction the intimation in your letter that the recent slaughter of colored troops at the battle of Tishemingo Creek resulted rather from the desperation with which they fought than a predetermined intention to give them no quarter.

You must have learned by this time that the attempt to intimidate the colored troops by indiscriminate slaughter has signally failed, and that, instead of a feeling of terror, you have aroused a spirit of courage and desperation that will not down at your bidding.

I am left in doubt, by your letter, as to the course you and the Confederate government intend to pursue hereafter in regard to colored troops, and I beg you to advise me, with as little delay as possible, as to your intentions.

If you intend to treat such of them as fall into your hands as prisoners of war, please so state; if you do not so intend, but contemplate either their slaughter or their return to slavery, please state *that*, so that we may have no misunderstanding hereafter. If the former is your intention, I shall receive the announcement with pleasure, and shall explain the fact to the colored troops at once, and desire that they recall the oath they have taken; if the *latter* is the case, then let the oath stand, and upon those who have aroused this spirit by their atrocities, and upon the government and people who sanction it, be the consequences.

In regard to your inquiry relating to prisoners of your command in our hands, I have to state that they have always received the treatment which a great and humane Government extends to its prisoners. What course will be pursued hereafter toward them must, of course, depend on circumstances that may arise. If your command, hereafter, does nothing which should properly exclude them from being treated as prisoners of war, they will be so treated.

I thank you for your offer to exchange wounded officers and men in your hands. If you will send them in, I will exchange man for man, so far as I have the ability to do so.

Before closing this letter, I wish to call your attention to one case of unparalleled outrage and murder that has been brought to my notice, and in regard to which the evidence is overwhelming.

Among the prisoners captured at Fort Pillow was Major Bradford, who had charge of the defence of the fort after the fall of Major Booth.

After being taken prisoner, he was started with other prisoners of war, in charge of Colonel Duckworth, for Jackson. At Brownsville they rested over night. The following morning two companies were detailed by Colonel Duckworth to proceed to Jackson with the prisoners.

After they had started, and proceeded a very short distance, five soldiers were recalled by Colonel Duckworth, and were conferred with by him; they then rejoined the column, and after proceeding about five miles from Brownsville the column was halted, and Major Bradford taken about fifty yards from the roadside and deliberately shot by the five men who had been recalled by Colonel Duckworth, and his body left unburied upon the ground where he fell.

He now lies buried near the spot, and, if you desire, you can easily satisfy yourself of the truth of what I assert. I beg leave to say to you that this transaction hardly justifies your remark, that your operations have been conducted on civilized principles, and until you take some steps to bring the perpetrators of this outrage to justice, the world will not fail to believe that it had your sanction.

I am, General, your obedient servant.

C. C. WASHBURN, *Major-General, Commanding.*

GENERAL FORREST TO GENERAL WASHBURN.

HEADQUARTERS FORREST'S CAVALRY, }
TUPELO, MISS., June 20, 1864. }

Major-General C. C. WASHBURN, *Commanding U. S. Forces, Memphis, Tenn.*

GENERAL: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt (per flag of truce) of your letter of the seventeenth instant, addressed to Major-General S. D. Lee, or officer commanding Confederate forces near Tupelo. I have forwarded it to General Lee, with a copy of this letter.

I regard your letter as discourteous to the commanding officer of this department, and grossly insulting to myself.

You seek by implied threats to intimidate him, and assume the privilege of denouncing me as a murderer, and as guilty of the wholesale slaughter of the garrison at Fort Pillow, and found your assertion upon the *ex parte* testimony of (your friends) the enemies of myself and country. I shall not enter into the discussion, therefore, of any of the questions involved, nor undertake any refutation of the charges made by you against myself; nevertheless, as a matter of personal privilege alone, I unhesitatingly say that they are unfounded and unwarranted by the facts. But whether those charges are true or false, they, with the question you ask, as to whether negro troops, when captured, will be recognized and treated as prisoners of war, subject to exchange, etc., are matters which the governments of the United States and Confederate States are to decide and adjust, not their subordinate officers. I regard captured negroes as I do other captured property, and not as captured soldiers; but as to how regarded by my government, and the disposition which has been and will hereafter be made of them, I respectfully refer you, through the proper channel, to the authorities at Richmond. It is not the policy or the interest of the South to destroy the negro; on the contrary to preserve and protect him, and all who have surrendered to us have received kind and humane treatment.

Since the war began I have captured many thousand Federal prisoners, and they, including the survivors of the "Fort Pillow Massacre," "black and white," are living witnesses of the fact that with my knowledge or consent, or by my order, not one of them has ever been insulted, or in any way maltreated.

You speak of your forbearance in not giving your negro troops instructions and orders as to the course they should pursue in regard to Confederate soldiers that might fall into their (your) hands, which clearly conveys to my mind two very distinct impressions. The first is, that in not giving them instructions and orders, you have left the matter entirely to the discretion of the negroes as to how they should dispose of prisoners. Second, an implied threat to give such orders as will lead to "consequences too fearful" for contemplation. In confirmation of the correctness of the first impression (which your language now fully develops), I refer most respectfully to my letter from the battle-field, Tishemingo Creek, and forwarded you by flag of truce on the fourteenth instant. As to the second impression, you seem disposed to take into your own hands the settlements which belong to, and can only be settled by, your government; but if you

are prepared to take upon yourself the responsibility of inaugurating a system of warfare contrary to civilized usages, the onus as well as the consequences will be chargeable to yourself.

Deprecating, as I should do, such a state of affairs; determined, as I am, not to be instrumental in bringing it about; feeling and knowing, as I do, that I have the approval of my government, my people, and my conscience as to the past, and with the firm belief that I will be sustained by them in my future policy, it is left with you to determine what that policy shall be, whether in accordance with the laws of civilized nations, or in violation of them.

I am, General, yours, very respectfully,

N. B. FORREST, *Major-General.*

GENERAL FORREST TO GENERAL WASHBURN.

HEADQUARTERS FORREST'S CAVALRY, }
IN THE FIELD, June 23, 1864. }

Major-General C. C. WASHBURN, *Commanding District of West Tennessee, Memphis, Tenn.:*

Your communication of the nineteenth inst is received, in which you say "you are left in doubt as to the course the Confederate government intends to pursue hereafter in regard to colored troops."

Allow me to say that this is a subject upon which I did not and do not propose to enlighten you. It is a matter to be settled by our governments through their proper officers, and I respectfully refer you to them for a solution of your doubts.

You ask me to state whether "I contemplate either their slaughter or their return to slavery." I answer that I slaughter no man except in open warfare, and that my prisoners, both white and black, are turned over to my government to be dealt with as it may direct. My government is in possession of all the facts as regards my official conduct, and the operations of my command since I entered the service, and if you desire a proper discussion and decision, I refer you again to the President of the Confederate States. I would not have you understand, however, that in a matter of so much importance I am indisposed to place at your command and disposal any facts desired, when applied for in a manner becoming an officer holding your rank and position, for it is certainly desirable to every one occupying a public position to be placed right before the world, and there has been no time, since the capture of Fort Pillow, that I would not have furnished all the facts connected with its capture, had they been applied for properly, but now the matter rests with the two governments. I have, however, for your information, enclosed you copies of the official correspondence between the commanding officers at Fort Pillow and myself; also copies of a statement of Captain Young, the senior officer of that garrison, together with (sufficient) extracts from a report of the affair by my A. D. C., Captain Chas. W. Anderson, which I approve and endorse as correct.

As to the death of Major Bradford, I knew nothing of it until eight or ten days after it is said to have occurred.

On the thirteenth (the day after the capture of Fort Pillow) I went to Jackson, and the report I had of the affair was this: Major Bradford was, with other officers, sent to the headquarters of Colonel McCulloch, and all the prisoners were in charge of one of McCulloch's regiments. Bradford requested the privilege of attending the burial of his brother, which was granted, he giving his parole of honor to return. Instead of returning, he changed his clothing and started for Memphis. Some of my men were hunting deserters, and came on Bradford just as he had landed on the south bank of the Hatchie, and arrested him. When arrested, he claimed to be a Confederate soldier belonging to Bragg's army; that he had been on furlough, and was then on his way to join his command.

As he could show no papers he was believed to be a deserter, and was taken to Covington, and not until he was recognized and spoken to by citizens did the guards know that he was Bradford.

He was sent by Colonel Duckworth, or taken by him, to Brownsville.

All of Chalmers's command went from Brownsville, *via* La Grange, and as all the other prisoners had been gone some time, and there was no chance for them to catch up and place Bradford with them, he was ordered by Colonel Duckworth or General Chalmers to be sent south to me at Jackson.

I knew nothing of the matter until eight or ten days afterwards I heard that his body was found near Brownsville. I understand that he attempted to escape and was shot. If he was improperly killed, nothing would afford me more pleasure than to punish the perpetrators to the full extent of the law, and to show you how I regard such transactions.

I can refer you to my demand on Major-General Hurlbut (no doubt upon file in your office) for the delivery to Confederate authorities of one Colonel Fielding Hurst and others of his regiment, who deliberately took out and killed seven Confederate soldiers, one of whom they left to die after cutting off his tongue, punching out his eyes, splitting his mouth on each side to his ears, and cutting off his privates. I have mentioned and given you these facts in order that you may have no further excuse or apology for referring to these matters in connection with myself, and to evince to you my determination to do all in my power to avoid the responsibility of causing the adoption of the policy which you have determined to press. In your letter you acknowledge the fact that the negro troops did take an oath on bended knees to show no quarters to my men, and you say further "you have no doubt they went to the battle-field expecting to be slaughtered," and admit, also, the probability of their having proclaimed on their march that no quarter would be shown us. Such being the case, why do you ask for the disavowal on the part of the commanding general of this department of the government, in regard to the loss of life at Tishomingo Creek? That your troops expected to be slaughtered, appears to me, after the oath they took, to be a very reasonable and natural expectation. Yet you who sent them out, knowing and now admitting that they had sworn to such a policy, are complaining of atrocities, and demanding acknowledgments and disavowals on the part of the very men you sent forth sworn to slay whenever in your power.

I will, in all candor and truth, say to you that I had only heard these things, but did not believe them; indeed, did not attach to them the importance they deserved, nor did I know of the threatened vengeance as proclaimed along the line of march until the contest was over. Had I and my men known it, as you admit it, the battle of Tishomingo Creek would have been noted as the bloodiest battle of the war. That you sanctioned this policy is plain, for you say now "that

If the negro is treated as a prisoner of war, you will receive with pleasure the announcement, and will explain the facts to your colored troops, and *desire* (not *order*) that they recall the oath; but if they are to be either slaughtered or returned to slavery, let the oath stand. Your rank forbids a doubt as to the fact that you and every officer and man of your department are identified with the policy and responsible for it, and I shall not permit you, notwithstanding by your studied language in both your communications you seek to limit the operations of your unholy scheme, and visit its terrible consequences alone upon that ignorant, deluded, but unfortunate people, the negroes, whose destruction you are planning in order to accomplish ours. The negroes have our sympathy, and, so far as consistent with safety, we will spare them at the expense of those who are alone responsible for the inauguration of a worse than savage warfare.

Now, in conclusion, I demand a plain and unqualified answer to two questions, and then I have done with further correspondence with you on this subject. This matter must be settled. In battle and on the battle-field do you intend to slaughter my men who fall into your hands? If you do not intend so to do, will they be treated as prisoners of war?

I have over two thousand of Sturgis's command prisoners, and will hold every officer and private hostage until I receive your declarations, and am satisfied that you carry out in good faith the answers you make, and until I am assured that no Confederate soldier has been foully dealt with from the day of the battle of Tishomingo Creek to this time. It is not yet too late for you to retrace your steps and arrest the storm.

Relying, as I do, upon that Divine power which in wisdom disposes of all things: relying also upon the support and approval of my government and countrymen, and the unflinching bravery and endurance of my troops; and with a consciousness that I have done nothing to produce, but all in my power, consistent with honor and the personal safety of myself and command, to prevent it, I leave with you the responsibility of bringing about, to use your own language, "a state of affairs too fearful to contemplate."

I am, General, yours, very respectfully,

N. B. FORREST, *Major-General.*

OFFICIAL MEMORANDA.

CAHABA HOSPITAL, CAHABA, ALABAMA, {
May 11, 1864.

Colonel H. C. DAVIS, *Commanding Post Cahaba:*

COLONEL: I herewith transmit you, as near as my memory serves me, according to promise, the demand made by Major-General Forrest, C. S. A., for the surrender of Fort Pillow, Tennessee.

Major BOOTH, *Commanding U. S. Forces, Fort Pillow, Tennessee:*

I have force sufficient to take your works by assault. I therefore demand an unconditional surrender of all your forces. Your heroic defence will entitle you to be treated as prisoners of war, but the surrender must be unconditional. I await your answer.

FORREST, *Major-General, Commanding.*

HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES FORCES,
FORT PILLOW, TENNESSEE, April 12, 1864. }

Major-General FORREST, *Commanding Confederate Forces:*

GENERAL: Your demand for the surrender of United States forces under my command received. I ask one hour for consultation with my officers and the commander of gunboat No. 7, at this place. I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

L. F. BOOTH, *Major, Commanding U. S. Forces, Fort Pillow.*

Major L. F. BOOTH, *Commanding United States Forces:*

I do not demand the surrender of the gunboat No. 7. I ask only for the surrender of Fort Pillow, with men and munitions of war. You have twenty minutes for consideration. At the expiration of that time, if you do not capitulate, I will assault your works.

Your obedient servant,

FORREST, *Major-General, Commanding.*

HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES FORCES,
FORT PILLOW, TENNESSEE, April 12, 1864. }

Major-General FORREST, *Commanding Confederate Forces:*

GENERAL: Your second demand for the surrender of my forces is received. Your demand will not be complied with.

Your obedient servant,

L. F. BOOTH, *Major, Commanding U. S. Forces, Fort Pillow.*

I give you the above for your own satisfaction from memory. I think it is true in substance. My present condition would preclude the idea of this being an official statement.

I am, Colonel, your obedient servant,

JOHN T. YOUNG, *Captain, Company A, Twenty-fourth Mo. Inf. Vols.*

CAPTAIN J. T. YOUNG TO MAJOR-GENERAL FORREST.

CAHABA, ALABAMA, May 19, 1864.

Major-General FORREST, C. S. A.:

GENERAL: Your request, made through Judge P. T. Scroggs, that I should make a statement of the treatment of the Federal dead and wounded at Fort Pillow, has been made known to me. Details from Federal prisoners were made to collect the dead and wounded. The dead were buried by their surviving comrades. I saw no ill treatment of their wounded on the evening of the battle, or next morning. My friend, Lieutenant Leaming, Adjutant Thirteenth Tennessee

Cavalry, was left wounded in the sutler's store near the fort, also a lieutenant Sixth U. S. Artillery; both were alive next morning, and sent on board U. S. transport, among many others wounded. Among the wounded were some colored troops—I don't know how many.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JNO T. YOUNG, *Captain Twenty-fourth Missouri Volunteers.*

P. S.—I have examined a report said to be made by Captain Anderson (of) A. D. C. to Major-General Forrest, appendix to General Forrest's report, in regard to making disposition of Federal wounded left on the field at Fort Pillow, and think it is correct. I accompanied Captain Anderson, on the day succeeding the battle, to Fort Pillow, for the purpose above mentioned.

JOHN T. YOUNG, *Captain, Twenty-fourth Missouri Volunteers.*

A true copy.

SAMUEL DONALSON, *Lieutenant and A. D. C.*

Official,

HENRY B. LEE, *A.D.C.*

GENERAL WASHBURN TO GENERAL FORREST.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF WEST TENNESSEE, }
MEMPHIS, TENN., July 2, 1864.

Major-General N. B. FORREST, *Commanding Confederate Forces, near Tupelo:*

GENERAL: Your communications of the twentieth and twenty-third ult. are received. Of the tone and temper of both I do not complain. The desperate fortunes of a bad cause excite much irritation of temper, and I pass it by. Indeed, I received it as a favorable augury, and as evidence that you are not indifferent to the opinions of the civilized world.

In regard to the Fort Pillow affair, it is useless to prolong the discussion.

I shall forward your report, which you did me the favor to enclose, to my government, and you will receive the full benefit of it.

The record is now made up, and a candid world will judge of it. I beg leave to send you herewith a copy of the report of the Investigating Committee from the United States Congress on the affair. In regard to the treatment of Major Bradford, I refer you to the testimony contained in that report, from which you will see that he was not attempting to escape when shot. It will be easy to bring the perpetrators of the outrage to justice if you so desire.

I will add to what I have heretofore said, that I have it from responsible and truthful citizens of Brownsville, that when Major Bradford was started under an escort from your headquarters at Jackson, General Chalmers remarked that "he would never reach there."

You call attention, apparently as an offset to this affair of Major Bradford, to outrages said to have been committed by Colonel Fielding Hurst and others of his regiment (Sixth Tennessee Cavalry). The outrages, if committed as stated by you, are disgraceful and abhorrent to every brave and sensitive mind.

On receiving your letter I sent at once for Colonel Hurst, and read him the extract pertaining to him. He indignantly denies the charge against him, and until you furnish me the names of the parties murdered, and the time when, and the place where, the offence was committed, with the names of witnesses, it is impossible for me to act. When you do that, you may rest assured that I shall use every effort in my power to have the parties accused tried, and if found guilty, properly punished.

In regard to the treatment of colored soldiers, it is evidently useless to discuss the question further.

Your attempt to shift from yourself upon me the responsibility of the inauguration of a "worse than savage warfare," is too strained and far-fetched to require any response. The full and cumulative evidence contained in the Congressional Report I herewith forward, points to you as the person responsible for the barbarisms already committed.

It was your soldiers who, at Fort Pillow, raised the black flag, and while shooting, bayoneting, and otherwise maltreating the Federal prisoners in their hands, shouted to each other in the hearing of their victims that it was done by "Forrest's orders."

Thus far I cannot learn that you have made any disavowal of these barbarities.

Your letters to me inform me confidently that you have always treated our prisoners according to the rules of civilized warfare, but your disavowal of the Fort Pillow barbarities, if you intend to make any, should be full, clear, explicit, and published to the world.

The United States Government is, as it always has been, lenient and forbearing, and it is not yet too late for you to secure for yourself and your soldiers a continuance of the treatment due to honorable warriors, by a public disclaimer of barbarities already committed, and a vigorous effort to punish the wretches who committed them.

But I say to you now, clearly and unequivocally, that such measure of treatment as you mete out to Federal soldiers will be measured to you again.

If you give no quarter, you need expect none. If you observe the rules of civilized warfare, and treat our prisoners in accordance with the laws of war, your prisoners will be treated, as they ever have been, with kindness.

If you depart from these principles, you may expect such retaliation as the laws of war justify.

That you may know what the laws of war are, as understood by my Government, I beg leave to enclose a copy of General Orders No. 100 from the War Department Adjutant-General's Office, Washington, April twenty-four, 1863.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Very respectfully yours,

C. C. WASHBURN, *Major-General.*

GENERAL LEE TO GENERAL WASHBURN.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT ALABAMA, MISSISSIPPI, AND }
EAST LOUISIANA, MERIDIAN, June 28, 1864. }

Major-General C. C. WASHBURN, *Commanding Federal Forces at Memphis, Tennessee:*

GENERAL: I am in receipt of your letter of the seventeenth inst., and have also before me the reply of Major-General Forrest thereto. Though that reply is full, and approved by me, yet I deem it proper to communicate with you upon a subject so seriously affecting our future conduct and that of the troops under our respective commands.

Your communication is by no means respectful to me, and is by implication insulting to Major-General Forrest. This, however, is overlooked in consideration of the important character of its contents.

You assume as correct an exaggerated statement of the circumstances attending the capture of Fort Pillow, relying solely upon the evidence of those who would naturally give a distorted history of the affair.

No demand for an explanation has ever been made either by yourself or your government, a course which would certainly recommend itself to every one desirous of hearing truth; but, on the contrary, you seem to have been perfectly willing to allow your soldiers to labor under false impressions upon a subject involving such terrible consequences. Even the formality of parades and oaths have been resorted to for the purpose of inciting your colored troops to the perpetration of deeds which, you say, "will lead to consequences too fearful to contemplate."

As commanding officer of this Department I desire to make the following statement concerning the capture of Fort Pillow—a statement supported in a great measure by the evidence of one of your own officers captured at that place.

The version given by you and your government is untrue, and not sustained by the facts to the extent that you indicate.

The garrison was summoned in the usual manner, and its commanding officer assumed the responsibility of refusing to surrender after having been informed by General Forrest of his ability to take the fort, and of his fears as to what the result would be in case the demand was not complied with.

The assault was made under a heavy fire, and with considerable loss to the attacking party.

Your colors were never lowered, but retreated from the fort to the cover of the gunboats, with arms in their hands, and constantly using them.

This was true, particularly of your colored troops, who had been firmly convinced by your teachings of the certainty of their slaughter in case of capture. Even under these circumstances many of your men—white and black—were taken prisoners.

I respectfully refer you to history for numerous cases of indiscriminate slaughter, even under less aggravated circumstances.

It is generally conceded by all military precedents that where the issue has been fairly presented, and the ability displayed, fearful results are expected to follow a refusal to surrender.

The case under consideration is almost an extreme one.

You had a servile race armed against their masters, and in a country which had been desolated by almost unprecedented outrages.

I assert that our officers, with all these circumstances against them, endeavored to prevent the effusion of blood; and, as evidence of this, I refer you to the fact that both white and colored prisoners were taken, and are now in our hands.

As regards the battle of Tishomingo Creek, the statements of your negro witnesses are not to be relied on. In this panic they acted as might have been expected from their previous impressions. I do not think many of them were killed—they are yet wandering over the country, attempting to return to their masters.

With reference to the status of those captured at Tishomingo Creek and Fort Pillow, I will state that, unless otherwise ordered by my government, they will not be regarded as prisoners of war, but will be retained and humanely treated, subject to such future instructions as may be indicated.

Your letter contains many implied threats; these you can of course make, and you are fully entitled to any satisfaction that you may feel from having made them.

It is my intention, and that also of my subordinates, to conduct this war upon civilized principles, provided you permit us to do so; and I take this occasion to state that we will not shrink from any responsibilities that your actions may force upon us.

We are engaged in a struggle for the protection of our homes and firesides, for the maintenance of our national existence and liberty; we have counted the cost and are prepared to go to any extremes; and although it is far from our wish to fight under the "black flag," still, if you drive us to it, we will accept the issue.

Your troops virtually fought under it at the battle of Tishomingo Creek, and the prisoners taken there state that they went into battle with the impression that they were to receive no quarter, and I suppose with the determination to give none.

I will further remark that if it is raised, so far as your soldiers are concerned, there can be no distinction, for the unfortunate people whom you pretend to be aiding are not considered entirely responsible for their acts, influenced as they are by the superior intellect of their white brothers.

I enclose for your consideration certain papers touching the Fort Pillow affair, which were procured from the writer after the exaggerated statements of your press were seen.

I am, General, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

S. D. LEE, *Lieutenant-General, Commanding.*

ENCLOSURE IN THE FOREGOING.

CANABA, ALABAMA, May 16, 1864.

I was one of the bearers of the flag of truce, on the part of the United States authorities, at Fort Pillow. A majority of the officers of the garrison doubted whether General Forrest was present, and had the impression that it was a ruse to induce the surrender of the fort. At the second meeting of the flag of truce, General Forrest announced himself as being General Forrest; but the officers who accompanied the flag, being unacquainted with the General, doubted his word, and it was the opinion of the garrison, at the time of the assault, that General Forrest was not in the vicinity of the fort. The commanding officer refused to surrender. When the final assault was made, I was captured at my post, inside the works, and have been treated as a prisoner of war.

JOHN T. YOUNG, *Captain, Twenty-fourth Missouri Volunteers.*

F. W. UNDERHILL, *First Lieutenant, Cavalry.*

GENERAL WASHBURN TO GENERAL LEE.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF WEST TENNESSEE, }
 MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, July 3, 1864. }

Lieutenant-General S. D. LEE, *Commanding Department Alabama, Mississippi and East Louisiana, C. S. A., Meridian, Miss.*

GENERAL: Your letter of the twenty-eighth ult., in reply to mine of the seventeenth ult., is received.

The discourtesy which you profess to discover in my letter I utterly disclaim. Having already discussed at length, in a correspondence with Major-General Forrest, the Fort Pillow massacre, as well as the policy to be pursued in regard to colored troops, I do not regard it necessary to say more on those subjects. As you state that you fully approve of the letter sent by General Forrest to me, in answer to mine of the seventeenth ult., I am forced to presume that you fully approve of his action at Fort Pillow.

Your arguments in support of that action confirm such presumption. You state that the "version given by me and my government is not true, and not sustained by the facts to the extent I indicate." You furnish a statement of a certain Captain Young, who was captured at Fort Pillow, and is now a prisoner in your hands. How far the statement of a prisoner under duress and in the position of Captain Young should go to disprove the sworn testimony of the hundred eyewitnesses who had ample opportunity of seeing and knowing, I am willing that others shall judge.

In relying, as you do, upon this certificate of Captain Young, you confess that all better resources are at an end.

You are welcome to all the relief that that certificate is calculated to give you. Does he say that our soldiers were not inhumanly treated? No. Does he say that he was in a position to see in case they had been mistreated? No. He simply says that "he saw no ill-treatment of their wounded." If he was in a position to see and know what took place, it was easy for him to say so.

I yesterday sent to Major-General Forrest a copy of the report of the Congressional Investigating Committee, and I hope it may fall into your hands. You will find there the record of inhuman atrocities, to find a parallel for which you will search the page of history in vain. Men—white men and black men—were crucified and burned; others were hunted by bloodhounds; while others, in their anguish, were made the sport of men more cruel than the dogs by which they were hunted.

I have also sent to my government copies of General Forrest's reports, together with the certificate of Captain Young.

The record in the case is plainly made up, and I leave it. You justify and approve it, and appeal to history for precedents.

As I have said, history furnishes no parallel. True, there are instances where, after a long and protracted resistance, resulting in heavy loss to the assailing party, the garrison has been put to the sword, but I know of no such instance that did not bring dishonor upon the commander that ordered or suffered it.

There is no Englishman that would not gladly forget Badajos, nor a Frenchman that exults when Jaffa or the Caves of Dahra and Shelas are spoken of. The massacre of Glencoe, which the world has read of with horror, for nearly two hundred years, pales into insignificance before the truthful recital of Fort Pillow.

The desperate defence of the Alamo was the excuse for the slaughter of its brave survivors after its surrender, yet that act was received with just execration, and we are told by the historian that it led more than anything else to the independence of Texas.

At the battle of San Jacinto the Texans rushed into action with the war-cry, "Remember the Alamo," and carried all before them.

You will seek in vain for consultation in history, pursue the inquiry as far as you may.

Your desire to shift the responsibility of the Fort Pillow massacre, or to find excuses for it, is not strange. But the responsibility still remains where it belongs, and there it will remain.

In my last letter to General Forrest I stated that the treatment which Federal soldiers received would be their guide hereafter, and that if you give no quarter you need expect none. If you observe the rules of civilized warfare I shall rejoice at it, as no one can regret more than myself a resort to such measures as the laws of war justify towards an enemy that gives no quarter.

Your remark that our colored soldiers "will not be regarded as prisoners of war, but will be retained and humanely treated," indicating that you consider them as of more worth and importance than your own soldiers who are now in our hands, is certainly very complimentary to the colored troops, though but a tardy acknowledgment of their bravery and devotion as soldiers; but such fair words can neither do justice to the colored soldiers who were butchered at Fort Pillow after they had surrendered to their victors, nor relieve yourself, General Forrest, and the troops serving under you, from the fearful responsibility now resting upon you for those wanton and unparalleled barbarities.

I concur in your remarks that if the black flag is once raised, there can be no distinction so far as our soldiers are concerned. No distinction in this regard as to color is known to the laws of war, and you may rest assured that the outrages we complain of are felt by our white soldiers, no less than by our black ones, as insults to their common banner, the flag of the United States.

I will close by a reference to your statement that many of our colored soldiers "are yet wandering over the country attempting to return to their masters." If this remark is intended for a joke, it is acknowledged as a good one; but, if stated as a fact, permit me to correct your misapprehensions by informing you that most of them have returned to their respective commands, their search for their late "masters" having proved bootless; and I think I do not exaggerate in assuring you that there is not a colored soldier here who does not prefer the fate of his comrades at Fort Pillow to being returned to his "master."

I remain, General,

Yours, very respectfully,

C. C. WASHBURN, *Major-General.*

CAPTAIN J. T. YOUNG TO GENERAL WASHBURN.

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, September 13, 1864.

Major-General C. C. WASHBURN, *Commanding District West Tennessee* :

GENERAL: I have the honor to address you in regard to certain papers forwarded you by Major-General Forrest, of the so-called Confederate army, signed by me under protest, whilst a prisoner of war at Cahaba, Alabama. I would first call your attention to the manner by which these papers were procured. About twenty-seventh April last, all Federal prisoners (except colored soldiers) were sent to Andersonville and Macon, Georgia, myself among the number. About ten days after my arrival at Macon prison, a Confederate captain, with two men as guard, came to that prison with an order for me to return to Cahaba. I appealed to the officer in command to know why I was taken from the other officers, but received no explanation. Many of my friends among the Federal officers who had been prisoners longer than myself felt uneasy at the proceedings, and advised me to make my escape going back, as it was likely a subject of retaliation. Consequently I felt considerable uneasiness of mind. On returning to Cahaba, being quite unwell, I was placed in hospital, under guard, with still no explanation from the military authorities. On the day following, I was informed by a sick Federal officer, also in hospital, that he had learned that I had been recognized by some Confederate as a deserter from the Confederate army, and that I was to be court-martialed and shot. The colored waiters about the hospital told me the same thing, and although I knew that the muster-rolls of my country would show that I had been in the volunteer service since first May, 1861, I still felt uneasy, having fresh in my mind Fort Pillow, and the summary manner the Confederate officers have of disposing of men on some occasions. With the above impressions on my mind, about three days after my return to Cahaba I was sent for by the Provost Marshal, and certain papers handed me, made out by General Forrest for my signature. Looking over the papers, I found that signing them would be an endorsement of General Forrest's official report of the Fort Pillow affair. I of course returned the papers, positively refusing to have anything to do with them. I was sent for again the same day, with request to sign other papers of the same tendency, but modified. I again refused to sign the papers, but sent General Forrest a statement, that although I considered some of the versions of the Fort Pillow affair, which I had read in their own papers, said to be copied from Federal papers, exaggerated, I also thought that his own official report was equally so in some particulars.

Here the matter rested about one week, when I was sent for by Colonel H. C. Davis, commander of post at Cahaba, who informed me that General Forrest had sent P. T. Scroggs to see me, and have a talk with me about the Fort Pillow fight. I found the judge very affable and rather disposed to flatter me; he said that General Forrest thought that I was a gentleman and a soldier, and that the General had sent him (the judge) down to see me and talk to me about the Fort Pillow fight; he then went on to tell over a great many things that were testified to before the Military Commission, which I was perfectly ignorant of, never having seen the testimony. He then produced papers which General Forrest wished me to sign. Upon examination, I found them about the same as those previously shown me, and refused again to sign them, but the judge was very importunate, and finally prevailed on me to sign the papers you have in your possession, pledging himself that if I wished it they should only be seen by General Forrest himself, that they were not intended to be used by him as testimony, but merely for his own satisfaction.

I hope, General, that these papers signed by me, or rather extorted from me while under duress, will not be used by my government to my disparagement, for my only wish is now, after three years' service and over, to recruit my health, which has suffered badly by imprisonment, and go in for the war.

I have the honor to be, General,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN T. YOUNG, *Captain, Company A, Twenty-fourth Mo. Inf.*¹

It should not be forgotten that the material part of Gen. Forrest's defence was extorted from Capt. John T. Young, an officer in the Union forces at Fort Pillow. He was sick and a prisoner in the hands of the rebels; and while in this condition he was compelled to sign the papers given above, which had been made out by Forrest himself. The last letter of the correspondence shows that Capt. Young did not want the papers used by the United States Government, because they were not true. Moreover, the despatches of Forrest to Major Bradford make no mention of retaliation. The despatches above are not true copies. For instance, he demanded the surrender of Paducah on the 25th of March, 1864, just before he took Fort Pillow, and this was his despatch :

H'DQU'RS FORREST'S CAVALRY CORPS, {
PADUCAH, March 25, 1864 }

To Col. HICKS, *Commanding Federal Forces at Paducah*.

Having a force amply sufficient to carry your works and reduce the place, in order to avoid the unnecessary effusion of blood, I demand the surrender of the fort and troops, with all the public stores. If you surrender, you shall be treated as prisoners of war; but, if I have to storm your works, you may expect no quarter.

N. B. FORREST, *Maj.-Gen. Com'ding.*¹ Rebellion Records, vol. x. pp. 781-730.

And on the 19th of April, 1864, the next day after the massacre at Fort Pillow, Gen. Abe Buford demanded the surrender of Columbus, Kentucky, in the following despatch :

To the Commander of the United States Forces, Columbus, Ky.:

Fully capable of taking Columbus and its garrison by force, I desire to avoid shedding blood. I therefore demand the unconditional surrender of the forces under your command. Should you surrender, the negroes now in arms will be returned to their masters. Should I be compelled to take the place by force, no quarter will be shown negro troops whatever; white troops will be treated as prisoners of war.

I am, sir, yours,

A. BUFORD, Brig.-Gen.

Now, as both Bradford and Booth were dead, it was impossible to learn just what language was used by Forrest in the despatches he sent them. But from the testimony given above, the explanation of Capt. Young and the language of the two despatches just quoted, addressed to the commander of the Union forces at Paducah and Columbus, Kentucky, history has made out a case against Gen. Forrest that no human being would covet.

Part 8.

THE FIRST DECADE OF FREEDOM.

CHAPTER XXII.

AN EDUCATED AFRICAN.

Daniel Flickinger Wilberforce, a native African, and educated in America, presents a striking illustration of the capabilities of the Negro. He was born a pagan, and when brought in contact with the institutions of civilization he outstripped those whose earlier life had been impressed with the advantages of such surroundings. There was nothing in his blood, or in his early rearing, to develop him. He came from darkness himself as well as by his ancestry. Rev. Daniel K. Flickinger, D.D., has been secretary of the Home Frontier and Foreign Missionary Society for the past twenty-five years. He was the companion in Africa of George Thompson, and on one of his trips had a short association with Livingstone. Dr. Flickinger aided in establishing the United Biethren Mission on the Western Coast of Africa, and has had his heart in it for a quarter of a century. During that time he has made six trips to Africa to look after this mission; returning from his last voyage in May, 1881. He has studied those people and found them apt in the schools as well as in the acquiring of American customs in tilling the soil and in the trades. During Dr. Flickinger's first visit to Africa in 1855, while at Good Hope Station, Mendi Mission, located on the eastern banks of Sherbro Island, latitude 7° north, and longitude 18° west, he employed a native to watch over him at night as he slept in his hammock, there being wild and dangerous tribes in the vicinity. To that man in that time was born a child. The father came to the missionaries the next day to tell them that his wife "done born picin" and wanted them to give it a name. Mr. Burton, the missionary in charge, suggested that of Daniel Flickinger, and it was taken. The missionaries had performed the usual marriage ceremony for as many as came within their reach, and broken up the former heathen customs in their immediate vicinity as far as possible, and this man was duly married. He took as his last name that of Wilberforce after the English philanthropist, who was dear to all Colored people, and from that time on this native and his family became attached to the mission, and were known by the name of Wilberforce. This man had children born in heathendom and under quite different circumstances.

Dr. Flickinger soon afterward sailed for America, and soon forgot that he had a namesake on the distant shore. He made other trips across the water, but failed to come in contact with the Wilberforce family. Sixteen years afterward, in 1871, he was in New York City shipping goods to the African missionaries. The boxes, labelled "Daniel K. Flickinger," were being loaded and unloaded at the American Mission Rooms in that city, and the doctor noticed that the colored porter boy was about half wild over something. He asked him if there was any thing wrong, but got no reply. The young porter kept rolling his eyes and acting half scared at the name on those boxes, and finally the doctor asked him his name, to which there came the prompt reply, Daniel Flickinger Wilberforce! In his travels of a lifetime the missionary had often been surprised, but this bewildered him. A thunder-bolt could not have shocked him more. Then the two stood gazing at each other in perfect amazement, and neither able to tell how their names came to be so near alike. The boxes were forgotten. The boy soon had his relief and began laughing as few others could laugh, while the doctor was still unable to see through the mystery. He gave the young fellow two shillings and told him to proceed with the boxes. The doctor then began an investigation about the Mission Rooms, and found that this boy, just a short time before that, had been brought over on a merchant vessel to care for an invalid missionary lady during the voyage, that he had served a short time as bell-boy at a hotel, and that they had employed him in the Mission Rooms, but had promised to send him back on the next sail vessel. The doctor got his location in Africa and a complete chain of circumstances such as to convince him that this was the boy that was named after him in 1855. He told the authorities at the American Mission Rooms, to write to Africa and say that Dan. was well cared for over here, and for them to keep him till further advised. As soon as the doctor made his shipments to the missionaries he returned to Dayton and asked the Executive Committee of his Board if they would assist him in educating this African who had turned up in such a romantic manner. Consent was given, and young Wilberforce was shipped to Dayton. He was brought into Dr. Flickinger's office with the tag of an express company attached to his clothes—young, green, and, in fact, a raw recruit to the ranks of civilization. Seven years after that he bid adieu to his friends in that same office, to return to his people in Africa as a teacher, preacher, and physician. He was then one of the finest scholars of his age in this country. When he arrived at Dayton he of course had to have a private tutor. He was sixteen years old and had to start with the rudiments, but he was, at the beginning of the next school year, able to join classes on which he doubled right along. It requires a course of eight years to reach the High School, but in less than four years after his arrival in Dayton he passed the examination for admission to the High School of Dayton, Ohio, and was the first Colored pupil ever admitted to that school. Since then, other Colored pupils have annually been following his example. The course in the High School was four years, and the Board and teachers were very particularly averse to gaining time. Owing to Wilberforce's great aptness, that allowed him to go ahead of his class, he gained one year then and there, and took the honors of the class that started one year ahead of him. There were twenty-three members of that class. The Commencement was in the Opera-house at Dayton in 1878, and on that occasion the President of the Board said, without discredit to any others, he felt called upon to make special mention of young Wilberforce, which he did in a handsome manner. This was not all; the Missionary Society wanted to send Wilberforce to Africa in September of that year, and as he went along they had him at other studies. He had become an excellent musician, both vocal and instrumental. He had been studying theology and read Hebrew well. He had also taken a course of reading in medicine, so that he might be of service to the bodies as well as the souls of his

brethren. Marvellous as it may seem, all of this was done in so short a time, and from a state of savage life up to civilized life ; still it is true. And, besides, Wilberforce had been a reader of history and general literature, and was a writer of unusual merit. His progress has always and always will seem incredible, even to those who had personal knowledge of him during the time that he had this experience of seven years. He had a remarkable mind, was born a heathen, had no youthful advantages, and is to-day one of the best-informed and most thoroughly cultivated thinkers of his age. When he left Dayton in the summer of 1878, he was greatly missed. At the Colored United Brethren Church he was janitor, leader of a choir, organist, superintendent of the Sunday-school, and class leader, and when the pastor failed, Wilberforce also did the preaching. He was never proud. In the humble capacity of janitor he took excellent care of Dr. Flickinger's office, and was willing and ready to do anything. He was modest socially, but a favorite among his classmates, and not only respected but admired by all. He married a Dayton girl before he left for Africa, and has remained abroad since 1878, but he expects at no distant time to return to America to complete his professional studies. He belonged to the Sherbro tribe or people, and with them he is now laboring.

LAFAYETTE'S PLAN OF COLONIZATION.

Now, my dear General, that you are about to enjoy some repose, permit me to propose to you a scheme which may prove of great benefit to the black part of the human race. Let us unite in the purchase of a small estate, where we can attempt to free the negroes and employ them simply as farm laborers. Such an example set by you might be generally followed, and should we succeed in America I shall gladly consecrate a part of my time to introducing the custom into the Antilles. If this be a crude idea I prefer to be considered a fool in this way rather than be thought wise by an opposite conduct.¹

5th February, 1783.

THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

As an evidence of the growing confidence in the eagerness for and capacity of the Negro to become an educated citizen, the handsome bequest of John F. Slater, Esq., for the education of the race stands forth as a conspicuous example. The Negroes of the South have acknowledged this munificent gift with that graceful gratitude so strikingly characteristic of them.

DRAFT OF AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE TRUSTEES OF THE JOHN F. SLATER FUND.

Whereas, MESSRS. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, of Ohio ; MORRISON R. WAITE, of the District of Columbia ; WILLIAM E. DODGE, of New York ; PHILLIPS BROOKS, of Massachusetts ; DANIEL C. GILMAN, of Maryland ; JOHN A. STEWART, of New York ; ALFRED H. COLQUITT, of Georgia ; MORRIS K. JESUP, of New York ; JAMES P. BOYCE, of Kentucky ; and WILLIAM A. SLATER, of Connecticut, have, by their memorial, represented to the Senate and Assembly of this State that a letter has been received by them from JOHN F. SLATER, of Norwich, in the State of Connecticut, of which the following is a copy :

To MESSRS. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, of Ohio ; MORRISON R. WAITE, of the District of Columbia ; WILLIAM E. DODGE, of New York ; PHILLIPS BROOKS, of Massachusetts ; DANIEL C. GILMAN, of Maryland ; JOHN A. STEWART, of New York ; ALFRED H. COLQUITT, of Georgia ; MORRIS K. JESUP, of New York ; JAMES P. BOYCE, of Kentucky ; and WILLIAM A. SLATER, of Connecticut :

GENTLEMEN.—It has pleased God to grant me prosperity in my business, and to put it into my power to apply to charitable uses a sum of money so considerable as to require the counsel of wise men for the administration of it.

It is my desire at this time to appropriate to such uses the sum of one million of dollars (\$1,000,000 00) ; and I hereby invite you to procure a charter of incorporation under which a charitable fund may be held exempt from taxation, and under which you shall organize ; and I intend that the corporation, as soon as formed, shall receive this sum in trust to apply the income of it according to the instructions contained in this letter.

The general object which I desire to have exclusively pursued, is the uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the Southern States, and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education. The disabilities formerly suffered by these people, and their singular patience and fidelity in the great crisis of the nation, establish a just claim on the sympathy and good will of humane and patriotic men. I cannot but feel the compassion that is due in view of their prevailing ignorance which exists by no fault of their own

¹ Correspondence of American Revolution, vol. iii. p. 547.

But it is not only for their own sake, but also for the safety of our common country, in which they have been invested with equal political rights, that I am desirous to aid in providing them with the means of such education as shall tend to make them good men and good citizens—education in which the instruction of the mind in the common branches of secular learning shall be associated with training in just notions of duty toward God and man, in the light of the Holy Scriptures.

The means to be used in the prosecution of the general object above described, I leave to the discretion of the corporation; only indicating, as lines of operation adapted to the present condition of things, the training of teachers from among the people requiring to be taught, if, in the opinion of the corporation, by such limited selection the purposes of the trust can be best accomplished; and the encouragement of such institutions as are most effectually useful in promoting this training of teachers.

I am well aware that the work herein proposed is nothing new or untried. And it is no small part of my satisfaction in taking this share in it, that I hereby associate myself with some of the noblest enterprises of charity and humanity, and may hope to encourage the prayers and toils of faithful men and women who have labored and are still laboring in this cause.

I wish the corporation which you are invited to constitute, to consist at no time of more than twelve members, nor of less than nine members for a longer time than may be required for the convenient filling of vacancies, which I desire to be filled by the corporation, and, when found practicable, at its next meeting after the vacancy may occur.

I designate as the first President of the corporation the Honorable RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, of Ohio. I desire that it may have power to provide from the income of the fund, among other things, for expenses incurred by members in the fulfilment of this trust, and for the expenses of such officers and agents as it may appoint, and generally to do all such acts as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of this trust. I desire, if it may be, that the corporation may have full liberty to invest its funds according to its own best discretion, without reference to, or restriction by, any laws or rules, legal or equitable, of any nature, regulating the mode of investment of trust funds; only I wish that neither principal nor income be expended in land or buildings, for any other purpose than that of safe and productive investment for income. And I hereby discharge the corporation, and its individual members, so far as it is in my power so to do, of all responsibility, except for the faithful administration of this trust, according to their own honest understanding and best judgment. In particular, also, I wish to relieve them of any pretended claim on the part of any person, party, sect, institution, or locality, to benefactions from this fund, that may be put forward on any ground whatever; as I wish every expenditure to be determined solely by the convictions of the corporation itself as to the most useful disposition of its gifts.

I desire that the doings of the corporation each year be printed and sent to each of the State Libraries in the United States, and to the Library of Congress.

In case the capital of the Fund should become impaired, I desire that a part of the income, not greater than one half, be invested, from year to year, until the capital be restored to its original amount.

I purposely leave to the corporation the largest liberty of making such changes in the methods of applying the income of the Fund as shall seem from time to time best adapted to accomplish the general object herein defined. But being warned by the history of such endowments that they sometimes tend to discourage rather than promote effort and self-reliance on the part of beneficiaries, or to inure to the advancement of learning instead of the dissemination of it; or to become a convenience to the rich instead of a help to those who need help, I solemnly charge my Trustees to use their best wisdom in preventing any such defeat of the spirit of this trust; so that my gift may continue to future generations to be a blessing to the poor.

If at any time after the lapse of thirty-three years from the date of this foundation it shall appear to the judgment of three fourths of the members of this corporation that, by reason of a change in social conditions, or by reason of adequate and equitable public provision for education, or by any other sufficient reason, there is no further serious need of this Fund in the form in which it is at first instituted, I authorize the corporation to apply the capital of the Fund to the establishment of foundations subsidiary to then already existing institutions of higher education, in such wise as to make the educational advantages of such institutions more freely accessible to poor students of the colored race.

It is my wish that this trust be administered in no partisan, sectional, or sectarian spirit, but in the interest of a generous patriotism and an enlightened Christian faith; and that the corporation about to be formed, may continue to be constituted of men distinguished either by honorable success in business, or by services to literature, education, religion, or the State.

I am encouraged to the execution in this charitable foundation of a long-cherished purpose, by the eminent wisdom and success that has marked the conduct of the Peabody Education Fund in a field of operation not remote from that contemplated by this trust. I shall commit it to your hands, deeply conscious how insufficient is our best forecast to provide for the future that is known only to God; but humbly hoping that the administration of it may be so guided by divine wisdom, as to be, in its turn, an encouragement to philanthropic enterprise on the part of others, and an enduring means of good to our beloved country and to our fellow-men.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, your friend and fellow-citizen,

JOHN F. SLATER.

NORWICH, CONN., March 4, 1882.

And whereas, said memorialists have further represented that they are ready to accept said trust and receive and administer said Fund, provided a charter of incorporation is granted by this State, as indicated in said letter;

Now, therefore, for the purpose of giving full effect to the charitable intentions declared in said letter;

The people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

SEC. 1. Rutherford B. Hayes, Morrison R. Waite, William E. Dodge, Phillips Brooks, Daniel C. Gilman, John A. Stewart, Alfred H. Colquitt, Morris K. Jesup, James P. Boyce, and William A. Slater, are hereby created a body politic and corporate by the name of THE TRUSTEES OF THE JOHN F. SLATER FUND, and by that name shall have perpetual succession; said original corporators electing their associates and successors, from time to time, so that the whole number of corporators may be kept at not less than nine nor more than twelve.

Said corporation may hold and manage, invest and re-invest all property which may be given or transferred to it for the charitable purposes indicated in said letter, and shall, in so doing, and in appropriating the income accruing therefrom, conform to and be governed by the directions in said letter contained; and such property and all investments and re-investments thereof, excepting real estate, shall, while owned by said corporation and held for the purposes of said trust, be exempt from taxation of any and every nature.

SEC. 2. Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, shall be the first President of the corporation, and it may elect such other officers and hold such meetings, whether within or without this State, from time to time, as its by-laws may authorize or prescribe.

SEC. 3. Said corporation shall annually file with the Librarian of this State a printed report of its doings during the preceding year.

SEC. 4. This act shall take effect immediately.

COLORED EMPLOYÉS IN WASHINGTON.

There are six hundred and twenty persons of color employed in the different departments of the Government at Washington, D. C., distributed as follows:

War Department	44
Treasury Department	342
Department of Justice	7
Department of State	20
Navy Department	40
Department of the Interior	206 men, 7 women
Post-Office Department	54
Total	620

NEWSPAPERS CONDUCTED BY COLORED MEN.

ALABAMA.

MOBILE.—*The Mobile Gazette*; Phillip Joseph, Editor; \$2.00 per year; office No. 36 Conti Street.

HUNTSVILLE.—*Huntsville Gazette*; —, Editor; \$1.50 per year; Saturdays.

ARKANSAS.

HELENA.—*The Golden Epoch*; H. W. Stewart.

LITTLE ROCK.—*Arkansas Mansion*; Henry Simkens, Editor; \$1.50 a year.

CALIFORNIA.

SAN FRANCISCO.—*The Elevator*; Phillip A. Bell, Editor.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WASHINGTON CITY.—*People's Advocate*, established in 1876; J. W. Cromwell, Editor; C. A. Lemar, Manager; \$1.50 a year.

WASHINGTON CITY.—*The Bee*; W. C. Chase, Editor; C. C. Stewart, Business Manager; \$2.00 per year; Saturdays; office, No. 1107 I Street, N. W.

FLORIDA.

PENSACOLA.—*The Journal of Progress*; Matthews & Davidson, Editors and Proprietors; \$2.00; Saturdays.

KEY WEST.—*Key West News*; J. Willis Menard, Editor; weekly; five columns; price, \$1.50 per annum.

GEORGIA.

ATLANTA.—*Weekly Defiance*; W. H. Burnett, Editor.

AUGUSTA.—*The People's Defense*; Smith, Nelson, & Co., Proprietors.

AUGUSTA.—*Georgia Baptist*; Wm. J. White, Editor; \$2.00 per year; office, No. 633 Ellis Street.

SAVANNAH.—*Savannah Echo*; Hardin Bros. & Griffin, Proprietors; \$2.00; Saturdays.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—*The Conservator*; Barnett, Clark, & Co., Editors and Proprietors; \$2.00 per year; Saturdays; 194 Clark Street.

CAIRO.—*The Three States*; M. Gladding, Publisher; Saturdays; \$1.50 per year; 190 Commercial Avenue.

CAIRO.—*The Cairo Gazette*; J. J. Bird, Editor; Wednesdays and Saturdays; \$2.50 per year.

KANSAS.

TOPEKA.—*Topeka Tribune*; E. H. White.

KENTUCKY.

LOUISVILLE.—*The Bulletin*; Adams Brothers; \$2.00 per year; Saturdays; 562 West Jefferson Street.

LOUISVILLE.—*The American Baptist*; Wm. H. Stewart.

LOUISVILLE.—*Ohio Falls Express*; Dr. H. Fitzbutler, Editor; \$1.50 per year; Saturdays.

BOWLING GREEN.—*Bowling Green Watchman*; C. C. Strumm, Editor; C. R. McDowell, Manager; Saturdays; \$1.50 per year.

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS.—*Observer*; Saturdays; republican; four pages; size, 22 x 32; subscription, \$2.00; established, 1878; G. T. Ruby, Editor and Publisher.

MASSACHUSETTS.

BOSTON.—*The Boston Leader*; Howard L. Smith, Editor; \$1.50 per year; office, No. 8 Boylston Street. Room 9.

MISSISSIPPI.

VERONA.—*The Banner of Liberty*; J. B. Wilkins, Editor; \$1.50 per year.

GREENVILLE.—*The Baptist Signal*; Rev. G. W. Gayles, Editor; \$1.00 per year.

JACKSON.—*People's Adviser*.

JACKSON.—*Mississippi Republican*; Preston Hay, Editor; \$1.00; Saturdays.

MAYERSVILLE.—*Mayersville Spectator*; W. E. Mollison, Editor; D. T. Williamson, Publisher; \$1.50 per year; Saturdays.

MISSOURI.

ST. LOUIS.—*Tribune*; Sundays; republican; eight pages; size, 26 x 40; subscription, \$2 00; established, 1876; J. W. Wilson, Editor and Publisher; circulation, 1.

KANSAS CITY.—*The Kansas City Enterprise*; D. V. A. Nero; published every Wednesday and Saturday; \$2.00 per year; office, No. 537 Main Street, Room No. 2.

NEW JERSEY.

TRENTON.—*The Sentinel*; R. Henri Herbert, Editor; Saturdays; \$1.25 per year; No. 4 North Green Street.

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK CITY.—*Progressive American*; Thursdays; four pages; size, 22 x 31; subscription, \$2.00; established, 1871; John J. Freeman, Editor; George A. Washington, Publisher; circulation, J.; office, 125 W. 25th Street.

NEW YORK CITY.—*New York Globe*; Geo. Parker & Co.; T. Thos. Fortune, Editor; office, No. 4 Cedar Street, Room 15.

BROOKLYN.—*The National Monitor*; R. Rufus L. Perry, D.D.

NORTH CAROLINA.

GOLDSBOROUGH.—*The Carolina Enterprise*; E. E. Smith, Editor; \$1.00 per year; Saturday.

CHARLOTTE.—*Charlotte Messenger*; W. H. Smith, Editor; \$1.50 per year.

WILSON.—*The Wilson News*; Ward, Moore, & Hill, Editors; \$1 50 a year.

RALEIGH.—*Raleigh Banner*; J. H. Williams.

WILMINGTON.—*Africo-American Presbyterian*; D. J. Sanders.

OHIO.

CINCINNATI.—*The Afro-American*; Clark, Johnson, and Jackson, Editors and Proprietors; \$1.50 per year; Saturdays; office, 172 Central Avenue.

CINCINNATI.—*The Weekly Review*; Review Publishing Co.; Chas. W. Bell, Editor; \$1.50 per year.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA.—*Christian Recorder*; Thursdays; Methodist; four pages; size, 28 x 42; subscription, \$2.00; established, 1862; Rev. Benj. T. Tanner, D.D., Editor; Rev. Theo. Gould, Publisher; circulation, 6; office, 631 Pine Street.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHARLESTON.—*The New Era*; Wm. Holloway, Business Manager; \$1.50 per year; Saturdays; democratic; 196 Meeting Street.

CHARLESTON.—*The Palmetto Press*; Robert L. Smith, Editor; \$1.50 per year; Saturdays.

TENNESSEE.

NASHVILLE.—*Knights of Wise Men*; J. L. Brown, Editor; office, No. 5 Cherry Street.

CHATTANOOGA.—*The Enterprise*; Rev. D. W. Hays.

TEXAS.

AUSTIN.—*The Austin Citizen*; J. J. Hamilton & Co.

DALLAS.—*The Baptist Journal*; S. H. Smothers, Editor; A. R. Greggs, Publisher.

DALLAS.—*Christian Preacher*; C. M. Wilmeth.

MARSHALL.—*The Christian Advocate*; M. F. Jamison.

GALVESTON.—*Spectator*; Richard Nelson, Editor; \$1.50 per year.

PALESTINE.—*Colored American Journal*; monthly; C. W. Porter, Editor.

VIRGINIA.

RICHMOND.—*Virginia Star*; Saturdays; four pages; size, 20 x 26; subscription, \$2.00; established, 1876; R. M. Green, M.D., O. M. Stewart, and P. H. Woolfolk, Editors and Publishers; circulation, K.

RICHMOND.—*Industrial Herald*; John Oliver, Editor; \$1.00 per year.

PETERSBURGH.—*The Lancet*; Geo. F. Bragg, Jr., Manager; \$1.50 per year; Saturdays.

WEST VIRGINIA.

WHEELING.—*The Weekly Times*; Welcome, Buckner, & Co., Publishers; Geo. W. Welcome, Editor; 8 pages; \$1.00 per annum.

NEGROES IN NORTHERN COLLEGES.

In response to a circular sent out, seventy Northern Colleges sent information; and in them are at present one hundred and sixty-nine Colored students. The exact number of graduates cannot be ascertained, as these colleges do not keep a record of the nationality of their students.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET, D.D.

The career of this man, who died at Monrovia, Liberia, Feb. 14, 1882, where he was the Minister of the United States, was extraordinary. Grandson of a native African, brought over in a slave-trader, himself born a slave, he was brought to Pennsylvania by his father, when he fled from slavery in 1824. Next we find him, at the age of seventeen, ridiculed for studying Greek and Latin; then mobbed in a New Hampshire seminary; then dragged from a street car in Utica; then studying theology with Dr. Beman in Troy, N. Y. Soon he was settled as a minister; afterward he travelled in Great Britain and on the Continent of Europe, and was sent by a Scottish Society as Presbyterian missionary to Jamaica, West Indies. He returned to New York, and was long the pastor of the Shiloh Presbyterian Church; his house escaping the riots in 1863 "by the foresight of his daughter, who wrenched off the door plate." He was the first Colored man who ever spoke in public in the Capitol at

Washington, having preached there Sunday, Feb. 12, 1865. In 1881 he was appointed Minister to Liberia. Dr. Garnet was equal in ability to Frederick Douglass, and greatly his superior in learning, especially excelling in logic and terse statement. We heard him make a speech in 1865, which in force of reasoning, purity of language, and propriety of utterance, was not unworthy of comparison with a sermon of Bishop Thomson, or an address of George William Curtis. As he was "a full-blooded Negro," he was a standing and unanswerable proof that the race is capable of all that has distinguished MAN. How much of history and progress could be crowded in a memorial inscription for him! It might be something like this: Born a slave in the country to which his grandfather was stolen away, he competed, under the greatest disadvantages, with white men for the prizes of life; attaining the highest intellectual culture, and a corresponding moral elevation, his career commanded universal respect in Europe and America, wherever he was known. He died the Minister of the United States to a civilized nation in the land whence his barbaric ancestors were stolen. To God, who "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation" (Acts xvii: 26), be the glory. "How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!"

EBENEZER D. BASSETT.

One of the ablest diplomats the Negro race has produced is the Honorable Ebenezer D. Bassett, for nearly nine years the Resident Minister and Consul-General from the United States to Hayti. He was born and educated in the State of Connecticut, and for many years was the successful Principal of the Institute for Colored Youth at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. As a classical scholar and for proficiency in the use of modern languages he has few equals among his race.

Returning to this country, after years of honorable service abroad, he was promoted by the Haytian Government to the position of Consul at New York City, and at present is serving the Republic of Hayti. As an evidence of the high esteem in which he was held as an officer the following documents attest:

(COPY.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, October 5, 1877. }

EBENEZER D. BASSETT, Esquire, etc., etc., etc.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 529, of the 23d August last, tendering your resignation of the office of Minister Resident and Consul-General of the United States to Hayti, and to inform you that it is accepted.

I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without expressing to you the appreciation of the Department of the very satisfactory manner in which you have discharged the duties of the mission at Port au Prince during your term of office. This commendation of your services is the more especially merited, because at various times your duties have been of such a delicate nature as to have required the exercise of much tact and discretion.

I enclose herewith a letter addressed by the President of the United States to the President of Hayti, announcing your retirement from the mission at Port au Prince, together with an office copy of the same. You will transmit the latter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and make arrangements for the delivery of the original to the President when your successor shall present his credentials.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
(Signed)

F. W. SEWARD, *Acting Secretary.*

(TRANSLATION.)

BOISROND CANAL, *President of the Republic of Hayti,*

To His Excellency the President of the United States of America.

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: Mr. Ebenezer D. Bassett, who has resided here in the capacity of Minister of the United States, has placed in my hands the letter by which your Excellency has brought his mission to an end.

In taking leave of me in conformity with the wishes of your Excellency, he has renewed the assurance of the friendly sentiments which so happily exist on the part of the Government and the people of the United States toward the Government and the people of the Republic of Hayti.

I have not failed to request him to transmit to your Excellency, the expression of my great desire to maintain always the relations of the two Countries upon the footing of that cordial understanding.

It is for me a pleasing duty to acknowledge fully to your Excellency, the zeal and the intelligence with which Mr. Bassett has fulfilled here the high and delicate functions that had been entrusted to him.

I have, therefore, been happy to be able to testify to him publicly before his departure, in the name of my fellow-citizens, the esteem and sincere affection which his talents, his character, his private and public conduct have won for him, as well as the particular sentiments of friendship and gratitude I personally entertain for him.

I pray God that He may have your Excellency always in His Holy keeping.

Given at the National Palace of Port au Prince, the 4th day of November, 1877.

Your Good Friend,

(Signed) BOISROND CANAL.

Countersigned.

(Signed.) F. CARRIE, *Secretary of State*

COLORED SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN.

UNITED STATES SENATORS.

HIRAM R. REVELS, United States Senator from Mississippi, was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina, September 1, 1822; desiring to obtain an education, which was denied in his native State to those of African descent, he removed to Indiana; spent some time at the Quaker Seminary in Union County; entered the Methodist ministry; afterward received further instructions at the Clarke County Seminary, when he became preacher, teacher, and lecturer among his people in the States of Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and Missouri; at the breaking out of the war, he was ministering at Baltimore; he assisted in the organization of the first two Colored regiments in Maryland and Missouri; during a portion of 1863 and 1864 he taught school in St. Louis, then went to Vicksburg, and assisted the provost marshal in managing the freedmen affairs; followed on the heels of the army to Jackson; organized churches, and lectured; spent the next two years in Kansas and Missouri in preaching and lecturing on moral and religious subjects; returned to Mississippi, and settled at Natchez; was chosen presiding elder of the Methodist Church, and a member of the city council; was elected a United States Senator from Mississippi as a Republican, serving from February 25, 1870, to March 3, 1871; was pastor of a Methodist Episcopal church at Holly Springs, Mississippi; removed to Indiana, where he was pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church at Richmond.

BLANCHE K. BRUCE, United States Senator from Mississippi, was born in Prince Edward County, Virginia, March 1, 1841; as his parents were slaves, he received a limited education; became a planter in Mississippi in 1869; was a member of the Mississippi Levee Board, and sheriff and tax-collector of Bolivar County from 1872 until his election to the United States Senate from Mississippi, February 3, 1875, as a Republican, to succeed Henry R. Pease, Republican, and took his seat March 4, 1875. His term of service expired March 3, 1881.

UNITED STATES CONGRESSMEN.

RICHARD H. CAIN was born in Greenbrier County, Virginia, April 12, 1825. His father removed to Ohio in 1831, and settled in Gallipolis. He had no education, except such as was afforded in Sabbath-school, until after his marriage; entered the ministry at an early age; became a student at Wilberforce University at Xenia, Ohio, in 1860, and remained there for one year; removed, at the breaking out of the war, to Brooklyn, New York, where he was a pastor for four years; was sent by his Church as a missionary to the freedmen in South Carolina; was chosen a member of the Constitutional Convention of South Carolina; was elected a member of the State Senate from Charleston, and served two years; took charge of a republican newspaper in 1868; was elected a representative from South Carolina in the Forty-third Congress as a Republican, receiving 66,825 votes against 26,394 for Lewis E. Johnson, and was

again elected to the Forty-fifth Congress as a Republican, receiving 21,385 votes against 16,074 votes for M. P. O'Connor, Democrat.

ROBERT C. DE LARGE was born at Aiken, South Carolina, March 15, 1842; received such an education as was then attainable; was a farmer; was an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau from May, 1867, to April, 1868, when he was elected a member of the State Constitutional Convention; was a member of the House of Representatives of the State Legislature in 1868, 1869, and 1870; was one of the State Commissioners of the Sinking Fund; was elected in 1870 State Land Commissioner, and served until he was elected a representative from South Carolina in the Forty-second Congress as a Republican, receiving 16,686 votes, against 15,700 votes for C. C. Bowen, Independent Republican; was appointed a trial justice, which office he held when he died at Charlestown, South Carolina, February 15, 1874.

ROBERT BROWN ELLIOTT was born at Boston, Massachusetts, August 11, 1842; received his primary education at private schools; in 1853 entered High Holborn Academy in London, England; in 1855 entered Eton College, England, and graduated in 1859; studied law, and practises his profession; was a member of the State Constitutional Convention of South Carolina in 1868; was a member of the House of Representatives of South Carolina from July 6, 1868, to October 23, 1870; was appointed on the 25th of March, 1869, assistant adjutant-general, which position he held until he was elected a representative from South Carolina in the Forty-second Congress as a Republican, receiving 20,564 votes against 13,997 votes for J. E. Bacon, Democrat, serving from March 4, 1871, to 1873, when he resigned; and was re-elected to the Forty-third Congress as a Republican, receiving 21,627 votes against 1,094 votes for W. H. McCan, Democrat, serving from December 1, 1873, to May, 1874, when he resigned, having been elected sheriff.

JERE HARALSON was born in Muscogee County, Georgia, April 1, 1846, the slave property of John Walker; after Walker's death, was sold on the auction-block in the city of Columbus, and bought by J. W. Thompson, after whose death he became the property of J. Haralson, of Selma, and so remained until emancipated in 1865; received no education until after he was free, when he instructed himself; was elected to the State House of Representatives of Alabama in 1870; was elected to the State Senate of Alabama in 1872; was elected a representative from Alabama in the Forty-fourth Congress as a Republican, receiving 19,551 votes against 16,953 votes for F. G. Bromberg, Democrat, serving from December 6, 1875, to March 3, 1877; was defeated by the Republican candidate for the Forty-fifth Congress, receiving 8,675 votes against 9,685 votes for Charles L. Shelley, Democrat, and 7,236 votes for James T. Rapier, Republican.

JOHN R. LYNCH was born in Concordia Parish, Louisiana, September 10, 1847, a slave; and he remained in slavery until emancipated by the results of the Rebellion, receiving no early education; a purchaser of his mother carried her with her children to Natchez, where, when the Union troops took possession, he attended evening school for a few months, and he has since by private study acquired a good English education; he engaged in the business of photography at Natchez until 1869, when Governor Ames appointed him a justice of the peace; he was elected a member of the State Legislature from Adams County, and re-elected in 1871, serving the last term as Speaker of the House; was elected a representative from Mississippi in the Forty-third Congress as a Republican, receiving 15,391 votes against 8,430 votes for H. Cassidy, Sr., Democrat; and was re-elected to the Forty-fourth Congress as a Republican (defeating Roderick Seals, Democrat), serving from December 1, 1873, to March 3, 1877.

CHARLES E. NASH was born at Opelousas, Louisiana ; received a common-school education at New Orleans ; was a bricklayer by trade ; enlisted as private in the Eighty-third Regiment, United States Chasseurs d' Afrique, April 20, 1863, and was promoted until he became acting sergeant-major of the regiment ; lost a leg at the storming of Fort Blakely, and was honorably discharged from the army May 30, 1865 ; was elected a representative from Louisiana in the Forty-fourth Congress as a Republican, receiving 13,156 votes against 12,085 votes for Joseph M. Moore, Democrat, serving from December 6, 1875, to March 3, 1877 ; was defeated as the Republican candidate for the Forty-fifth Congress, receiving 11,147 votes against 15,520 votes for Edward White Robertson, Democrat.

JOSEPH H. RAINEY was born at Georgetown, South Carolina (where both of his parents were slaves, but, by their industry, obtained their freedom), June 21, 1832 ; although debarred by law from attending school he acquired a good education, and further improved his mind by observation and travel ; his father was a barber, and he followed that occupation at Charlestown till 1862, when, having been forced to work on the fortifications of the Confederates, he escaped to the West Indies, where he remained until the close of the war, when he returned to his native town ; he was elected a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention of 1868, and was a member of the State Senate of South Carolina in 1870, resigning when elected a representative from South Carolina in the Forty-first Congress as a Republican (to fill the vacancy caused by the non-reception of B. F. Whittemore), by a majority of 17,193 votes over Dudley, Conservative ; was re-elected to the Forty-second Congress, receiving 20,221 votes against 11,628 votes for C. W. Dudley, Democrat ; was re-elected to the Forty-third Congress, receiving 19,765 votes, being all that were cast ; was re-elected to the Forty-fourth Congress, receiving 14,370 votes against 13,563 votes for Samuel Lee, Republican ; was re-elected to the Forty-fifth Congress, receiving 18,180 votes against 16,661 votes for J. S. Richardson, Democrat, serving from March 4, 1869.

ALONZO J. RANSIER was born at Charlestown, South Carolina, in January, 1834 ; was self-educated ; was employed as shipping-clerk in 1850 by a leading merchant, who was tried for violation of law in " hiring a Colored clerk," and fined one cent with costs ; was one of the foremost in the works of reconstruction in 1865 ; was a member of a convention of the friends of equal rights in October, 1865, at Charlestown, and was deputed to present the memorial there framed to Congress ; was elected a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1868 ; was elected a member of the House of Representatives in the State Legislature in 1869 ; was chosen chairman of the State Republican Central Committee, which position he held until 1872 ; was elected a presidential elector on the Grant and Colfax ticket in 1868 ; was elected lieutenant-governor of South Carolina in 1870 by a large majority ; was president of the Southern States Convention at Columbia in 1871 ; was chosen a delegate to, and was a vice-president of, the Philadelphia Convention which nominated Grant and Wilson in 1872 ; and was elected a representative from South Carolina in the Forty-third Congress as a Republican, receiving 20,061 votes against 6,549 votes for W. Gurney, Independent Republican, serving from December 1, 1873, to March 3, 1875.

JAMES T. RAPIER was born in Florence, Alabama, in 1840 ; was educated in Canada ; is a planter ; was appointed a notary public by the governor of Alabama in 1866 ; was a member of the first Republican Convention held in Alabama, and was one of the committee that framed the platform of the party ; represented Lauderdale County in the Constitutional Convention held at Montgomery in 1867 ; was nominated for secretary of State in 1870, but defeated with the rest of the ticket ; was appointed assessor of internal revenue for the second collection-district of Alabama in 1871 ; was

appointed State commissioner to the Vienna Exposition in 1873 by the governor of Alabama ; was elected a representative from Alabama in the Forty-third Congress as a Republican, receiving 19,100 votes against 16,000 votes for C. W. Oates, Democrat, serving from December 1, 1873, to March 3, 1875 ; and was defeated as the Republican candidate for the Forty-fourth Congress, receiving 19,124 votes against 20,180 votes for Jeremiah N. Williams, Democrat.

ROBERT SMALLS was born at Beaufort, South Carolina, April 5, 1839 ; being a slave, was debarred by statute from attending school, but educated himself with such limited advantages as he could secure ; removed to Charlestown in 1851 ; worked as a rigger, and led a seafaring life ; became connected in 1861 with "The Planter," a steamer plying in Charlestown harbor as a transport, which he took over Charlestown Bar in May, 1862, and delivered her and his services to the commander of the United States blockading squadron ; was appointed pilot in the United States navy, and served in that capacity on the monitor "Keokuk" in the attack on Fort Sumter ; served as pilot in the quartermaster's department, and was promoted as captain for gallant and meritorious conduct December 1, 1863, and placed in command of "The Planter," serving until she was put out of commission in 1866 ; was elected a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1868 ; was elected a member of the State House of Representatives in 1868, and of the State Senate (to fill a vacancy) in 1870, and re-elected in 1872 ; and was elected a representative from South Carolina in the Forty-fourth Congress as a Republican, receiving 17,752 votes against 4,461 votes for J. P. M. Epping, Republican ; and was re-elected to the Forty-fifth Congress, receiving 19,954 votes against 18,516 votes for G. D. Tillman, Democrat, serving from December, 6, 1875, to March 3, 1877 ; and is now a member.

JOSIAH T. WALLS was born at Winchester, Virginia, December 30, 1842 ; received a common-school education ; was a planter ; was elected a member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1868 ; was elected a member of the State House of Representatives in 1868 ; was elected to the State Senate 1869-1872 ; claimed to have been elected a representative from the State-at-large to the Forty-second Congress as a Republican, but the election was contested by his competitor, Silas L. Niblack, who took the seat January 29, 1873 ; was re-elected for the State-at-large, receiving 17,503 votes against 15,881 votes for Niblack, Democrat ; and was re-elected to the Forty-fourth Congress, receiving 8,549 votes against 8,178 votes for Jesse J. Finley, Democrat.

BENJ. STERLING TURNER was born in Halifax County, North Carolina, March 17, 1825 ; was raised as a slave, and received no early education, because the laws of that State made it criminal to educate slaves ; removed to Alabama in 1830, and, by clandestine study, obtained a fair education ; became a dealer in general merchandise ; was elected tax-collector of Dallas County in 1867, and councilman of the city of Selma in 1869 ; was elected a representative from Alabama in the Forty-second Congress as a Republican, receiving 18,226 votes against 13,466 votes for S. J. Cumming, Democrat, serving from March 4, 1871, to March 3, 1873 ; was defeated as the Republican candidate for the Forty-third Congress, receiving 13,174 votes against 15,607 votes for F. G. Bromberg, Democrat and Liberal, and 7,024 votes for P. Joseph, Republican.

JEFFERSON F. LONG, Macon, Georgia. Took his seat Feb 24, 1871.

BUREAU OFFICER.

Honorable BLANCHE K. BRUCE, Register of the United States Treasury ; appointed by President James A. Garfield, 1881.

NEGROES IN THE DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

Hayti.—E. D. BASSETT, Pennsylvania, 1869-77.

Hayti.—JOHN M. LANGSTON, District of Columbia, Minister Resident and Consul-General to Hayti, 1877.

Liberia.—J. MILTON TURNER, Missouri.

Liberia.—JOHN H. SMYTH, North Carolina. Reappointed in 1882.

Liberia.—HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET, New York, Minister Resident and Consul-General to Liberia.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS.

The following Colored men were Lieutenant-Governors during the years of reconstruction. At the head of them all for bravery, intelligence, and executive ability stands Governor Pinchback. One of the first men of his race to enter the army in 1862 as captain, when the conflict was over and his race free, he was the first Colored man in Louisiana to enter into the work of reconstruction. He has been and is a power in his State. He is true to his friends, but a terror to his enemies. A sketch of his life would read like a romance.

Louisiana.

OSCAR J. DUNN,
P. B. S. PINCHBACK,
C. C. ANTOINE.

South Carolina.

ALONZO J. RANSIER,
RICHARD H. GLEAVES,

Mississippi.

ALEX. DAVIS.

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